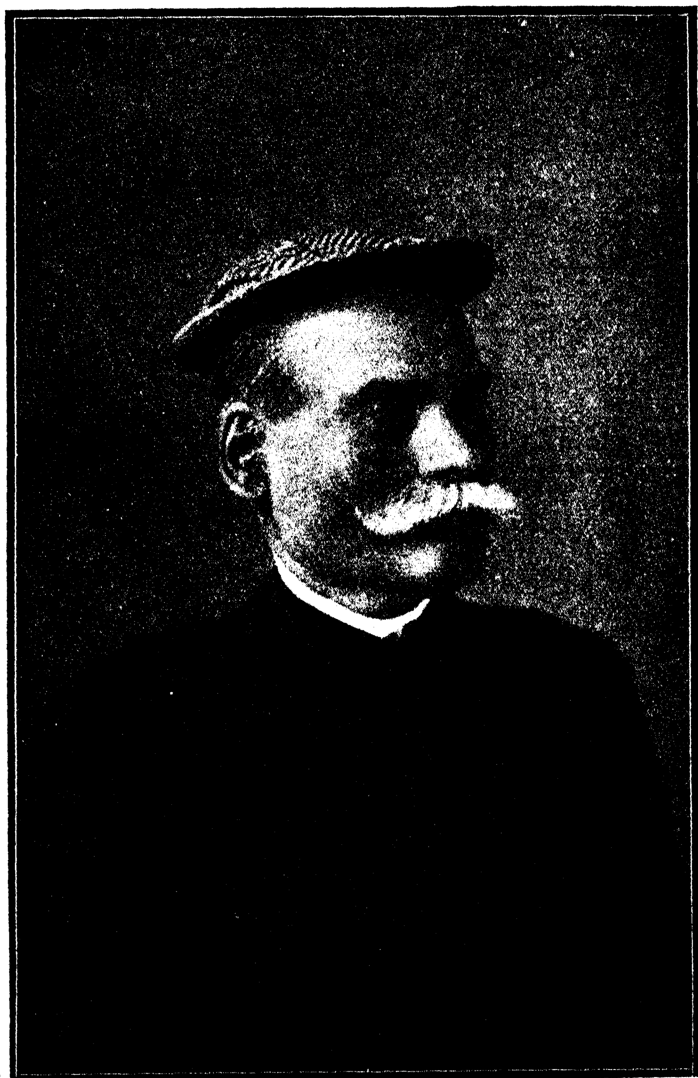
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बाबू श्रीबहादुर सिंहजी सिंघीके पुण्यश्लोक पिता

जन्म-वि. सं. १९२१, मार्ग. वदि ६ 卐 **स्वर्गवास**-वि. सं. १९८४, पोष सुदि ६

दानशील-साहित्यरसिक-संस्कृतिप्रिय

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अजीमगंज-कलकत्ता

जन्म ता. २८-६-१८८५] [मृत्यु ता. ७-७-१९४४

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[NUMBER 37]

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[VOLUME 4]



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सन १९४४.

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१०. प्रभाचन्द्रसूरिरचित प्रभावकचरित.
११. सिद्धिचन्द्रोपाध्यायरचित भानुचन्द्र-गणिचरित.
१२. यशोविजयोपाध्यायविरचित ज्ञान-बिन्दुप्रकरण.
१३. हरिषेणाचार्यकृत बृहत्कथाकोश.
१४. जैनपुस्तकप्रशस्तिसंग्रह, प्रथम भाग.
१५. हरिभद्रसूरिविरचित धूर्ताख्यान. (प्राकृत)
१६. दुर्गदेवकृत रिष्टसमुच्चय (प्राकृत)
१७. मेघविजयोपाध्यायकृत दिग्विजयमहा-काव्य.
१८ कवि अब्दुल रहमानकृत सन्देशरासक.
१९. भर्तृहरिकृत शतकत्रयादि सुभाषित-संग्रह.
२०. शान्त्याचार्यकृत न्यायावतारवार्तिक-वृत्ति
२१. कवि धाहिलरचित पउमसिरीचरिउ. (अप०)
२२. महेश्वरसूरिकृत नाणपंचमीकहा. (प्राकृ०)
२३. भद्रबाहुसंहिता.
२४. जिनेश्वरसूरिकृत कथाकोषप्रकरण. (प्रा०)
२५. उदयप्रभसूरिकृत धर्माभ्युदयमहाकाव्य.
२६. जयसिंहसूरिकृत धर्मोपदेशमाला.
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२८. जिनदत्ताख्यानद्वय.
२९. दामोदरकृत उक्तिव्यक्तिप्रकरण.
३०. स्वयंभूविरचित पउमचरिउ (अपभ्रंश).
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२. कुमारपालचरित्रसंग्रह.
३. विविधगच्छीयपट्टावलिसंग्रह.
४. जैनपुस्तक प्रशस्तिसंग्रह, भाग २.
५. विज्ञप्तिसंग्रह–विज्ञप्ति महालेख-विज्ञप्ति त्रिवेणी आदि अनेक विज्ञप्तिलेख समुच्चय
६. उद्योतनसूरिकृत कुवलयमालाकथा.
७. कीर्तिकौमुदी आदि वस्तुपालप्रशस्ति-संग्रह.
८. महामुनिगुणपालविरचित जंबुचरित्र (प्राकृत)
९. जयपाहुडनाम निमित्तशास्त्र. (प्राकृत)
१०. गुणचन्द्रविरचित मंत्रीकर्मचन्द्रवंशप्रबन्ध
११. नयचन्द्रविरचित हम्मीरमहाकाव्य.
१२. महेन्द्रसूरिकृत नर्मदासुन्दरीकथा (प्रा०)
१३. कौटल्यकृत अर्थशास्त्र-सटीक.
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SHRI BAHADUR SINGH SINGHI MEMOIRS
[VOLUME No. 4]

STUDIES IN INDIAN LITERARY HISTORY

VOL. I

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

Curator
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

WITH A FOREWORD BY

ĀCĀRYA ŚRĪ JINA VIJAYA MUNI

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SHRI BAHADUR SINGHJI SINGHI

BY

Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni

On the 7th of July 1944, Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi left his mortal coils at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine. His loss has been widely felt. His aged mother received this rude shock so ill that she did not long outlive him. His worthy sons have lost an affectionate and noble father, the industrialists and businessmen of the country one of their pioneers, the large number of his employees a benevolent master, scholarship one of its best patrons and the poor people of his native district a most generous donor. To me his loss has been personal. My contact with him was a turning point in my life. Whatever I have been able, during the past fifteen years, to achieve in the field of scholarship is due directly to him. The financial assistance with which he backed up my activities was the least of his contributions. But for his love of scholarship with which he inspired me, this chapter of my life would have been entirely different. To his sacred memory I am penning these few lines. This volume is brought out in his memory.

Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji was born in Azimganj, Murshidabad, in Vikram Saṁvat 1941, in the ancient family of the Singhis, who were of old the treasurers of the Mughal emperors. The family had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune and in the 17th century it migrated from Rajaputana to Bengal, but thanks to the energy and enterprise of Singhiji's father, Babu Dalchandji Singhi, the family firm became a very flourishing concern.

At an early age Singhiji joined the family business and by pushing ahead with father's enterprises, succeeded in making the firm the foremost in the mining industry of Bengal and Central India. Besides he also acquired vast zamindaries and had interests in many industrial and banking concerns. This early preoccupation with business affairs prevented his having a college education. But Singhiji was studious and introspective by nature. Unlike many other wealthy men who spend their money and time in such fads as the races, the theatres, and the like, he devoted all his spare time to study and cultural development. He acquired an excellent command over several languages. Art and literature were the subjects of his choice. He was very fond of collecting rare and invaluable specimens of ancient sculpture, paintings, coins, copperplates and inscriptions. His manuscript collection contained a large number of rare works of historical and cultural importance, among which mention must be made of a unique

manuscript of the Koran which was handed down from Baber to Aurangzeb and bears the autographs of all of them. It is recorded therein that it was considered by them all as more valuable than the empire. His numismatic collection, especially of Kushan and Gupta coins, is considered the third best in the world. He also had a good and large collection of works of art and historical importance. Singhiji was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (London), a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Indian Research Institute and a Founder-Member of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. He was also the President of the Jain Swetambara Conference held in Bombay in 1926. Though he had made no special study of law he was well up in the legal matters. On one occasion when he found that his lawyers were not properly representing his case he himself pleaded out the case succesfully, much to the surprise of the bench and the bar who took him for an accomplished advocate.

Though a highly religious and leading figure in the Jain community he had an outlook which was far from sectarian. More than three fourths of the six lakhs and over of his donations were for non-Jain causes. More often than not he preferred to give his assistance anonymously and he did not keep a list of his donations even when they were made in his name. To the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan Calcutta, he gave Rs. 10,000/-, when Mahatmaji had been to his place for the collection of funds; to the Hindu Academy, Daultapur, Rs. 15,000/-, to the Taraqi-Urdu Bangala 5000/-, the Hindi Sahitya Parishad 12,500/- to the Vishuddhanand Sarasvati Marwari Hospital 10,000/-, to several maternity homes 2,500/-, to the Benares Hindu University 2,500/-, to the Jiaganj High School 5,000/-, to the Jiaganj London Mission Hospital 6,000/-, to the Jain Temples at Calcutta and Murshidabad 11,000/-, to the Jain Dharma Pracharak Sabha Manbhum 5,000/-, to the Jain Bhavan, Calcutta, 15,000/-, to the Jain Pustak Prachar Mandal, Agra, 7,500/-, to the Agra Jain Temple 3,500/-, to the Ambala Jain High School, 2,100/-, for the Prakrit Kosh 2,500/-, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 10,000/-. At the Singhi Park Mela held at his Ballyganj residence in which Viscount Wavell, then Commander-in-Chief and Lord John Herbert, Governor of Bengal and Lady Herbert participated, he donated Rs. 41,000/- for the Red Cross Fund.

The people of the district of Murshidabad, his native place, will ever remain grateful to him for having distributed several thousand maunds of rice at the low price of Rs. 8/- when rice was selling at Rs. 24/- in those terrible years of 1942-52, himself thereby suffering a loss of over three lakhs. In May-June 1944

he again spent Rs. 50,000/- for the distribution of cloth, rice and coins for the people of that place.

My close association with Singhiji began in 1931, when he invited me to occupy the Chair for Jain Studies which he was starting at the Vishvabharati. Due to unfavourable climatic conditions of Shantiniketan I could not continue to work there for more than four years, but during those years was founded the Singhi Jain Series. During the period of ten years of my principalship of Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad, and even before that I had been collecting materials of historical and philological importance and folk-lore etc. which had been lying hidden in the great Jain Bhandars of Patan, Ahmedabad, Baroda etc. I persuaded Singhiji to start a series which would publish works dealing with the vast materials in my possession, and also other important Jain texts and studies prepared on the most modern scientific lines. On the works of the Series he spent through me more than Rs. 75,000/-. During this long period of over a dozen years he not even once asked me as to how and for what works the amount was spent. Whenever the account was submitted he did not ask for even the least information, but sanctioned it casting merely a formal glance on the accounts sheets. But he showed the most discriminating interest in the matter that was being published and on the material and manner in which they were being brought out. His only desire was to see the publication of as many works as possible during his lifetime. In May 1943 at my instance he gave over the Series to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In September 1943 I had been to Calcutta to negotiate the purchase, for the Bhavan, of a well-equipped library of a retired professor. Singhiji casually asked me what arrangements had been made for meeting the cost. I promptly replied that there was no cause for worry as long as donors like himself were there. He smiled; he had decided. Eventually he pursuaded me to go in for the Nahar Collection which was a still more valuable one. He did not live long enough to present this literary treasure to the Bhavan; but his eldest son and my beloved friend, Babu Shri Rajendra Singh has fulfilled his father's wish though he was totally ignorant of it and has got this unique collection for the Bhavan and spent Rs. 50,000/- for the purpose.

By the end of 1943 his health began to decline. In the first week of January, 1944, when I went to him at Calcutta in connection with the work of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti I found him extremely unwell. Notwithstanding his ill-health he talked to me for more than a couple of hours on the day of my arrival there. The first thing he said in the course of this lengthy, though very

sweet talk, was to give me a mild reproof for undertaking the long and tedious journeys to Calcutta, Benaras and Cawnpore in spite of my ill health. He discussed with absorbing interest the details of the Samiti's proposed History of India, a subject of great interest to him. Our talks then drifted to the subject of the History of Jainism in which connection also he expressed his opinion about the material to be utilised for such a work. At the termination of our talks, which this time lasted for over three hours, I found him much exhausted and drooping in spirits.

On the 7th January his health took a turn for the worse. On 11th January I went to take leave of him, which he, full of emotion, gave with a heavy heart, exclaiming "Who knows whether we shall meet again or not?" I requested him to take heart and remain buoyant. He would be soon restored to normal health. But while I was stepping out of his room, my eyes were full of tears and his last words began to eat into my heart. Ill-luck prevented our second meeting. That lofty and generous soul finally left its mortal habitat at mid-day on 7th July, 1944. May his soul rest in peace!

His sons, Babu Rajendra Singh, Babu Narendra Singh and Babu Virendra Singh are treading in the footsteps of their revered father. During the past year on the Singhi Series alone they have spent over Rs. 20,000/-. I have already mentioned how Babu Rajendra Singh purchased for the Bhavan the valuable Nahar collection. Babu Narendra Singh has also spent Rs. 30,000/- for a foundation of a Jain Bhavan at Calcutta. Babu Rajendra Singh and Babu Narendra Singh have also very generously promised me to continue to meet all the expenses of the Singhi Jain Series and requested me to bring out as many works as possible, at whatever cost so that this unique series founded and cherished by their late lamented father may continue to bring to light the invaluable treasures of Jain literature and culture.

In recognition of his unique assistance the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has decided to perpetuate Singhiji's memory by naming its Indological library after him. Further, one of its main halls will bear his name. The Bhavan's Jain Department will also be known as the **Singhi Jain Shikshapith.***

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
Bombay
July 1, 1945

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

* **Reprinted from Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi Memorial Volume of the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, [Volume V] 1945.**

GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in presenting to the world of scholars Vol. I of Prof. P. K. Gode's "*Studies in Indian Literary History,*" which is being published as the fourth volume of *Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhī Memorial Series* established in the sacred memory of the late Bābu Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhī, the founder of the *Singhi Jain Series.*

On 7th July 1944 my esteemed friend Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhī of memorable name passed away. To perpetuate his sacred memory a bulky issue of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, the Hindi-Gujarati Research Journal of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, was edited and published by me. This issue contained numerous valuable contributions from distinguished scholars together with an extensive essay by me recording my cherished reminiscences of Singhiji. At the time of issuing this Memorial Volume it occurred to me that a Memorial Volume of this type should be published every year to commemorate the name of the late Singhīji in a fitting manner. Accordingly a special issue of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (containing important articles in English) was published as the *Bābu Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhī Memorial Volume.* Owing to unfavourable circumstances the idea of bringing out a Commemoration Volume of this type every year could not be given effect to, though I continued my efforts in this direction. In 1947 I undertook to publish in the present series two volumes of Prof. P. K. Gode's "*Studies in Indian Literary History,*" which present a rich collection of articles bearing on the history and chronology of literary works and their authors. Subsequently Prof. Gode discussed with me personally the plan of the two volumes, giving details of the articles to be included in them, but the difficulty of getting a suitable press fully equipped with the necessary types and paper still remained. Luckily for these volumes we found in Shri S. R. Sardesai, B.A., LL.B., the Manager of the Samarth Bharat Press, Poona, a willing co-operator in our task of getting these volumes printed carefully but the difficulty of getting the necessary supply of paper could not be got over immediately. After some months Shri Sardesai secured the necessary paper for the first volume and the printing work was

started in right earnest and completed by the end of 1950. Immediately thereafter the printing of the second volume was started by Shri Sardesai and it has been now brought to completion. I record here my best thanks to Shri Sardesai for his efficient and careful execution of the printing work of both these volumes.

The author of the present *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Prof. P. K. Gode, needs no introduction to the world of Indology. He was first introduced to me in 1919 by my most affectionate friend the late Dr. P. D. Gune, one of the chief founders of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and also its enthusiastic Secretary upto his sad demise in 1922. In April 1919 Prof. Gode joined the service of this Institute. I was then examining the rich Bombay Government Collection of Mss which was shifted from the Deccan College to the Institute in June 1918. This collection of Mss known as Government Mss, Library was put in the charge of Prof. Gode and I had day to day contact with him during the period of my stay in Poona. This contact gradually developed into indissoluble friendship not only on account of his unfailing courtesy and kindness in lending out Mss to me from the Mss Library in his special charge but mainly on account of the use made by Prof. Gode of the valuable manuscript material that surrounded him. During the last 37 years he has published no less than 445 original research papers (about 3500 pages). About half the number of these papers deal with literary history, i.e. the history and chronology of Sanskrit and Prakrit works and their authors; the other half deals with the history of Indian Culture. The encyclopaedic range of the subjects handled by Prof. Gode and the strictly scientific form and character of his published papers dealing with them have endowed them with a reference value. In fact Prof. Gode's brother-workers in the field of Indology like myself have been constantly asking him to bring out all his papers in a book-form with exhaustive Indices. As Prof. Gode has entirely dedicated his life to the service of Sarasvatī and as Śrī and Sarasvatī never go hand in hand it is beyond his means to publish his writings in a book-form. It is the duty of his rich friends and learned bodies to publish his studies in a book-form and thus help future research in the fields

of Indology touched by him. As a first step in this direction I undertook to publish the two volumes of Prof. Gode's papers not only to satisfy my own urge to help a brother-worker in the field of literature but also as an act of personal friendship. It is also my proud privilege to publish in a permanent form the results of research carried on by a pupil of my esteemed friend the late Dr. P. D. Gune. Prof. Gode joined the service of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the advice of his guru, Dr. Gune. He has been serving as the Curator of the Institute for the last 35 years and has utilised every moment of his leisure for the promotion of Oriental learning not only by his own splendid example but also by his editorial work on several journals and commemoration volumes published by him. So far as I know no Curator of Indian Research Institutes has been able to publish as many research papers as he has published on diverse subjects in the field of Indology. Prof. Gode is now running his 63rd year. I wish him long life and plenty of energy to continue his service to Sarasvatī with single-minded devotion as hitherto. The Bhāratīya Vidyā now requires a large number of workers of the type of Prof. Gode and I confidently hope that his example will not fail to inspire the younger generation of scholars in a free India, with its rich heritage of literature and culture and a brilliant future now provided by a counry-wide interest in the glory that was Ind.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
Poona 4,
Vijayā-Daśamī,
17th October 1953.

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

— CONTENTS —

PAGE

INTRODUCTION

In his Foreword to the third Edition of the *Bibliography*[1] of my Published Writings my esteemed friend Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar observed as follows :—"Every library and institution interested in Indic Studies, and every scholar that can afford the price, will require a set of the published papers. Every student who has gained some light and guidance in his own special field from some paper or papers of Prof. Gode will, therefore, one feels assured, join in the *prayerful hope* that before a scholarly life of such remarkable fecundity reaches its sixtieth year, the next edition of this Bibliography will be replaced by the contents sections of a collection of Prof. Gode's research publications and reviews, representing the achievement of over thirty years of a life dedicated to the discovery and propagation of historical truth."

This prayerful hope of my learned friend was not expressed in vain. In the rainy season of 1946 I had the good fortune of meeting after many years my old friend Ācārya Muni Jinavijayaji, when he stayed for a few days in the Nizam Guest House of the B. O. R. Institute. I entered the service of the Institute on 26th April 1919. At this time the Government Manuscripts Library containing about 20,000 manuscripts was given in my special charge and Muniji, who was then staying in the Bharata Jain Vidyalaya near the Institute, was engaged day and night in studying the Jain manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library and preparing a Descriptive Catalogue of them and planning critical editions of Jain texts, many of which have been published in subsequent years. It was at this time that the bonds of friendship between myself and Muniji were forged for the first time and strengthened in later years even though Muniji left Poona and continued his studies outside Poona. During his stay in Poona referred to above I had occasion to ascertain Muniji's deep interest in all my writings pertaining to Indian literary history and the history of Indian culture and allied topics. In one of our talks he expressed his great appreciation of all my writings published in numerous Oriental

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1. *Thirty Years of Historical Research* or *Bibliography of the Published Writings* of *P. K. Gode* (1916-1946), Poona, 1947, Page iii of *Foreword*. The first Edition of this *Bibliography* was published in 1939 and the Second Edition of this Bibliography dedicated to my revered guru the late Dr. P. D. Gune, was brought out in 1941 with a Foreword by my venerable friend Principal J. R. Gharpure.

Journals since 1919 and desired that I should publish them in a book-form. In response to this desire I estimated the extent of my published writings and the probable cost of publishing them. According to my estimate the total extent of my writings came up to about 2500 printed pages, which if published in a book-form would cost about Rs. 25000, a sum which no Indian scholar of moderate means can afford to spend on his writings. Without getting perturbed at the estimated cost of publishing my writings in a book-form, Muniji spontaneously offered in a spirit of brotherhood to publish two volumes of my studies in literary history, each volume consisting of about 500 pages. I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude to Muniji for this act of brotherhood prompted solely by his disinterested love of learning and catholicity of literary interests, characteristic of all true devotees of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, worshipped alike in this Bhāratavarṣa from remote antiquity up to the present day by all our countrymen, Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist.

As the Director and General Editor of the *Singhi Jain Series* Muni Jinavijayaji has maintained a broad outlook in the selection of works to be published in this series. This outlook has been doing yeoman's service to the cause of the Bhāratīya Vidyā, for the promotion of which Muniji agreed to work as the Director of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, founded by his eminent friend Śrī K. M. Munshi ten years ago. In the conduct of my own studies during the last 33 years I have also maintained a broad outlook in the selection of problems for historical investigation as will be seen from the contents of my *Bibliography* referred to above. "Bhāratīya Vidyā" in the broadest sense of the term includes studies pertaining to Indian literature, Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist. Though the Brahmanical studies have been my main concern I have not excluded the field of Jain literature and history from my investigations as the two fields are intermingled. I could not carry out any studies pertaining to the Buddhist literature for want of Buddhist Manuscripts in our Manuscripts Library, which contains, however, about 4000 manuscripts pertaining to the Jain field, a source of inspiration to me as it is rich in chronological data, which are the very back-bone of all historical research worth the name. Some of my studies in Jain literary history included in the present volume will amply bear out the truth of my statement.

An accurate and encyclopaedic history of Sanskrit literature cannot be written unless all the known sources of such a history represented by the wealth of manuscript material in our manuscript collections, private or public, have been fully exploited by genera-

tions of diligent research workers dedicating their lives to this academic work of national importance. I developed this view thirty years ago and applied myself seriously to the study of the history and chronology of Sanskrit works as far as it could be reconstructed on documentary evidence of published and unpublished literary sources. Wrong chronology produces wrong history and want of chronology produces no history worth the name. In my studies I have all along endeavoured to fix the limits for the chronology of each author and his works, known or unknown, studied by me so that the work of the historian may become easy and dependable for further research in the field. My approach to the problems handled by me has been strictly realistic as I have explained in a special article "*Indian Chronology : A Plea for Realism*" published in the *Aryan Path* (June 1945, pages 201-206). In all my papers I have tried to record detailed references to the books and manuscripts used by me so that future workers may examine my evidence and satisfy themselves about the validity of my conclusions as limited by the evidence at my disposal. In short my papers provide an index-finger to the varied sources of historical research that still await exploitation and critical investigation. Only when the history and chronology of all known texts have been determined we shall be in a position to use them for the reconstruction of Indian literary or cultural history. For the history of Indian linguistics also the study of Indian literary chronology is of paramount importance. I strongly hope that my studies in literary and cultural history of India would be of some use for the *Sanskrit Dictionary* on historical principles which has been projected by my learned friend and colleague, Dr. S. M. Katre, the Director of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, and work on which has been proceeding apace through a special Sanskrit Dictionary Department working under his guidance and supervision.

The method of historical research adopted by me is patent to every one who has cared to carry on historical investigation in any field of knowledge. It is, however, necessary to say a few words about the specific technique of this method which has been responsible for the type of studies incorporated in the present volume. To me all old manuscripts, documents, printed books, not to say other sources of history, are worthy of reverence and careful preservation. In fact they are the very life-blood of all historical research. Catalogues of all these sources of history in general and Descriptive Catalogues in particular provide us an important tool of research as they are a view-finder through which one can have a glimpse of the vast and varied source-material for research in different collections of manuscripts, books etc. avail-

able throughout the world. It is the duty of every genuine research-worker in the field of Indian literary and cultural history to squeeze out this source material again and again for enriching our scanty knowledge of the specific fields of this history. In an ideal history of literature the chronology of every author and his literary production ought to be represented definitely or at least within narrow limits. If we cast a glance at the entries about works and authors in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* we find that with the exception of a few entries for which some chronology is available the whole catalogue looks like a big sign of interrogation in time and space. This sign of interrogation will be enlarged when the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*[1] is published by the University of Madras. As inheritors of the immense wealth of literary heritage, which would be briefly indicated in this great catalogue we would be failing in our duty towards this treasure of knowledge if we do not make an organised effort to reduce this sign of interrogation if not remove it altogether in the years to come. At any rate I have spent the best energy of my life during the last thirty years of my service at the B. O. R. Institute in contributing my mite towards such an organised effort. All my studies in the field of literary history have been designed as stepping stones to a monumental history of Indian literature, Jain, Brahmanical and Buddhist, when it comes to be written with the help of well chiselled bricks of historical facts and the durable cement of definite chronology gathered year after year by an indefatigable band of literary masons working in unison without a break.

There is nothing inherently enchanting in the dead bones of the sources of history but they become enchanting to an investigator of historical truth when he realizes the bearing of the contents of these sources on the problems under his investigation. In fact it is the spirit of investigation that makes these dead bones alive and speak for or against a thesis which the investigator wants to prove. Though no investigator can be a "monster of omniscience", he should at least try to get acquainted with the contents of all known sources of his investigation, published or unpublished.

1. Work on this Catalogue is being done by Dr. V. Raghavan for the last fifteen years. When completed this Catalogue would provide a first-rate tool for research in Indian Literary History. The first Volume of this Catalogue containing entries for the letter A-अ has just been published. It fully justifies my expectations about its high standard of scholarship and usefulness as I have pointed out in detail in my review of this volume in the *Hindu* of Madras for 18-12-1949.

Without such acquaintance he cannot evaluate any new source when it comes to light accidentally or through the efforts of brother-investigators. The wider and the deeper the acquaintance of an investigator with the known sources, the larger is the number of problems that crop up for his investigation. He alone is a " Complete Angler " in historical research who sits patiently on the shores of antiquity by casting a close and comprehensive net of knotty problems and catches daily some new facts bearing on the solution of these problems. Though I am not a " Complete Angler " I have practised such angling on the shores of Indian antiquity commensurate with the scanty leisure at my disposal. I have under investigation innumerable problems and have maintained separate " Problem files " for them. Facts bearing on these problems, as soon as they are discovered, are noted on separate sheets with indication of their chronology and inserted in these files. When a sufficient number of analogous facts clarifying a problem is gathered in course of time these facts are released in the form of an article. Sometimes it takes years before a problem is clarified or completely solved; but if an investigator toils diligently year after year he is sure to be rewarded for his toil by a decent number of original research papers every year as will be seen not only from my *Bibliography* but from those of other savants[1] in the world. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* rightly emphasises the need, value and fruitful character of *abhyāsa* or study in the following lines :—

" भाग्यानि यान्ति वैफल्यं नाभ्यासस्तु कदाचन "

(*Yogavāsiṣṭha, Nirvāṇaprakaraṇa,*
Sarga 67, Verse 32).

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1. *The Bibliography* (95 pages) of one of these savants, William Healey Dall (1845–1927) published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1946, records no less than 1607 publications of this great American Scientist whose remarks about an ideal seeker of the truth are forcefully applicable to any ideal research worker in the field of Indology as well. These remarks made in 1888 and quoted on the first page of the above *Bibliography* are as follows :—

......" Naturalists are born and not made; that the sacred fire cannot be extinguished by poverty nor lighted from a college taper. That the men whose work is now classical and whose devotion it is our privilege to honour owed less to education in any sense than they did to *self-denial, steadfastness, energy, a passion for seeking out the truth* and *an innate love of nature.* These are the qualities which enabled them to gather fruit of the tree of knowledge."

" Fortunes may become fruitless but never so *study* "

" येनाऽभ्यासः परित्यक्तः इष्टे वस्तुनि सोऽधमः "

(Ibid, verse 34)

" He is the meanest wretch, who abandons the pursuit of his ideal." *Abhyāsa* is defined as " repeated application " :—

" पौनःपुन्येन करणमभ्यास इति कथ्यते । "

These remarks[1] of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* will not fail to carry their message to all genuine students of all times and climes. At any rate I have realized their full significance in my post-graduate research work for the last thiry-three years of my life.[2]

The articles included in the present volume were originally published in different Oriental Journals and other publications at different times. I have indicated at the commencement of each article in a footnote the exact title of the publication in which the article was originally published together with such details as would facilitate a reference to the original article. In the arrangement of articles in the volume I have generally followed the chronological order. It was, however, found impossible to give a definite chronologial order for the entire matter included in the volume owing to certain authors and their works being fixed up only within broad limits of chronology, which may be narrowed down by subsequent students of the problems handled by me. The idea of the arrangement of these articles subjectwise had also to be given up owing to the overlapping character of the material in many of the

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1. See the *Yogavāsiṣṭhadarśana*, edited by B. L. Atreya, Benares, 1935, pp. 80-81 (अभ्यासप्रशंसा). The Sun of *abhyāsa* (*abhyāsa-bhāskara*) illumines the world :—

" सर्वस्य जन्तुजातस्य सर्ववस्त्ववभासने ।
सर्वदैवैक एवोच्चैर्जयत्यभ्यासभास्करः ॥ ७ ॥
दृढाभ्यासाभिधानेन यत्ननाम्ना स्वकर्मणा ।
निजवेदनजेनैव सिद्धिर्भवति नान्यथा ॥ ८ ॥ "

2. I had an occasion to point out the remarks of the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* on *abhyāsa* to the audience at a function in my honour held on 18th May, 1949 at the B. O. R. Institute with M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane in the chair. Though no students in the audience approached me to learn the details of these remarks, some professors approached me next day and took down the exact verses from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* quoted by me at the function.

articles. Some of the authors have written works on different subjects and consequently my articles dealing with these authors and their works could not be classified subjectwise. My only object in bringing out my scattered articles in a book-form is to make them available to the research students who are handicapped in their studies for want of access to all Oriental journals in any single library. The present volume will be useful not only to such research students but also to me in my future work on account of the exhaustive Indices prepared by my learned friends Dr. A. D. Pusalker, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D. of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, and Principal N. A. Gore, M. A. of the Kanara College, Kumta. These Indices enhance the reference-value of the volume. I am deeply indebted to both these friends for their arduous labour of love, which is a token of their brotherly affection for me and disinterested devotion to Sarasvatī. The first of these Indices, a work of immense scholarly labour, was prepared by Dr. Pusalker in spite of his heavy work as Assistant Editor of the *History of India* projected by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, and sent to me punctually as soon as I completed the printing of my articles in the Volume. The second Index, no less scholarly and important, was prepared by Principal Gore in spite of all his literary work and administrative commitments, as Principal of a newly started college and sent to me just in time as soon as I completed the printing of Dr. Pusalker's Index. One rarely enjoys such self-less and dependable scholarly collaboration in one's literary endeavours.

In the Introduction to the *Bibliography* of my writings published in 1947 I have thanked all my friends and well-wishers, whose co-operation and blessings have encouraged me to carry on my researches in Indian literary and cultural history for over three decades. It remains for me to thank some of these friends who have directly helped me in the publication of the present volume. Among these friends I have to convey my cordial thanks to my esteemed friend and literary confrère, Dr. S. M. Katre, M. A., Ph. D., whose advice and co-operation not only in all our joint efforts for the promotion of Indology during the last sixteen years but also in my own research work I have fortunately enjoyed without a break. As far as possible I have followed his very useful suggestions with regard to the arrangement and publication of the papers included in the present volume. Special thanks are due to, Mr. S. N. Savadi, B. A. (Hons.), the senior assistant of the Manuscript Department and Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar, B. A., the Librarian of the B. O. R. Institute, for their willing co-operation in the

correction of some of the proofs, especially of the Indices to the Volume.

As Curator of the B. O. R. Institute for over 30 years I have enjoyed the privilege of the friendship and unstinted co-operation of all the past and present office-bearers and other members of the Institute. I take this opportunity of recording my most cordial thanks to all these friends, some of whom are unfortunately not living to-day to see the publication of this volume ! Among these departed friends I remember with gratitude and reverence my friend and guru the late Dr. P. D. Gune, M. A., Ph. D. (died 1922), who put me on the path to Indology, and the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D. (died 1943), the General Editor of the *Mahābhārata*, who was my friend and colleague for 17 years (1925-1943). Dr. Sukthankar's daily scholarly contact with me during this period gave the most vitalising stimulus and encouragement to my sustained literary endeavour of almost a quarter of a century.

Among friends from whom I have received considerable encouragement in all my work at the Institute I must gratefully mention Principal J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B. and Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D., who as Chairman of the Executive Board and Secretary of the Institute respectively for the last ten years have tried their best to promote its growth in spite of the difficulties created by the great world war. Thanks are also due to all the members of the staff, especially Mr. Y. R. Junnarkar (Assistant Curator), Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar (Librarian), and Messers G. S. Deshpande and G. B. Kulkarni, whose loyalty to the Institute and harmonious co-operation with me have facilitated all my administrative work as Curator of the Institute for more than 35 years. In 1935 the work of the preparation and publication of the several Volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt. Manuscripts Library was entrusted to me by the Executive Board. I started this work with the help of two assistants Dr. M. M. Patkar, B.A., Ph. D. and Mr. S. N. Savadi, B. A. (Hons.). In 1943 Dr. Patkar joined the Deccan College Research Institute and Mr. Savadi took his place as senior assistant in the Manuscript Department. I record my best thanks to these co-workers for their careful and conscientious work not only on the Descriptive Catalogue but in other matters connected with this Department.

The present volume of my studies happily inaugurates a new series of Memoirs called "*Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Series*" started in memory of the late Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi (1885-1944), the magnanimous and enlightened founder of the *Singhi Jain Series*, by his great friend Ācārya Muni Jinavijayaji. Two

volumes have already been published as commemoration volumes in memory of the late Shri Bahadur Singhji but this series of *Memoirs* has been commenced with the express purpose of commemorating his illustrious name permanently. This series of *Memoirs* will include all critical studies pertaining to Indian literature while the *Singhi Jain Series* will contain critical editions not only of texts pertaining to Jain literature but also those pertaining to Indian literature in general.

The *Singhi Jain Series* is the fruit of the pious liberality of Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi and commemorates the name of his revered father Babu Shri Dalchandji Singhi (1865-1927), who was a great patron of learning throughout his life. It is one of the declared aims of this Series to publish not only the critical editions of *texts* but also critical *Studies* by competent research scholars on all branches of Indian Literature, which are the glorious literary heritage of India. The volumes so far published in the *Singhi Jain Series* have already endeared themselves to Indologists all over the world. Literature knows no limitations of time and clime and I hope that the *Singhi Jain Series* of the critical editions of texts and the *Shri Bahadursingh Singhi Memoris* of critical studies inaugurated by this volume, will grow in content and world-wide literary prestige under the distinguished editorship of my esteemed friend Ācārya Muni Shri Jinavijayaji. The life-long services of Muniji to Indian literature and culture have been very great and they have been fittingly recognised by no less an academic body than the German Oriental Society, who have made him their *Honorary Member*. I take this opportunity of recording here my most hearty congratulations to Muniji upon this unique international honour conferred on him by this noblest body of the Orientalists' world and wish him long life and good health to continue his disinterested services to the Bhāratīya Vidyā.

Though Babu Bahadur Singhji Singhi, the noble and illustrious founder of the *Singhi Jain Series* is no more with us to continue his ceaseless efforts for furthering the cause of our ancient literature and culture, his two worthy sons, Babu Rajendra Singh Singhi and Babu Narendra Singh Singhi have been carrying out the pious wishes of their revered father in promoting this sacred cause. I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude and appreciation for their genuine love of learning and the spirit of benefaction, which have contributed in no small way to the distinguished progress of the *Singhi Jain Series*.

In conclusion I offer my sincere thanks to my friend Shri S. R. Sardesai, B. A., LL. B., the Manager of the Samartha Bhārat Press,

Poona, for his careful and expeditious printing of the present volume in spite of all difficulties through which all presses in India had to pass during the last five years. Since 1920 Shri Sardesai has been a life-worker of the *Samartha Vidyālaya*, of which I was a student in the year (1906-07) of its foundation by Prof. V. G. Vijapurkar. It is a happy coincidence that the *Samartha Bhārat Press* (conducted by the *Samartha Vidyālaya* of Talegaon near Poona) which printed the third edition of the *Bibliography* of my writings in 1947 should print in 1953 this first volume of my studies. My contact with Prof. Vijapurkar though short has left on my mind an indelible stamp of his self-sacrificing life, burning patriotism, deep learning and spotless character.

As my revered Guru the late Dr. Pandurang Damodar Gune initiated me into the study of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* and his great friend Ācārya Muni Śrī Jinavijayaji has initiated the publication of this first volume of my studies, I have taken the liberty of dedicating it to both these benefactors in partial redemption of the heavy debt of gratitude I owe to them.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research
Institute, Poona 4,
Vijayā-Daśamī
17th October 1953.

P. K. Gode.

TO

My Guru
The Late Lamented
Dr. Pandurang Damodar Gune
(1884-1922)

AND

My Esteemed Friend
Ācārya
Śrī Jina Vijaya Muni

1. References to the Caitragaccha in Inscriptions and Literature*

A separate study of the different Jaina Schools or *Gacchas*[1] in an exhaustive manner based on all epigraphic, literary and other sources will prove extremely useful to the students of Jaina

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* Originally published in *Jaina Antiquary*, 1914, Vol. VII, pp.1-14.

1. Mr. C. D. Dalal's *Cata. of Jesalmere MSS*, Baroda, 1923, p. 98 mentions the following *Gacchas* and *gaṇas* etc.—उपकेशगच्छ, औष्टिकमत, काष्ठासङ्घ, कासहर्दीयगच्छ, कृष्णर्षीयगच्छ, कोडिय (काटिक) गण, खरतरगच्छ, खरतरविधिपक्ष, खरतरवेगडगच्छ, बृहत्खरतरगच्छ, चन्द्रकुल, चन्द्रगच्छ, चाद्रकुल, चैत्य-वासि, जाल्योधरगच्छ, तपागण, थारापद्रपुरीयगच्छ, देवानन्दगच्छ, पाडिच्छयगच्छ, पुष्कर-गण, पूर्णतल्लगच्छ, पूर्णिमापक्षप्रथमशाखा, बृहद्गच्छ, ब्रह्माणगच्छ, माथुरान्वय, यशोभद्रसूरि-गच्छ, रुद्रपल्लीयगच्छ, वइर (वज्र) शाखा, वसतिमार्ग, विधिपथ, विधिमार्ग, विधिपक्ष, विद्याधरवंश।

The *Praśasti Saṁgraha* by A. M. Shah, Ahmedabad, 1937, *Part I* (Index p. 4) records the following *Gacchas* etc. :—उपकेशगच्छ, कारंटगच्छ, कृष्णराजर्षिगच्छ, घोषपुरीयगच्छ, चंद्रकुल, तपोगण, तपगच्छ, तपा, पूर्णिमापक्ष, राजगच्छ, वृद्धगच्छगण, संडेरगच्छ,—*Part II* (Index p 20) records the following *Gacchas* etc. ;—आगमगच्छ, अंचळगच्छ, उपकेशगच्छ, कासहृदगच्छ, कोरटावालगच्छ, कोरंटगच्छ, काष्ठासंघ मथुरान्वय पुष्करगण, कच्छोलीवालगच्छ, खरतरगच्छ, खरतर, चंद्र गच्छ, **चैत्रगच्छ**, जीराऊलगच्छ, तपागच्छ, तपागण, द्विवंदणिकगच्छ, द्विवेदणीकपक्ष, धर्मघोष-गच्छ, नागेन्द्रगण, नदितटगच्छ, नाणावालगच्छ, पूर्णिमापक्ष, पिष्फळगच्छ, पीपलीयाशाळा, ब्राह्मणगच्छीय, बृहद्गच्छ, बृहद्ब्रह्माणीयागच्छ, भीमपल्लीयपूर्णिमापक्ष, भाडरगच्छ, मबागच्छ, मलधारगच्छ, रुद्रपल्लीयगच्छ, वृद्धतपागच्छ, विधिपक्षगच्छ, सुधर्मगच्छ, हारीजगच्छ।

The *Kharatara Gaccha Paṭṭāvali Saṁgraha* by Muni Jinavijaya, Calcutta, 1932 (Index) mentions the following Gacchas etc. :—आचार्यगच्छ खरतर शाखा (आचार्यीय गच्छ), आद्यपक्षीय गण, आंचलिकमत, कूर्चपुरगच्छ, कोटिक (गच्छ, गण), कोमल्य गच्छ, चन्द्रगच्छ, चन्द्रकुल, चित्रवाल गच्छ, तपा(गण, गच्छ) दुबलिकापक्ष, नागेन्द्र (—गच्छ-कुल), निर्वृत्ति (गच्छ-कुल), पिप्पलक खरतरगच्छ शाखा, पोपलिया गण (गच्छ), पुनर्नवगच्छ, भावहर्षीय खरतरशाखा, मधुकर खरतरशाखा, रंग-विजय खरतरशाखा, राजगच्छ, रुद्रपल्लीय खरतरशाखा, रुंदलिया गण, लघु आचार्यीय खरतरशाखा, लघु खरतरगच्छ (गण,-शाखा), लघु भट्टारक खरतरशाखा, सुविहित खरतर-गच्छ, सुविहितपक्षगच्छ.

Bühler's *Life of Hemacandra* (Eng. Trans. by M. Patel) 1936, mentions the following Gacchas:— चंद्रगच्छ, कोटिकगण, पूर्णचन्द्रगच्छ.

A Kannaḍa inscription on a pillar at Patasivaram (Anantapur Dist. South India) dated 24th February 1185, mentions **पुस्तकगच्छ**, देशिगण and मूलसंघ to which belonged पद्मप्रभ मलधारिदेव, disciple of Vīraṇandi-Siddhānta- Chakravartideva (*Vide* p. 299 of *Madras Presi.*

literature, philosophy and religion as it will give us a skeleton outline of the history of Jaina Schools and the several ācāryas that were associated with them. This is, however, a subject to be tackled by students interested in the history of Jaina literature and religion. In the absence of any encyclopaedic work dealing with the various Jaina Schools and their historical development it would be useful to collect and record data pertaining to the several schools separately to facilitate a closer study of them, as also to enable us to understand the interrelations of these schools through changing vicissitudes of political and religious history of India.

In the present paper I shall confine myself to one Gaccha *viz.* the *Caitragaccha* of Chitor in Rajputana and shall record a few references to it in inscriptions and literature.

(1) The *Praśasti Saṁgraha*[1] records the following colophon of a MS of the *Meghadūta* in a Bhandar at Pātan :—

"संवत् १६०४ [2] वेंषे वैशाख सुदि २ भूमवासरे श्रींचैत्रगच्छे भ० श्री० ६ नयकीर्तिसूरि सूरीन्द्रान् ॥ तत् शिष्य मु० विनयकीर्तिलिखितं स्ववाचनाय, चित्रांगद[3] दुर्गमध्ये ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्री ॥"

The above colophon of A.D. 1547 gives us the names of two Jainas *viz.*, (1) *Nayakīrti*[4] and (2) *Vinayakīrti* associated with the

(*Continued from previous page*)
Kannaḍa Inscriptions, ed. by Shamasastry and Lakshminarayan Rao, 1939—Ins. No. 278). *Vide* also p. 400 of the above volume, where an inscription of A. D. 1297 records the gift of some land to विनयचन्द्रदेव, disciple of नेमिचंद्र राबुळ of the पुस्तकगच्छ, देशीगण and मूलसंघ. On p. 89 again we have inscription No. 115 dated A. D. 1054 which mentions a Jain teacher belonging to मूलसंघ, देशीगग and पोत्तगगच्छ.

1. Ed. by A. M. Shah, Part II, p. 102.
2. This MS was copied in *April 1547*.
3. In the Chitor Stone inscription of *A. D. 1287* engraved on a pillar about a mile or so from Chitor in the reign of Samara-Siṁha a grant is made to the temple of Vaidyanātha built on a tank called *Citrāṅga* (mod. Chitrang Moris tank at *Citrakūṭa* (*Vide* H. C. Ray : *Dynastic History of Northern India II*, p. 1194). In a MS copied in in Saṁvat 1597 (= A. D. 1541) *i.e.* six years earlier than the Meghadūta MS of *A. D. 1547* we find the mention of *Citrakūṭa durga*" in the reign of "*Rājādhirāja Śrī Vaṇavīra*" and the *Gaccha* existing at Chitor is styled as "*Añcala Gaccha.*"
4. The *Jain Granthāvali* does not mention any author of the name *Nayakīrti*. Winternitz (*His. of Ind. Lit.* II, Calcutta, 1933) & S. Vidyabhusana (*Ind. Logic*, 1921) make no reference to any author of this name in their Chapters on "Jaina Literature" (pp. 424—595) and "Jain Logic" (pp. 158—224) respectively.

Caitragaccha in the Chitor fort. The *Paṭṭāvali* No. 1 of the *Kharatara Gaccha* contains the following dated reference to *Citrakūṭa* or Chitor :—

Death of Jinavallabhasūri at *Citrakūṭa* in Saṁvat 1168 (= A.D. 1112).[1]

If the above date of the death of Jinavallabhasūri at Citrakūṭa is correct it shows the association of the *Kharataragaccha* with Chitor at the beginning of the 12th Century but it does not help us to know the history of the *Caitragaccha* mentioned in the *Meghadūta* MS referred to above.

Kṣemakīrti, pupil of Vijayendu and belonging to Candrakula composed his commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra* in *Saṁvat* 1332 *i. e.* A. D. 1276. At the end of his commentary he possibly refers to the genesis of the *Caitragaccha* in the following *verses* :—

"श्रीजैनशासन-नभस्तल-तिग्मरश्मिः
श्री सद्म-चांद्रकुल-पद्मविकाशकारी ।
स्वज्योतिरावृतादिगंबरडंबरोऽभूत्
श्रीमान् धनेश्वरगुरुः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां ॥ ७ ॥

1. Vide *Kharatara Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī Saṁgraha*, 1932, p. 10
"६. श्री जिनवल्लभसूरिः......संवत् ११६८ चित्रकूट स्वर्गप्राप्तिः"

Other references are as follows :—

Page 4—" दुर्गे श्रीचित्रकूटे ग्रहरसशशभृच्चन्द्रसंख्ये हि वर्षे । etc."

Page 24—" पुनरेकदा श्री जिनदत्तसूरिश्चित्रकूटदेवगृहे वज्रस्तंभस्थितं नानामंत्राम्नायमयं पुस्तकं मंत्रबलेन प्रकटीकृत्य गृहीतवान् "

Page 32—"श्री जिनभद्रसूरिः........अनया रीत्या एकदा चित्रकूटे समागताः"

Jinabhadra died in Saṁvat 1514 (A. D. 1458)

Page 46—"संवत् ११६७ वर्षे आषाढवदि ६ दिने पट्टे स्थापना श्रीदेवभद्रसूरिणा कृता श्रीचित्रकूटे etc."

Page 53—"ततः श्री जिनेश्वरसूरिभिश्चित्रकूटे चिंतामणिपार्श्वनाथप्रासादे भांडागारे पुस्तकं निर्वास्य प्रदत्तं । क्रमेण आगतं पत्तने । महोत्सवेन आनीतं । श्री कुमारपालाद्याः सप्तशतमनुष्याः सश्रीकाः अन्येपि बहवो जनाः शालायां स्थिता संति । दृष्टं पुस्तकं हेमाचार्येण etc."

Page 55—"श्री जिनवर्धनसूरयः । तैः श्रीजेसलमेरौ पार्श्वनाथचैत्यमध्ये गंभारकात् क्षेत्रपालो निर्वासितः । तेन कुपितेन प्रतिज्ञा कृता अहं त्वां गच्छान्निर्वासयामि । रात्रौ स्त्रीरूपेण समागच्छति ततश्चित्रकूटे गताः etc."

श्रीमच्चैत्रपुरैकमंडनमहावीरप्रतिष्ठाकृत-
स्तस्माच्चित्रपुरप्रबोधतरणेः श्रीचैत्रगच्छोऽजनि'[1] ।
तत्र श्री भुवनेंद्रसूरिसुगुरुर्भूभूषणं भासुर-
ज्योतिः सद्गुण-रत्न-रोहणगिरिः कालक्रमेणाभवत् ॥ ८ ॥"

The above *verses* tell as that one Dhaneśvaraguru was the originator or founder of the *Caitragaccha* (तस्मात्......श्रीचैत्रगच्छोऽजनि). This guru is styled as "चित्रपुरप्रबोधतरणेः" *i. e.* "the Sun for the awakening of Citrapura" obviously on account of his spiritual

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1. This *Caitragaccha* referred to in A. D. 1276 by Kṣemakīrti is not found in the following 84 Gacchas of the Jainas, which originated with the pupils of a Jaina high priest named *Udyotana* who flourished about the *middle of the 10th* century.

These *Eighty-four Gacchas* as given on pp. 78—79 of Bühler's *The Indian Sect of the Jainas* edited by J. Burgess, London, 1903, are :—

(1) Vaḍa, (2) Osvāla, (3) Añcala, (4) Jīravala, (5) Khaḍatara or Kharatara, (6) Lonkā or Ricmati, (7) Tapā, (8) Gaṅgeśvara, (9) Korantavāla, (10) Ānandapura, (11) Bharavatī, (12) .Uḍhavīyā, (13) Gudāvā, (14) Dekāupā or Dekāvā, (15) Bhinmālā, (16) Mahuḍīyā, (17) Gacchapāla, (18) Gośavala, (19) Magatragagadā, (20) Vṛhmānīyā, (21) Tātārā, (22) Vikaḍīyā, (23) Munjhīyā, (24) *Citroḍā*, (25) Sācorā, (26) Jacaṇḍīyā, (27) Sīdhālavā, (28) Mīyaṇṇīyā, (29) Āgamīyā, (30) Maladhārī, (31) Bhāvarīyā, (32) Palivāla, (33) Nāgadīgeśvara, (34) Dharmaghoṣa, (35) Nāgapurā, (36) Ucatavāla, (37) Naṇṇāvāla, (38) Saḍerā, (39) Maṇḍovarā, (40) Śūrāṇi, (41) Khambhāvatī, (42) Pāecaṁda, (43) Sopārīya, (44) Māṇalīyā, (45) Kocchīpanā, (46) Jāgaṁnā, (47) Lāparavāla, (48) Vosaradā, (49) Duivandanīyā, (50) Citrāvāla, (51) Vegaḍā, (52) Vāpaḍā, (53) Vījahāra, Vījharā, (54) Kāupurī, (55) Kācala, (56) Hāṁdalīya, (57) Mahukarā, (58) Putalīyā, (59) Kaṁnarīseyā, (60) Revardīyā, (61) Dhandhukā, (62) Thambhaṇipaṇā, (63) Paṁcīvala, (64) Pālaṇpurā, (65) Gaṁdhārīya, (66) Veliyā, (67) Sāḍhpunamīyā, (68) Nagarakoṭiyā, (69) Hāsorā, (70) Bhaṭanerā, (71) Jaṇaharā, (72) Jagāyana, (73) Bhīmasena, (74) Takaḍīyā, (75) Kaṁboja, (76) Senatā, (77) Vagherā, (78) Vaheḍīyā, (79) Siddhapura, (80) Ghogharī, (81) Nāgamiyā, (82) Punamīyā, (83) Varhadīyā, (84) Nāmīlā — Some of these names are common to Col. Miles's list (*Tr. R. A. S.* vol. III, pp. 358 f. 363, 365, 370) and H. C. Brigg's list—*Cities of Gujarashtra* p. 339. I wonder if Gaccha No. 24 (*Citroḍā*) in the above list has any connection with the *Caitragaccha* mentioned by Kṣemakīrti !

knowledge. *Citrapura*[1] mentioned by Kṣemakīrti appears to be identical with modern *Chitor*. If this identification is correct it is but in the fitness of things that such an illustrious Jainācārya should be the founder of the *Caitragaccha*, the existence of which in the latter part of the 13th century and its continuity to the middle of the 16th century is proved by inscriptional and literary sources.

1. Chitor is mentioned in historical references as चित्तौड, चित्रकूट, चैत्रकूट, (*Vide* Index to *Kharatara Gaccha Paṭṭāvali Saṁgraha*, p. 3) though I have not come across the name चित्रपुर as such for Chitor used in documents or elsewhere. The *Praśasti Saṁgraha* by A. M. Shah records the following names of Chitor :—

Part II—

P. 16 (*Pr. No. 54*) "चित्रकूटमहानगरे" in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1510 = *A. D. 1454*

P. 46 (Pr. 195) "चित्रकूटे पुरे" in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1547 = *A. D. 1491*

P. 82 (Pr. 285) " चित्रकूट " in a MS. dated *Saṁvat* 1573 = *A. D. 1517*

P. 97 (Pr. 352) " चित्रकूट " in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1597 = *A. D. 1541*

P. 94 (Pr. 216) " चित्रकूट महादुर्ग " in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1553 = *A. D. 1497*

P. 93 (Pr. 332) " चित्रकोट " in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1592 = *A. D. 1536*

P. 113 (Pr. 424) " चित्रकोट " in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1616 = *A. D. 1560*

P. 96 (Pr. 347) " चित्रकूट दुर्ग " in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1597 = *A. D. 1541*

P. 102 (Pr. 376) " चित्रांगद दुर्ग " in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1604 = *A. D. 1548.*

Part I, page 94 (Pr. *161*)—A MS of " निघंटुशेष " copied in Saṁvat 1280 = *A. D. 1224*. It contains an endorsement dated *Saṁvat* 1343 = *A. D. 1287* in which it is stated that one खेतसिंह resident of चित्रकूट purchased it.—The *Patan MSS. Catalogue* Vol. I (Baroda, 1937) contains the following references to Chitor :—Page 34—MS dated *Saṁvat* 1185 = (*A. D. 1129*) mentions हरिभद्रसूरि as resident of " चित्रकूटाचल " (कृतिः..............चित्रकूटाचलनिवासिनः श्रीहरिभद्रसूरेः) — P. 66 " चित्रकूटमहादुर्ग " mentioned in a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1314 = *A. D.* 1258,— P. 156 (चित्तउड = चित्रकूट).

The name Dhaneśvara Sūri is very commonly met with in the literature of the Jainas. It is, therefore, necessary to identify him if possible and for this purpose we shall have to note all the namesakes[1] of Dhaneśvara in dated sources, who flourished before A. D. 1276 the date of composition of Kṣemakīrti's commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra*.

The *Jesalmere Inscriptions* edited by P. C. Nahar contain the following references to the *Caitra Gaccha* :—

1. A MS of *Yogaśāstravṛtti* was copied for Dhaneśvara Sūri at Śri Pattana in *Saṁvat* 1255 (= A. D. 1199) Vide *Praśasti Saṁgraha* Part I, p. 82 (Pr. 130)—संवत् १२५५ वर्षे मार्ग शुदि १ रवौ ॥ अद्येह श्री पत्तन श्रीदेवाचार्यवसत्यां श्रीधनेश्वरसूरीणां हेतोर्द्वादशसहस्त्रयोगशास्त्रवृत्तिं परमश्रावकठक्कुरवर्ध-मानेन सुदर्शनग्रामवास्तव्य पारि० वांशलपार्श्वात् लिखापिता etc. Part II, p. 93—In a MS dated *Saṁvat* 1592 (= A. D. 1536) the *Sūris* of the नाणावाल गच्छ *viz.*, शांतिसूरि, सिद्धसेणसूरि, धनेसरसूरि etc., are mentioned. This Dhaneśvarasūri has no connection with our Dhaneśvara on account of the difference of chronology and the difference of the Gacchas.

One Dhaneśvarasūri of the नाणकीय गच्छ is mentioned in the Jesalmere Inscription No. 2230 dated *Saṁvat* 1329 (= A. D. 1273) but he is obviously a different person as he does not belong to the *Caitra Gaccha* (*Vide* p. 61 of *Jesalmere Inscriptions* III by P. C. Nahar, Calcutta, 1929). Two more namesakes of this Sūri are found in the same Gaccha in inscriptions dated Saṁvat 1476 (= A. D. 1420) and Saṁvat 1527 (= A. D. 1471) *vide* Inscription Nos. 2291 and 2348 in the above volume of *Jesalmere Inscriptions*. It would appear that Dhaneśvarasūri of the *Nānakīya Gaccha* living in A. D. 1273 was a contemporary of Kṣema-Kīrti who composed his commentary on the *Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra* in A. D. 1276 *i. e.* three years after the Jesalmere Inscription of A. D. 1273.

While dealing with Jain influence under the Paramāra Kings Dr. D. C. Gongoly (*Paramāra Dynasty* 1933, p. 250) states that "Dhaneśvara lived in Malwa during the reign of Muñja." This Dhaneśvara belonged to *Rāja Gaccha* (*Vide* p. iii of *Peterson's Fourth Report*). The last known date of Muñja or Vākpati II is A. D. 993-4 (*Vide* p. 80 of Parm. Dynasty).

Inscription Number.	Saṁvat year.	A. D.	Sūris mentioned in the Inscription
2229	1327	1271	Kanakaprabhasūri (in the line of Ajitasiṁha Sūri "श्री चैत्रगच्छे")
2416	1339	1283	Dharmadeva Sūri "श्री चैत्रगच्छीय"
2249	1381	1325	Dharmadeva Sūri "श्री चैत्रगच्छे"
2255	1388	1332	Āmadeva Sūri "चैत्रगच्छे"
2320	1503	1447	Malacandra Sūri "चित्रावलगच्छे"[1]

The Jesalmere inscriptions noted in the above statement bear further testimony to the continuity of the *Caitra Gaccha* between A. D. 1271 and A. D. 1447. We have already quoted the colophon of a *Meghadūta* MS of A. D. 1547 which carries further this continuity exactly by 100 years. With a view to having a thorough knowledge of the several sūris belonging to the *Caitra Gaccha* and their contribution to Jain and non-Jain literature and philosophy, it is necessary to record the names of these sūris as found in references to them in the entire Jain literature published and unpublished but this is a task which must be left to scholars who have specialized in the history of Jain religion and philosophy. I have, therefore, great pleasure in recording below the information about the *Caitra Gaccha* kindly sent to me by my friend Prof. A. N. Upadhye of Kolhapur :—

The *Caitra Gaccha* is also called *Citra* or *Citravāla Gaccha*. It is not so popular as *Kharatara* or *Tapā Gaccha*. From a book called "*Jaina Dhātu-pratimā Lekha Saṁgraha* by Buddhisāgara (Bombay, Saṁvat 1973), the following facts may be noted :—

Saṁvat year	A. D.	Reference to Caitra Gaccha (= C. G.)
1333	1277	Devānanda Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Śāntinātha.

1. Mr. P. C. Nahar in his Index to *Jesalmere Inscriptions*, III, p. 218 identifies चैत्रगच्छ with चित्रावलगच्छ as he makes the following entry :—" चैत्र [चित्रावल] गच्छ."

Saṁvat year	A. D.	Reference to Caitra Gaccha (= C. G.)
1339	1283	Vardhamāna Sūri of C. G. installed an image found at Chaveli.
1388	1332	Hari Candra Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Śāntinātha, now at Kolwad.
1396	1340	Mānadeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Pārśvanātha, now at Ahmedabad.
1400	1344	Rājadeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image, now at Ahmedabad.
1405	1349	Dharmadeva Sūri of C. C. installed an image of Ādinātha.
1417	1361	Mānadeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Ādinātha.
1474	1418	Malaya Candra Sūri, the disciple of Pārśvacandra of the C. G. installed an image of Ādinātha, now at Ahmedabad.
1451	1395	Pāsadeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image, now at Uñjhā.
1457	1401	Pāsadeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image, now at Ahmedabad.
1484	1428	Jinadatta Sūri of C. G. installed a plate of 24 Jinas, now at Visanagar.
1507	1451	Munitilaka Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Śantinātha.
1507	1451	Lakṣmīdeva of C. G. installed an image of Vimala, now at Ahmedabad.
1512	1456	Munitilaka of C. G. installed an image of Śītalanātha, now at Ahmedabad.
1512	1456	Ratnadeva Sūri, the disciple of Jinadeva Sūri, belonging to the line of Guṇadeva of C. G. installed an image of Vimalanātha, now at Visanagara.
1519	1463	Śrī Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Sambhavanātha, now at Ahmedabad.

Saṁvat year.	A. D.	Reference to Caitra Gaccha (= C. G.)
1520	1464	Lakṣmīsāgara, the pupil of Malayacandra of C.G. installed an image of Śāntinātha, now at Koṣa.
1521	1465	Lakṣmīsāgara of C. G. installed an image of Pārśvanātha.
1522	1466	Lakṣmīsāgara Sūri, the pupil of Malayacandra of C. G. installed an image of Vāsūpūjya which is found at Dabhoi.
1527	1471	Jñānadeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Neminātha at Dholera.
1537	1481	Cārucandra Sūri, the Pupil of Somakīrti of C. G. installed an image of Dharmanātha
1547	1491	Lakṣmīsāgara Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Śryāṁsa, now at Ahmedabad.
1554	1498	Somadeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Neminātha.
1559	1503	Ratnadeva Sūri, of the line of Guṇadeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image, now at Uñjhā.
1579	1523	Pāsadeva Sūri, Pupil of Vīradeva Sūri of C. G. installed an image of Sambhavanātha.

If we now sum up the data recorded above on the antiquity of the *Caitra Gaccha* it provides us the following chronological conspectus based on epigraphic and literary sources:—

Chronology	Source
A. D. 1271—1447	*Jesalmere Inscriptions*
,, 1277—1523	*Jaina Dhātu Pratimā Lekhasaṁgraha*
,, 1276	Kṣemakīrti's Commentary on *Bṛhatkalpasūtra*
,, 1547	Pāṭaṇ MS of the *Meghadūta*

The dates recorded in the above conspectus show an unbroken continuity of the Caitra Gaccha for about 276 years between the years A. D. 1271 and 1547. We have also seen that various Jainācāryas were associated with the Caitra Gaccha during this period and it should be a matter for investigation how and to what extent they advanced the cause of Jain religion, literature and philosophy.

The text of the earliest inscription[1] of A. D. 1271 containing the reference to the Caitra Gaccha reads as follows :—

"संवत् १३२७ वर्षे फागुण सुदि १२ हरिचंद्रपुत्र जठासीह भगिणि मोहिणि आत्मश्रेयोर्थं बिंबं कारितं ॥ प्रतिष्ठितं श्रीचैत्रगच्छे श्रीअजितसिंहसूरिसंताने श्रीकनक-प्रभसूरिभिः"

This text shows that *Kanakaprabhasūri* of the *Caitra Gaccha* in the line of *Ajitasiṁhasūri* was living in A. D. 1271.

It is now necessary for us to take the history of the *Caitra Gaccha* backward from A. D. 1271 and for this purpose the Chirava Inscription[2] of the time of Samarasiṁha of Mewar of Vikrama *Saṁvat 1330* (= A. D. 1273) is very much useful as it refers to the Jainācāryas of the *Caitra Gaccha* in the following verses[3] :—

1. P. C. Nahar : *Jesalmere Inscriptions*, p. 60, Inscrip. No. 2229.

2. Edited by R. R. Haldar in *Epi. Indica*, (*XXII*, October 1934) published in 1938, page 285 ff. This inscription was first edited in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, *XXI*, pp. 155 ff. but it is re-edited historically by Mr. Haldar. Exact date of the inscription is Friday-13th October 1273.

3. Mr. Haldar gives us the following English summary of these verses :—Page 286— "Then follows the description of the Jain *Āchāryas*, who flourished at that place (Chitor). Verse 44 says that there was at the head of the Pāśupata Sect Śivārāśi who possessed many good qualities and worshipped the God Ekaliṅga. After him *Bhadreśvarasūri* of the *Caitra Gaccha*, *Devabhadra sūri*, *Siddhasena-sūri*, *Jineśvarasūri*,his pupil *Vijayasiṁhasūri*, *Bhuvanacandrasūri*, his pupil *Ratnaprabhasūri*, then living, followed in succession (Vv.45—47). The last named was highly honoured by *Viśvaladeva* and *Tejaḥsiṁha* and composed this *praśasti* at Chitor (V. 48). The name of the writer of this record is given as *Pārśvacandra*, who was the pupil of *Ratna-prabhasūri*, while that of the engraver *Kelisiṁha*, son of *Padmasiṁha*. *Delhaṇa* was the artisan who did other things connected with it. (Vv. 49-50)."

"श्री चैत्रगच्छगगने तारकबुधकविकलावतां निलये ।
श्रीभद्रेश्वरसूरिर्गुरुरुदगाच्छिष्कवर्णांगः ॥ ४५ ॥

श्रीदेवभद्रसूरिस्तदनु श्रीसिद्धसेनसूरिरथ ।
अजनि जिनेश्वरसूरिस्तच्छिष्यो विजयसिंहसूरिश्च ॥ ४६ ॥

श्रीभुवनचंद्रसूरिस्तत्पट्टेभूदभूतदंभमलः
श्रीरत्नप्रभसूरिस्तस्य विनेयोस्ति मुनिरत्नं ॥ ४७ ॥

श्रीमाद्विश्वलदेवश्रीतेजःसिंहराजकृतपूजः ।
स इमां प्रशस्तिमकरोदिह रुचिरां चित्रकूटस्थः ॥ ४८ ॥

शिष्योमुख्यालिख(न्म) रुच्यो वैदूष्येण विभूषितः ।
पार्श्वचन्द्र इमां विद्वद्वर्ण्यवर्णालिशालिनीं ॥ ४९ ॥

पद्मसिंहसुतः केलिसिंहो मूमुच्चकार च ।
स्थानेत्र देल्हणः शिल्पी कम्मांत [रम] कारयत् ॥ ५० ॥

यावद्विश्वसरस्यस्मिन्नस्ति रामश्रि पुष्करं ।
राजहंसयुतं तावत् प्रशस्तिर्नंदतादियं ॥ ५१ ॥
संवत् १३३० वर्षे कार्त्तिकशुदि प्रतिपद्दि शु [क्रे] [॥]"

The line of ācāryas as we find recorded in A. D. 1273 in the above *praśasti* composed by *Ratnaprabhasūri* and recorded by his pupil *Pārśvacandra* is as follows :—

(१) भद्रेश्वरसूरि (of चैत्रगच्छ)
|
(२) देवभद्रसूरि
|
(३) सिद्धसेनसूरि
|
(४) जिनेश्वरसूरि
|
(५) विजयसिंहसूरि
|
(६) भुवनचंद्रसूरि
|
(७) रत्नप्रभसूरि }
| } living in A. D. 1273
(८) पार्श्वचंद्र }

This line of *Bhadreśvarasūri* in the *Caitra Gaccha* existing in A. D. 1273 and represented by *Ratnaprabha* and his pupil *Pārśvacandra* appears to be different from the line of *Ajitasiṁha* of the same *Gaccha* mentioned in the inscription of A. D. 1271 and

represented by *Kanakaprabhasūri* then living. Evidently *Ratnaprabha* and *Kanakaprabha* were contemporary ācāryas of the same *Caitra Gaccha*.

The line of *Bhadreśvarasūri* of the *Caitra Gaccha* mentioned by *Ratnaprabha* in A. D. 1273 as having 6 ācāryas preceding him enables us to take the antiquity of the *Caitra Gaccha* to about 1100 A D. if not a little earlier, presuming that a generation of the teacher and his pupil represents about 25 years and presuming also that *Ratnaprabha's* list of his predecessors is accurately recorded. We must, however, search for definite historical evidence for studying the details of the lives of the 6 predecessors of *Ratnaprabha* (living in 1273 A. D.).

Ratnaprabha states that the Kings *Viśvaladeva* and *Tejaḥsiṁha* honoured him (v. 48 of the *praśasti*). Tejasiṁha belonged to the ruling line of the *Guhilaputras* of Medapāṭa or Mewar, a genealogical table of which has been recorded by Dr H.C. Ray.[1] As Tejasiṁha's dates are c. 1260—1267 A. D. and as he honoured Ratnaprabhasūri of the *Caitra Gaccha* we can presume that Ratnaprabha's influence at the Mewar Court was sustained say between A. D. 1260 and 1273. This conclusion is supported by a further inscription[2] found near Chitor which is dated *Saṁvat* 1322 *i.e.* A. D. 1265 and its *praśasti* which was composed by Ratnaprabha Sūri of the *Caitra Gaccha*. Another inscription[3], mentioning Hemacandra Sūri and others of the *Caitra Gaccha*, is the *Chitor Stone inscription* dated Saṁvat 1324 *i.e.* A. D. 1267. It is incised on a stone fixed on an arch of the bridge on the Gambhiri river near Chitor. This stone is said to have originally belonged to the temple of Mahāvīra at Talahati at the foot of the Chitrakūṭa hill.

Though the evidence of literature and inscriptions recorded in this short inquiry about the antiquity of the *Caitragaccha* takes us

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1. *Dynastic History*, II, pp. 1206—08—I quote below the dates given by Dr. Ray for the last four rulers of the Medapāṭa line of the Guhila-putras :—

Jaitrasiṁha (c. 1213—1256 A. D.)
Tejasiṁha (c. 1260—1267 A. D.)
Samarasiṁha (c. 1273—1301 A. D.)
Ratnasiṁha (c. 1302—1303 A. D.)

2. *Ibid*, *p. 1191*.—This epigraph is now in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. It was noticed in *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1927, p. 3. It was found in the village of Ghagsa near Chitor. It describes the family who built the well, where the inscription was originally found.

3. *Ibid*, Vide *Epi. Ind. XX*, Appendix p. 81, No. 570.

safely to about A. D. 1100, the Jain tradition[1] as based on the Paṭṭāvalis claims the existence of a Śākhā of Mūla Sangha (Digambar School) at Chitor right from 515 B. C. upto A. D. 1881. The Paṭṭāvalis no doubt provide good data for historical verification but they need to be linked up with epigraphic and other objective evidence for a reliable reconstruction of Jain chronology and history.

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1. Vide Appendix E (Chronological List of the Gaccha-heads) to the *Epitome of Jainism* by Puran Chand Nahar, Calcutta, 1917, p. lxxix--Mr. Nahar states that the *Nandi Sanga* (Chitor Śākhā) was founded by Meghanandin , disciple of Guptigupta or Arhadbali and is also known as *Sarasvatī Gaccha*, and Balātkāra Gaṇa. The list of Gaccha heads recorded by Mr. Nahar is based upon the Paṭṭāvali as published in the *Jaina Sidhānta Bhāskara* and by Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XX, pp. 341—361 and Vol. XXI pp. 51—84). The pontiffs of this Gaccha, adds Mr. Nahar, generally use the four surnames viz., *Nandin*, *Candra*, *Kīrti*, and *Bhūṣaṇa*. The table begins with Gautama the first Gaṇadhara or disciple of Mahāvīra, who is known as the founder of the Mūla-sangha by the Digambaris.

2. The Bhagavadgītā in the pre-Śaṁkarācārya Jain Sources*

In his recent paper[1] on the Kashmir recension *of the Bhagavadgītā* Dr. S. K. Belvalkar examines the views of Dr. F. Otto Schrader of Kiel to the effect that the text of the *Bhagavadgītā*, to which the *Gītābhāṣya* of Śaṁkarācārya gave currency (and consequently the *Gītābhāṣya* itself) was completely unknown in Kashmir upto 1000 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar also examines in detail Schrader's hypothesis about a Kashmir recension of the *Gītā*. In the course of this examination he observes :—" Once Schrader's thesis is accepted as proved, it raises the *possibility of other recensions of the poem being* current at different times in different parts of India."[2]

What different recensions of the *Bhagavadgītā*, if any, were current at different times in different parts of India, no one can say with any degree of certainty. In the same manner it would be hazardous to conclude the impossibility of different recensions simply because no evidence in their suppport, of an incontrovertible nature has yet been discovered and recorded. In the present unsettled state of this problem it would be useful to collect all possible data about the text of the *Gītā* as found recorded in the form of quotations in works prior in date to the *Gītābhāṣya* of Śrī Śaṁkarācārya with a view to seeing if as a cumulative effect of this data we can assert or deny the possibility of different recensions of the *Gītā* current at different times in different parts of India.

If the importance of pre-Śaṁkarācārya quotations from the *Gītā* occurring in Brahmanical or non-Brahmanical texts is recognized to possess some value for historical or textual criticism, an attempt will be made by interested scholars to record all such quotations as they are traced during the course of their studies. In the present paper I shall record some such quotations from a Jain source.[3]

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. I.), 1940, pp. 188-194.

1 *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, pp. 211 ff.

2 Ibid, p. 212.

3 Siddhasenagaṇi (*about 609 A. D.*—Vide p. 182 of *History of Indian Logic* by Vidyabhushan) records the following verses in Āryā metre in his comm. on Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* (p. 272 of *T. sūtra*, Part II (1930) ed. by H. R. Kapadia):—

Recently I had an occasion to peruse the works[1] of Haribhadrasūri. During the course of my perusal I came across some verses which looked like quotations from the *Gītā*. I, therefore, tried to read these works rather minutely with a view to tracing verses common to these works and the *Gītā*. The verses traced so far may be recorded in this paper to enable scholars to trace any more verses common to the *Gītā* and other works of Haribhadrasūri, not included in the pothī before me.

According to Muni Jinavijayaji[2] Haribhadra flourished in the *middle of the 8th century* A. D. Prof. Jacobi[3] accepts this date and the evidence on which it is based and observes that Muni Jinavijayaji "puts his case in the clearest light." Udyotana in his *Kuvalayamālā* completed on *21st March*, 779 A. D. mentions

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(*Continued from previous page*)

"देशे ततो विविक्ते समे शुचौ जन्तुविरहिते कल्पे ।
ऋज्वायम्य स देहं बद्ध्वा पल्यङ्कमचलाङ्गः ॥ २ ॥
वीरासनादि चासनमथसमपादादि वाचलं स्थानम् ।
यद् वाऽधिष्ठाय यतिः शयनं चोत्तानशयनादि ॥ ३ ॥
ज्ञेयमखिलं विविदिषन्नधितिष्ठासंश्च मोक्षविधिमखिलम् ।
संधाय स्मृतिमात्मनि किंचिदुपावर्त्य दृष्टिं स्वाम् ॥ ४ ॥
विषयेभ्य इन्द्रियाणि प्रत्यवहृत्य च मनस्तथा तेभ्यः ।
धारयति मनः स्वात्मनि योगं प्रणिधाय मोक्षाय ॥ ५ ॥"

This passage reminds us of the lines of the *Bhagavadgītā* such as—"विविक्तसेवी लघ्वाशी" (XVIII 52); "शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य ((VI, 11); "मुनिर्मोक्षपरायणः" (VI, 2·); "भ्रुवोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक्" (VIII, 10); "यदा संहरते चायं" (II, 58).

1. *Śrī-Haribhadrasūri-grantha-Saṁgraha* published by the Śrī Jaina Granthaprakāśaka Sabhā, Ahmedabad, 1939. The works included in this pothī are :—(1) योगदृष्टिसमुच्चय, (2) योगबिन्दु, (3) षोडशक, (4) शास्त्रवार्तासमुच्चय, (5) षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय, (6) द्वात्रिंशद्द्वात्रिंशिकाप्रकरण, (7) लोकतत्त्वनिर्णय, (8) धर्मबिन्दुप्रकरण, (9) हिंसाफलाष्टक, (10) सर्वज्ञसिद्धिस्वरूपं—Winternitz (*Indian Literature*, II, P. 480) states that hitherto 88 of Haribhadra's works have been found in MSS and 20 of these have been printed.

2. *Date of Haribhadrasūri* (Paper read at the First Oriental Conference, November 1919, Poona) published in Sanskrit in the *Jainasāhitya Saṁśodhaka Granthamālā*. P. 14—"खृष्टीयसप्तशतीतमाब्द (७००): वर्तिनं कुमारिलं हरिभद्रः स्मरति. हरिभद्रं पुनः—अष्टसप्तत्यधिकसप्तशतीतम (७७८) खृष्टाब्दवर्ती कुवलयमालाकथाकारो दाक्षिण्यचिन्हसूरिः। अतो हेतोः एतयोर्द्वयोरन्तराले काले-अर्थात् खृष्टीयाष्टमशताब्दी मध्यभागे—हरिभद्रो विद्यमानो भवेत् इति निःसंदेहमनुमीयते ।"

3. Vide *Intro.* to *Samarāicca Kahā* (*Bib. Ind.* No. 169) a Jaina Prākṛta work ed. by Dr. Hermann Jacobi, Vol. I. Intro. p. ii.

Haribhadra as his teacher in philosophy and praises him as the author of a great many books. Haribhadra quotes many authors, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina[1], among whom we find Bhartṛhari (the author of the *Vākyapadīya*) about 650 A. D. and Kumārila. Haribhadra also quotes several passages from the Cūrṇi of the *Nandisūtra* by Jinadāsagaṇi-mahattara (A. D. 677). On the other hand he does not quote Śaṁkarācārya or discuss his *māyāvāda*. The birth-place of Haribhadra was Citrakūṭa or the modern Chitor. He was a Brahman by caste. It was chiefly due to him that Sanskrit became the learned language of the Śvetāmbaras and replaced Prakrit in several departments of their literature. He shows perfect mastery in philosophical discussion conducted in Sanskrit side by side with his comprehensive knowledge of Jain Lore due to his conversion to Jainism.[2]

With the foregoing remarks about the chronological and biographical details about Haribhadrasūri it would be easy to understand the following verses found as part of Haribhadra's works, without mention of their source or without any indication to suggest that they are quotations from a Brahmanical work like the *Bhagavadgītā* :—

(1) Verse 76 of the *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* of Haribhadrasūri (folio 52 of the pothī Edition of 1939) reads as follows :—

"नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ।
उभयोरपि दृष्टोऽन्तस्त्वनयोस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥ ७६ ॥ "

This verse is exactly identical with *Gītā II, 16*. Haribhadra must have taken it from the *Gītā*. In Jacob's Concordance[3] no other

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1. Muni Jinavijaya mentions 30 authors:–अवधूताचार्य,आसुरिः,ईश्वरकृष्णः, कुमारिलः, पतञ्जलिर्भाष्यकारः, पतञ्जलिर्योगाचार्यः, पाणिनिर्वैयाकरणः, भगवद्गोपेन्द्रः,भर्तृहरिर्वैयाकरणः, विन्ध्यवासी, शिवधर्मोत्तरः, बौद्धाः, कुमाराचार्यः, दिवाकरः(?), दिङ्नागाचार्यः, धर्मपालः, धर्मकीर्तिः, धर्मोत्तरः, भदन्तः, भदन्तादिन्नः, वसुबन्धुः, शान्तिरक्षितः, शुभगुप्तः, जैनाः, अजितयशाः, उमास्वातिः, जिनभद्रक्षमाश्रमणः, देववाचकः, भद्रबाहुः, मल्लवादी, समन्तभद्रः, सिद्धसेनदिवाकरः.

2. Vide pp. vi–viii of Jacobi's *Intro.* (*Bib. Ind.* No. 169) 1926. In Farquhar's *Outline of Religious Literature* (1920) pp. 401, 214, 371, Haribhadra is assigned to the *date 9th Century A. D.* Farquhar (1920) could not make use of Jacobi's latest view re. the date of Haribhadra recorded in 1926.

3. *Concordance to Principal Upaniṣads* by Col. G. A. Jacob, Bombay, 1891, p. 88.

source is recorded for this verse except the *Gītā*.[1]

(2) Verse 53 (folio 99) of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* of Haribhadrasūri reads as follows ;—

"उर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।
छंदांसि यस्य पत्राणि यस्तं वेत्ति स वेदवित् ॥ ५३ ॥ "

This verse is identical with *Gītā, XV, 1*. Jacob's Concordance records no other source for this verse except *Gītā, XV, 1*.

Variants :—पत्राणि (H = Haribhadra) for पर्णानि (*G* = *Gītā*) ;
वेत्ति (H) for वेद (G).

(3) Verse 77 (folio 100) of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* reads :—

"द्वावेव पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरश्च सर्वभूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥ ७७ ॥"

This verse is identical with *Gītā, XV, 16*.

Variants :—" द्वावेव " (H) for " द्वाविमौ " (G)—1st line
and " च सर्वे " (H) for " सर्वाणि " (G)—2nd line.

(4) Verse 81 of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (folio 100) reads :—

"न कर्तृत्वं न कर्माणि लोकस्य सृजते प्रभुः ।
स्वकर्मफलसंयोगः स्वभावाद्धि प्रवर्तते ॥ ८१ ॥ "

This verse is identical with *Gītā, V, 14*.

Variants :—" सृजते " (H) for " सृजति " (G),
" न कर्म फलसंयोगं स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते " —2nd line (G).

(5) Verses 83 and 84 of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (folio 100) read as follows :—

" नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावकः ।
न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोषयति मारुतः ॥८३॥"

This verse is identical with *Gītā, II, 23*. There are no variants.

"अच्छेद्योऽयमभेद्योऽयं निरुपाख्योऽयमुच्यते ।
नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ॥ ८४ ॥"

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1. Malayagiri in his *Vṛtti* on the *Āvaśyakasūtra* (folio 409 of *Āgam. Sami. Series*, No. 60, 1932) quotes the first line of *Gītā, II, 16* as follows:—

"नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः" इति वचनात् ।

A Ms of the comm. on the Nandisūtra by Malayagiri is dated *1235 A. D.* (Vide p. 592 fn. 2, Winternitz : *History of Ind. Lit.* Vol. II, 1933).

This verse is identical with *Gītā*, *II*, *24*.

Variants :—"अच्छेद्योऽयमदाह्योऽयमक्लेद्योशोष्य एव च".
(G)—1st line.

(7) Verse 88 of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (folio 100) reads :—

"उद्धरेद्दीनमात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत् ।
आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः ॥ ८८ ॥"

This verse is identical with *Gītā*, *VI*, *5*.

Variants :—"उद्धरेद्दीनमात्मानम्" (H) for "उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानम्"
(G) First line.
"आत्मनैवात्मनो बन्धुः" (H) for "आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बंधुः"
(G) 2nd line.

(8) Verse 52 of *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (folio 99) reads :—

"सर्वतः पाणिपादान्तं सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।
सर्वतः श्रुतिमान् लोके सर्वमाश्रित्य तिष्ठति ॥ ५२ ॥"

This verse is identical with *Gītā*, *XIII*, *13*.

Variants :—"पाणिपादान्तं" [1] (H) for "पाणिपादं तत्"
(G) First line.
"श्रुतिमान् लोके" (H) for "श्रुतिमल्लोके" (G) 2nd line.
"सर्वमाश्रित्य" (H) for "सर्वमावृत्य" (G) 2nd line.

The verses of the *Gītā* identified by me in Haribhadra's works during my cursory perusal of some of these works number *eight* for the present and they were traced in only two works as follows :—

(1) *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya*—*Gītā*, II, 16.

(2) *Lokatattvanirṇaya*—*Gītā*, II, 23, 24 ; V, 5, 14 ; XIII, 13 ; XV. 1, 16.

In addition to the *eight* verses from the *Gītā* traced in Haribhadra's works, I found certain verses and portions of verses echoing some lines from the *Gītā*, e.g. verse 21 of *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* (Folio 74) reads as follows :—

"जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिरोगशोकाद्युपद्रुतः ।
क्लेशाय केवलं पुंसामहो भीमो भवोदधिः ॥ २१ ॥"

Compare *Gītā* XIII, 8 :—

"जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिदुःखदोषानुदर्शनम् ॥ ८ ॥"

1. This reading is also the reading adopted in the Kashmir recension of the *Gītā* and also by Vallabhācārya.

In the *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya* (folio 6) we find the line "**बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमसंमोहस्त्रिविधो बोध इष्यते**" which may be compared with *Gītā*, X, 4 —

"**बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमसंमोहः क्षमा सत्यं दमः शमः ।**"

A study of the Brahmanical sources[1] of Haribhadra's works would prove profitable if no such study has been already made by Jain scholars. In view of the early Brahmanical training and proficiency in the *Śāstras* attained by Haribhadra it is but natural that he should absorb in his writings some of the Brahmanical material with a stamp of his new faith. The *Gītā* appears to have been very popular with later Jain writers as well, though it is difficult to guarantee the accuracy[2] of these quotations in all cases.

1. Cf. शास्त्रवार्तासमुच्चय (folio 56):—

"कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः ।
कालः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कालोहि दुरातिक्रमः ॥"

This may be compared with *Maitrī Upaniṣad* VI, 15 which reads :—

"कालः पचति भूतानि सर्वाण्येव महात्मनि ।
यस्मिंस्तु पच्यते कालो यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥ १५ ॥"

(Vide p. 417 of *Upaniṣads*, Anandashram, Poona, 1891.)

Mr. S. N. Tadpatrikar has drawn my attention to the following verse in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* (B. O. R. I.) Ādiparvan I, 1, 190—

"कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः ।"

The 2nd line of Haribhadra's text as indicated above is found only in the Northern Recension of the MBH (Vide p. 29 of *Ādiparvan*).

2. Cf. the following quotation from the *Gītā* as such appearing in the *Bharateśvara-bāhubali-vṛtti* (Devachand Lalbhai P. Fund Series No. 77, 1932, folio 3 of Part I) :—

"गीतायां—

पृथिव्यामप्यहं पार्थ ! वायावग्नौ जलेप्यहम् ।
वनस्पतिगतश्चाहं सर्वभूतगतोऽप्यहम् ॥ १ ॥

यो मां सर्वगतं ज्ञात्वा न हिंसेत कदाचन ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मां न प्रणश्यति ॥ २ ॥"

(*Continued on next page*)

From the data recorded above we may arrive at the following conclusions for further verification :—

(1) Haribhadrasūri (c. 750 A. D.) had before him some text of the *Gītā* which was different from the vulgate text.

(2) The absorption of the verses pointed out above by Haribhadrasūri in his own works without acknowledgment was perhaps due to his early Brahmanical training in the Śāstras.

(3) It is also possible to suppose that the variants in the verses absorbed by Haribhadra from the *Gītā* are due not as a result of a different version of the text then current but may be due to his own making.

(4) It should be a matter for investigation whether any other pre-Śaṁkara Jain writers have drawn upon the *Gītā* incidentally or otherwise in the works composed by them.

(5) An exhaustive study of pre-Śaṁkara quotations Brahmanical, Jain, or Buddhist, if any, would clarify the present theory that Śaṁkarācārya established the vulgate text of the *Gītā*.

P.S.—Since this paper was sent to the press, I have discovered the following verses in a Jain work called the *Padmapurāṇa* written in the year 678 A. D. by Raviṣeṇa (see *Ind. Literature* Vol. II by Winternitz, p. 494) :—

Ms No. 301 of 1883-84 (B.O.R. Institute—Govt. Mss Library), folio 104 :—

"विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पंडिताः समदर्शिनः ॥ २ ॥

Compare the 2nd verse in the above quotation with *Gītā*, VI, 30 :—

"यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मयि पश्यति ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ॥"

I am unable to trace the 1st verse of the above quotation in the vulgate text of the *Gītā* even in the verses of Chap. X (19 to 42 dealing with *Vibhūtiyoga*). Śubhaśīla composed the *Bharateśvaravṛtti* in A. D. 1453 (Saṁvat 1509). Unlike Haribhadra of the 8th century A.D., he mentions the *Gītā* and quotes verses from it, one of which cannot be traced in the present vulgate text of the *Gītā*, while the other shows marked variants in the first line. Can we suppose that *Śubhaśīla* had before him a text of the *Gītā* differing from the vulgate one or he is merely quoting from memory and in so doing warping the original verse in one case & composing another in the style of the *Gītā*?

चातुर्वर्ण्यं तथान्यच्च चंडालादिविशेषणं ।
सर्वमाचारभेदेन प्रसिद्धिं भुवने गतम् ॥ ४ ॥"

Verse 3 in the above extract is exactly identical with *Gītā*, V, 18, while verse 4 is an echo of *Gītā*, IV, 13 which reads as follows :-

"चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ।
तस्य कर्तारमपि मां विद्ध्यकर्तारमव्ययं ॥ १३ ॥"

If the above extract from Raviṣeṇa's text of A. D. 678 is genuine it shows how Jain authors have indirectly absorbed the text of the *Gītā* from the version available to them.

3. Date of Malayagirisūri–Between A. D. 1100 and 1175 †

Winternitz[1] in his *History of Indian Literature* states that a MS of Malayagiri's commentary on *Karmaprakṛti* is dated *1395 A. D.*, a MS of the commentary on the Nandisūtra is dated *1235 A. D.*, a MS of the commentary on the Vyavahāra-Sūtra is dated *1253 A. D.* Peterson[2] refers to the several works of Malayagiri and states that this writer's *Śabdānuśāsana* was written in the reign of Kumārapāla. Kielhorn[3] states that one of Malayagiri's works was composed in Kumārapāla's reign between 1143 and 1174 A. D. I wonder why Winternitz has not recorded the above date for Malayagiri as given by Kielhorn and referred to by Peterson. In case he had any doubts in accepting the date given by Kielhorn we shall have to see if these doubts are justified on the strength of other evidence in support of or against Kielhorn's date for Malayagiri.

In the *Catalogue of Manuscripts*[4] in the Jain Bhandars at Patan there are certain dated MSS of works, the author of which is stated to be Malayagiri. These MSS may be recorded as follows with their dates :—

Page	Work	Saṁvat	A. D.	Place of Deposit
22	षडशीति (सटीक) मू० जिनवल्लभ टीका of मलयगिरि	1332	1276	Saṅghavi Pāḍā Bhāṇḍār
43	षडशीति वृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1258	**1192**	Do

† See *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 133–136.

1. *His. of Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II, 1933 (Calcutta Univ.) p. 592 fn. 2.

2. *Fourth Report*, 1894, Index of Authors, p. lxxxviii.

Works of Malayagiri mentioned by Peterson are :—

(1) व्यवहारसूत्रटीका । (2) पञ्चसंग्रहटीका । (3) नन्द्यध्ययनटीका । (4) कर्मप्रकृतिटीका । (5) सप्ततिकाटीका । (6) प्रज्ञापनासूत्रटीका । (7) चन्द्रप्रज्ञप्तिसूत्रटीका । (8) सूर्यप्रज्ञप्तिटीका । (9) शब्दानुशासन ।

3. *Report on Palm-leaf MSS* (1880–81), p. 45—Kielhorn observes :—"The instance अदहदरातीन्कुमारपालः on folio 255(b) proves that the work was composed in the reign of Kumārapāla *between 1143 and 1174 A. D.*"

4. Compiled by Dalal and Gandhi, Baroda, Vol. I, 1937.

Page	Work	Saṁvat	A.D.	Place of Deposit
94	संग्रहणावृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1290	1234	Saṅghavi Pāḍā Bhāṇḍār
98	सप्ततिकाटीका by मलयगिरि	1221	1165	Do
201	चंद्रप्रज्ञप्ति टीका	1480	1424	Do
202	सित्तरिवृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1462	1406	Do
232	धर्मसङ्ग्रहणीटीका by मलयगिरि	1437	1381	Do
231	सूर्यप्रज्ञप्तिटीका by मलयगिरि	1481	1425	Do
239	चंद्रप्रज्ञप्तिटीका by मलयगिरि	1483	1427	Do
311	आवश्यकवृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1446	1390	Saṅgha Bhāṇḍāra
3,7	कर्मप्रकृतिवृत्ति by मलयगि.रि	1331	1275	Tapāgaccha Bhāṇḍāra (Phoplaa Wada).

In *the Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS*[1] we find the following dated MSS of works ascribed to मलयगिरि :—

Page	Work	Saṁvat	A. D.	Place of Deposit
18	आवश्यकबृहद्वृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1491	1335	Big Bhāṇḍāra at Jesalmere
43	राजप्रश्नीयवृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1488	1432	Do
23	चंद्रप्रज्ञप्तिटीका by मलयगिरि	1488	1432	Do
42	जीवाभिगम वृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1489	1433	Do
13	नंदीटीका by मलयगिरि	1488	1432	Do
39	पिंडनिर्युक्तिवृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1489	1433	Do
41	पिंडनिर्युक्तिवृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1289	1233	Do
36	व्यवहारवृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1490	1434	Do
37	बृहत्कल्पपीठिका by मलयगिरि	1378	1322	Do
18	व्यवहारवृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1490	1434	Do
35	संग्रहणीटीका by मलयगिरि	1296	1240	Do
24	सूर्यप्रज्ञप्तिवृत्ति by मलयगिरि	1489	1433	Do

1. By C. D. Dalal, Baroda, 1923.

It will be seen from the two foregoing tables of dated MSS. ascribed to Malayagiri that they were copied in the years A. D. 1165, 1192, 1233, 1234, 1240, 1275, 1276, 1322, 1335, 1381, 1390, 1406, 1424, 1425, 1427, 1432, 1433, 1434. The earliest dated MS. of Malayagiri's work recorded by Winternitz is dated A. D. *1235* while in the above chronological tables we have four MSS. of Malayagiri's works[1] bearing dates earlier than A.D. 1235 *viz.*, A.D. *1165*, *1192*, *1233*, *1234*. According to Kielhorn Malayagiri wrote during King Kumārapāla's reign *i.e.*, *between A. D. 1143* and *1174*. This statement, though not mentioned by Winternitz and accepted, appears to be corroborated by the dates *A. D. 1165* and *1192* of Malayagiri's two works सप्ततिकाटीका and षडशीतिवृत्ति. We may, therefore, safely fix A. D. 1165 as one of the limits for the date of Malayagiri, the other limit being about A. D. 1050 as will be seen from the following evidence :—

Malayagiri in his commentary on the *Āvaśyakasūtra* mentions Prajñākaragupta and quotes a verse[2] from his work as follows :—

"उक्तं च प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तेन—

यथा वा प्रेर्यते तूलमाकाशे मातरिश्वना ।
तथा शब्दोऽपि किं वायोः प्रतीपं कोऽपि शब्दवित् ॥"

This appears to me to be a quotation from one of the Sanskrit works of Prajñākara Gupta who was a Buddhist logician belonging to *about 940 A. D.*[3] It may be possible for students of Buddhist

1. For the names of works of Malayagiri vide *Jain-Granthāvali*, pp. 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 18, 20, 40, 42, 64, 100, 115, 117, 119, 120, 125.

2. Vide folio 29a of the Pothi Edition of the *Āvaśyakasūtra* with Malayagiri's Commentary (Āgamodaya Samiti No. 56) 1928.

3. Vide p. 336 of the *History of Indian Logic* by S. Vidyabhushana, Calcutta, 1921. Prajñākara Gupta lived at the time of Mahīpāla, who died in 940 A. D. He wrote the following works :—

1. *Pramāṇavārtikālaṁkāra*, a commentary on the *Pramāṇavārtika* of Dharmakīrti. Vidyabhushan states that the Sanskrit original of this work of P. Gupta appears to be lost. Recently, however, the work has been recovered and edited by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.* Vol. XXI, Part II (1935). There is also a Tibetan translation of the work.

2. *Sahāvalambaniścaya.*—The Sanskrit original of this work also appears to be lost according to Vidyabhushan but there exists a Tibetan translation.

literature to trace the above verse in P. Gupta's one of the two Sanskrit works."[1] If the author of the name Prajñākara Gupta mentioned by Malayagiri is identical with the celebrated Buddhist logician of that name we may safely fix A. D. 1050 or so as the other limit to the date of Malayagiri. It would thus be seen that the date of Malayagirisūri may be taken to lie *between A. D. 1100 and 1175.*[2]

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1. One of these two works viz., the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṁkāra* has been fortunately recovered for us by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana [Vide p. 42 of *Jour. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.* Vol. XXI (March 1935)]. The MS described by him consists of 59 leaves and contains Chapters II and III of the work. This MS has been published in the June 1935 issue of the above journal (pp. 1 to 158). The published portion is fragmentary as it begins from the *Kārikā 330* of the text (vide p. 63). It ends with *Kārikā 539* (p. 158) and is called प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेद *Cf.* Colophon "प्रमाणवार्तिकालङ्कारे प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेदो द्वितीयः" which corresponds to the 3rd *Pariccheda* of the text of the *Pramāṇavārttika* as stated by the Editor in the footnote on p. 158.

2. In the *Abhidhānarājendra* Vol. VI (1923) p. 156 there is a small article on Malayagiri but it contains no historical information about this author. The compilers of this encyclopaedia, however, observe :—

"मलयगिरेः समयो गुरुपरंपरादिकं च न ज्ञायते तथापि हरिभद्रसूरेरर्वाक्तन इति ज्ञायते"

The date of Haribhadrasūri is about 750 A. D.

4. Mammaṭa and Hemacandra ‡

In his chapter[1] on Mammaṭa and Allaṭa Dr. S. K. De observes : "A great deal of uncertainty exists with regard to the exact date of Mammaṭa."[2] According to Dr. De "Mammaṭa probably belongs to the period between the middle of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century." [3] I am here concerned with Dr. De's remarks[4] about the lower limit for Mammaṭa's date, which read as follows :—

"The lower limit of Mammaṭa's date, however, may be fixed with reference to two commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of which the dates can be ascertained. The commentary of Māṇikyacandra is expressly dated in *Saṁvat* 1216 = 1160 A. D. The exact date of Ruyyaka's commentary is not known, but we know from other sources that Ruyyaka flourished in the second and third quarters of the 12th century. Mammaṭa, therefore, cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 12th century."

According to the above view we can fix say about A.D. 1115 as the lower limit for Mammaṭa's date.

According to Mr. P. V. Kane[5] "the *Kāvyaprakāśa* was composed at all events before 1150 A. C., so the date of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* lies between 1050 and 1150 A. C. and is most probably 1100 A. C."

Prof. Keith[6] also assigns the *Kāvyaprakāśa* to "about 1100."

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‡ See *Jour. of S. M. Library*, Tanjore, Vol. I, No 1, pp. 9–13.

1. *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 157–189 chap. XVI.
2. Ibid, p. 157.
3. Ibid, p. 160.
4. Ibid, p. 158.
5. Introduction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (2nd ed) Bombay, 1923 p. cvi (Sec. 24)—Prof. Kane mentions the following evidence in support of his date :—(1) Mammaṭa quotes Abhinavagupta (living in 1015 A.C.). (2) M. also refers to the liberality of Bhoja to learned men यद्विद्वद्भवनेषु भोज नृपतेस्तत्यागलीलायितं on उदात्त. Bhoja could not have ruled beyond 1055 A.C. So the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is ***not most probably earlier than 1050 A. C.*** (3) The commentary of Māṇikyacandra on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* was composed in Saṁvat 1216 (A. D. 1159-60) and a Ms of it is dated Saṁvat 1215 (= A. D. 1158–59). (4) The ***Alaṁkārasarvasva*** of Ruyyaka refers to the *Kāvyaprakāśa*.
6. ***History of Sanskrit Literature***, Oxford, 1928, p. 394.

It would thus be seen that the lower limit for the *Kāvyaprakāśa* as fixed by scholars is about A. D. 1100.

I propose in this paper to draw the attention of scholars to the following mention of Mammaṭa by the celebrated Hemacandra in his work called the *Kāvyānuśāsana*. Hemacandra composed two commentaries on this work called the *Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi* and the *Viveka* and both of these commentaries along with the text have been recently published.[1] Prof. Athavale in his English Notes to this excellent edition of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* states :—"Our author (Hemacandra) has faithfully followed आनन्दवर्धन and मम्मट and advanced the stock arguments used by these two authors in defence of व्यञ्जना."[2] These remarks led me to search for any mention of Mammaṭa by name in Hemacandra's present work. The list[3] of references to earlier authorities mentioned in the *Kāvyānuśāsana* as furnished by the learned editors helped me to locate the only mention of Mammaṭa and a verse of his quoted by Hemacandra. This verse reads as follows :—

"यथाह मम्मटः ।

अगूढमपरस्याङ्गं वाच्यसिद्ध्यङ्गमस्फुटम् ।
संदिग्धतुल्यप्राधान्ये काकाक्षिप्तमसुन्दरम् ।
व्यङ्ग्यमेवंगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्याष्टौ भिदाः स्मृताः ॥ इति ॥ "

The above verses are identical with *Kārikās* 45-46 of Ullāsa V of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa.[4]

The above mention of Mammaṭa and a quotation of his *Kārikās* have a direct bearing on the date of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

Dr. Bühler tried to assign approximate dates to the several

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1. *Kāvyānuśāsana* by R. C. Parikh and R. B. Athavale, published by Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, Vols. I and II 1938. Vol. I contains Text and Indices and Vol. II contains an elaborate Introduction in English. Prof. A. B. Dhruva in his Foreword to Vol. I (p. 11) states that "Hemacandra first composed the Sūtras and gave them the title काव्यानुशासन and to them he added an explanatory *vṛtti* which he called *alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi* and the two together were intended to be Śāstra of काव्य (काव्यानुशासन)". "*Viveka* is a commentary on काव्यानुशासन."

2, Ibid, Vol. II, p. 63 of English Notes.

3. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 521–23.

4. The Editors have identified this extract: "का. प्र. उ. ५ का. ४५ ४६" (Ibid, p. 157 of Vol. I).

works composed by Hemacandra. Mr. R. C. Parikh[1] regards these dates as "on the whole correct." In the opinion of Dr. Bühler the *Kāvyaprakāśa* was probably written "*in the beginning of the rule of Kumārapāla.*" The dates for the beginning and end of Kumārapāla's reign are A.D. 114 and 1174 respectively.[2] Presuming therefore, that Dr. Bühler's statement[3] is correct we shall not be wrong in assigning the *Kāvyānuśāsana* to the first decade of Kumārapāla's reign i.e. *between A. D.* 1143 *and* 1153 so that Hemacandra's mention of Mammaṭa turns out to be the earliest one so far recorded in view of the fact that Māṇikyacandra's commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* is dated 1160 A. D.[4] and that the exact date of Ruyyaka's commentary is not known though he is said to belong to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century.[5]

Hemacandra's indebtedness to Mammaṭa has already been pointed out by Dr. S. K. De[6] but his accusation of Hemacandra as one who "*appropriates without acknowledgment*" is rather harsh, if not a biased one, as we cannot apply our modern standards of criticism with all their rigidity to works written 800 years ago. I have not examined Dr. De's charge of plagiarism without acknowledgment against Hemacandra with regard to the works of Rājaśekhara and others but so far as Mammaṭa is concerned, Hemacandra stands acquitted as he expressly mentions Mammaṭa and then quotes from him "यथाह मम्मटः.........इति" as we have seen above.

1. Ibid Vol. II, Intro. p. CCCXXVII – Here Mr. R. C. Parikh has dealt with the *Chronology of Hemacandra's Works*.

2. Ibid. Section 21.

3. Ibid p. CCI. Vide also pp. 977-985 of the *Dynastic History of Northern India* Vol. II by H. C. Ray (1936), where a list of inscriptions for the time of *Kumārapāla* is given.

4. Vide my article on the *Earliest Dated Manuscript of the Kāvyaprakāśa* copied in 1158 A. D. (8th October, Wednesday) published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIII, Pt. 1, pp. 47–53. This MS is described on p. 18 of the *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS* (Baroda, 1923). It is dated Saṁvat 1215, month of *Āsvina, Śuklapakṣa, Budhavāra*. The copyist is Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara.

5. S. K. De : *His. of San. Poetics*, I, 158.

6. Ibid p. 203—fn. 1—"He (Hemacandra) *appropriates*, for instance, long passages *without acknowledgment* from Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, the Vakroktijīvitakāra, *Mammaṭa* and others......... His dependence on earlier works is so close as to amount at times to almost slavish imitation or *plagiarism*".

The dates of Hemacandra's birth, death and his initiation into the holy order are already known to scholars.[1] The relation of these dates to the chronological limits of Mammaṭa's date may be briefly represented as follows :—

Mammaṭa.	A. D.	Hemacandra.
Abhinavagupta quoted by Mammaṭa living	1015	
Higher limit for Mammaṭa's Date	1015	
Bhoja (earlier than 1055 A. D.) referred to by Mammaṭa	1055	
	1089	Birth of Hemacandra
	1094	Initiation of Hemacandra into holy order
Probable date of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* (according to Keith and Kane)	1100	
	1139	Completion of Hemacandra's Grammar
	1143	Death of Jayasiṁha Siddha-rāja
Mammaṭa mentioned and quoted by Hemacandra in the *Kāvyānuśāsana*		Hemacandra composes the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and the *Chandonuśāsana*
Earliest dated Ms of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*	1158	
	115[illegible]	Hemacandra's commentary on the *Rayaṇāvali*
Māṇikyacandra's commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*	1160	Hemacandra composed his *Yogaśāstra*
	1173	*Death of Hemacandra*

1. *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Parikh and Athavale) Intro. p. CCLXVII and CCXIC. Hemacandra was born in 1089 A. D. He was initiated into the holy order in A. D. 1094 and was made a Sūri or Ācārya in A.D. 1110. He died in 1173 at the ripe old age of 84 years, a short time before the death of Kumārapāla.

The above conspectus of the dates pertaining to Hemacandra and Mammaṭa tends to show that the latter part of Mammaṭa's life may have been synchronous with the early literary activity of Hemacandra and that Mammaṭa may have been a senior contemporary of Hemacandra, who has freely drawn from the *Kāvyaprakāśa* as pointed out by Dr. De. It may now be asked if these contemporaries ever met each other at any time in their lives. This question cannot be definitely answered at present though the possibility of such a meeting having taken place cannot be ruled out owing to the frequent intercourse and contact between Gujarat and Kashmir in Hemacandra's time.[1]

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1. This literary intercourse between Gujarat and Kashmir is proved by the fact that the earliest dated MS (A. D. 1158) of the Kāvyaprakāśa of the Kashmirian Mammaṭa is found at Jesalmere and the earliest commentary on the same work of A. D. 1160 was composed by Māṇikyacandra in Gujarat. According to the *Prabhāvaka-Caritra* written about A. D. 1250 by Prabhacandra and Pradyumnasūri, Hemacandra composed his Grammar with the help of MSS brought from the library of the temple of Sarasvatī in Kashmir. Though this may be an exaggeration as suggested by Dr. Bühler, Hemacandra must have made use of some MSS from Kashmir in view of Merutuṅga's statement in his *Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi* (A. D. 1305-6) that Jayasiṁha managed to gather grammars from various lands for the use of Hemacandra (Vide p. 17 of *Life of Hemacandra* by Dr. Bühler, trans. by Dr. Manilal Patel, Singhi Jain Series, edited by Muni Jinavijaya, 1936). About the possibility of Hemacandra's teachers being Kashmirian Panditas, the sojourn of the Kashmirian Bilhaṇa to Anahillapura and the presence of the Kashmirian grammarian Utsāha at Jayasiṁha's court vide, p. CCLXXIII of *Introduction to Kāvyānuśāsana* by R. C. Parikh.

5. The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Deśīnāmamālā of Hemacandra, Dated September 1241 A.D.*

The *Deśīnāmamālā* of Hemacandra with his own commentary was based on the Prākrit dictionary written by Dhanapāla in A.D. 972[1]. Dr. Bühler discovered this work and published a notice of it from the only MS then in his possession. Pischel edited this work in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series* (No. XVII, 1880). This edition was based on 9 MSS designated by him as A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I. I am concerned in this note with the dated MSS of the work used by Pischel. These are described by him in his Introduction to the Bombay Edition.[3] They are as follows :—

(1) A—*Saṁvat* 1549 (Bikaner MS) = A.D. 1493.

(2) C—*Saṁvat* 1587 (Ahmedabad MS) = A.D. 1531.[4]

(3) E—*Saṁvat* (?) 15.5 (Ahmedabad MS) = 1519 (?)[5]

(4) H—*Saṁvat* 1628 (Ahmedabad MS) = A.D. 1572.

Pischel states that "In order to ascertain the correct reading" he "was very often obliged to have recourse to etymology." Where etymology failed him he had "nothing to guide him but the best MS" which, however, "was by no means trustworthy." Pischel's first edition has been revised by Principal P. V. Ramanujaswami and published by the B. O R. Institute, Poona.[6] For this edition

* See *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, pp. 249-253.

1. Keith : *Hist. of Sans. Literature*. Oxford, 1928, p. 415. Vide also Zacharie, *Die indische . Wörterbucher*, p. 31.

2. *Ind. Anti.* II, p. 17 ff. (1874).

3. *B. S. Series*, XVII, 1880, Intro, pp. 1-2.

4. This is the date of the original MS of which the Ahmedabad MS is a copy.

5. The colophon contains the date 1575 which, PISCHEL thinks, may be intended for the *Saṁvat* era.

6. *B. S. Series*, (1880, No. XVII) Second Edition, Poona, 1938 with Introduction, Critical Notes and Glossary.

the editor states that he had seven MSS at his disposal out of which one was a recent copy while three were already made use of for the first edition. The remaining three MSS (designated X, Y, Z) were utilized by him for the second edition (1938). Out of these three MSS only MS Y is a dated copy prepared in *Saṁvat 1636* in the month of Phālguna (= February-March 1580).

Principal Ramanujaswami regards the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā* as "settled with considerable purity" and hence he has "allowed the text to remain as it stood in the first edition."[1]

In spite of the efforts of the two editors of the *Deśīnāmamālā* to settle its text the discovery and use of other MSS of the work earlier in point of date will make the assurance regarding "considerable purity" of the text doubly sure and it is the purpose of this note to point out such MSS as are earlier than those used by the two editors viz. Pischel and Ramanujaswami.

The India office MS[2] of the work is a copy written in A.D.1881 and is useless for our present inquiry regarding MSS of the *Deśīnāmamālā* copied earlier than A.D. 1493 which is the date of the Bikaner MS used by Pischel and which is the earliest *dated* MS known to the two editors of this work. Prof. Velankar describes three MSS[3] of this work in the possession of the B. B. R. A. Society, Bombay. Only one of these MSS is dated, having been copied in Śaka 1786 (= A.D. 1864). The MSS mentioned by Aufrecht[4] have been already utilized by Pischel and Ramanujaswami. The Oriental MSS Library at Ujjain records a MS under the title "*Deśīnāmamālā* (*Anekārtha Saṁgraha*)" by Hemacandra, but it is not clear whether the MS is one of the *Deśīnāmamālā* or of the *Anekārthasaṁgraha* as the entry in the list[5] of Ujjain MSS is

1. Do.—Intro., p. 2.

2. *Cata. of Sans. and Prakrit Manuscripts* (India Office) by A. B. Keith, Vol. II, Oxford, 1935, p. 311—The MS is dated *Saṁvat 1938*, *Śukla pakṣa 2 ravivāsare*.

3. H. D. Velankar : *Des. Cata. of Sans. and Prakrit MSS*, Vol. I, p. 34, MSS Nos. 104, 106 are described under title *Deśīśabdasaṁgraha* (*Ratnāvalī*).

4. *Cata. Catalogorum*, i, 262*b*; ii, 56*b*; iii. 57*a*.

5. *Cata. of Oriental MSS* (Ujjain MSS Library) 1936, p. 45—MS No. 1169 (1904).

rather ambiguous. This MS also does not bear any date. The *Jain Granthāvali* records one MS of the *Deśīnāmamālā*, one of a *vṛtti* on it called "*Ratnāvalī*" and a glossary called *Uddhāra* by Vimala.[1] None of these MSS is dated.

The foregoing survey of the dated MSS of the *Deśīnāmamālā* reveals to us the following chronology of the available copies of the work :—

A.D 1493, 1519 (?), 1531, 1572, 1580, 1864, 1881.

I shall now record a MS of the *Deśīnāmamālā* which appears to me the *earliest dated MS* of the work. It is deposited in the Saṅghavī Pāḍā Jain Bhandar of Patan and is described by the late Mr. C. D. DALAL in his *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan.*[2] According to Mr. DALAL's description the MS consists of 119 leaves and is 10″ × 1¾″ in size. It was copied by a man of the Kāyastha caste in *Saṁvat 1298*, (*aśvina śudi 10 ravau*) = *Sunday, 15th September 1241*. The colophon mentions a king of the name "महाराणक श्रीविसलदेव" who appears to me to be identical with the Caulukya king of the same name who became king at Aṇahilapāṭaka in Vikrama Saṁvat 1300 (= A.D.1244) according to *Therāvali.*[3] Jayantasiha mentioned in the colophon as the son of Tejapāla is the writer of the MS. This Tejapāla may perhaps be identical with his namesake who was one of the two great ministers of the father of Vīsaladeva. These two ministers suffered great indignities at the hands of Vīsaladeva and were replaced by a Brahmin named Nāgaḍa as the chief minister.[4] The Jain Bhandars contain three other MSS written during the reign of king Vīsaladeva[5] in A.D.*1239*,

1. *Jain Granthāvali*, Bombay, 1909, p. 310.

2. *G. O. Series*, No. LXXVI, Baroda, 1937—Vol. I, p. 60.

—"देसीनाममाला by हेमाचार्य प. ११९ ; १०″ × १¾″ colophon :—

"संवत् १२९८ वर्षे अश्विनिशुदि १० रवौ अद्येह भृगुकच्छे महाराणकश्रीवीसलदेव... मह, श्रीतेजपालसुतमहं श्रील्रूणसीहप्रभृति पंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ आचार्यश्रीजिणदेवसूरिकृते देसीनाममाला लिखापिता। कायस्थज्ञातीयमहं. जयंतसीह...मु..."

3. *Dynastic History of Northern India* by H. C. Ray, Calcutta, 1936, Vol. II, 1035.

4. *Ibid* p. 1036.

5. *Des. Cata. of Jain Bhandars MSS* by Dalal (1937), Vol. I, pp. 33, 162, 218. The colophons of these three MSS are as follows :— (1) *Page* 33—"संवत् १२९५ वर्षे भाद्रपदशुदि ११ रवौ स्तंभतीर्थे महामंडलेश्वरराणक-

(**Continued on next page**)

1251, *1254* respectively. In one of the colophons of these dated MSS the prime minister Nāgaḍa is mentioned as "महामात्य श्रीनागड" "as transacting the business of the seal in A.D. 1254. This colophon was written 7 years earlier than the *Kadi Grant* dated *19th March* A.D. *1261* in which we find "Vīsaladeva ruling victoriously at Anahilapāṭaka and when the Mahāmātya Nāgaḍa was in charge of the seal.[1] It appears, therefore, that the prime minister Nāgaḍa had an uninterrupted career between A.D. 1254[2] and 1261 as proved by the above colophon and the *Kadi Grant*.

The MS of the *Deśīnāmamālā* copied in A. D. 1241 during the reign of king Vīsaladeva is a copy prepared 69 years after the death of Hemacandra[3] and hence appears to me to be the oldest dated MS of the work so far known. This MS is also 252 years older than

(*Continued from previous page*)

श्रीविसलदेवविजयराज्ये तन्नियुक्तदंडाधिपतिश्रीविजयसीहप्रतिपत्तौ श्रीसंडेरगच्छीयगणि आसचंद्रशिष्यपंडितगुणाकार सौवर्णिकपल्लीवालज्ञातौ ठ० विजयसीह ठ० सलषणदेव्योस्तनुजसे० ठ० तेजःपालेन लेखयित्वा आत्मश्रेयसे पुस्तिका प्रदत्ता । छ । लिखिता रतनसीहेन ।"

(2) Page 162.—"संवत् १३०७ वर्षे चैत्रवदि १३ भौमे श्रीवीसलदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये वाम...धा...प्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ श्रीचंद्रगच्छीयश्रीचंद्रप्रभसूरिशिष्यैः आचार्यश्रीनेमिप्रभसूरि...श्रीहेमचंद्रधातुपारायणवृत्तिपुस्तिका लेखिता । लिखिता च ठ० देवश [र्मणा]"

(3) Page 218 :—"संवत् १३१० वर्षे माघशुदि १३ रवौ पुष्यार्के महाराजाधिराजश्रीवीसलदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये महामात्यश्रीनागडमंडलेश्वरमुद्राव्यापारे अद्येह प्रल्हा(ह्ला)दनपुरस्थितेन ठ० नाग...यष्टि श्रीकुमारसुतजोंदड्योग्यमु त्तराध्ययनवृत्तिपुस्तकं लिखितं ॥६॥"

1. H. C. Ray : *Dynastic History*, Vol. II, (1936), p. 1034.

2. Vide C. D. Dalal : *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS.* Baroda (192) p. 37—The colophon of the MS of *Hitopadeśāmṛta* was copied in A.D. 12-4 during Vīsaladeva's reign when Nāgaḍa was the prime minister. ("संवत् १३१० वर्षे मार्गपूर्णिमायां अद्येह महाराजाधिराजश्रीविश्वलदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महामात्यश्रीनागडप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ एवं काले प्रवर्तमाने प्रकरणपुस्तिका साधुवं...न लिखितेति").

3. Vide *JBBRAS*, xxvi, p. 224—"Hemacandra was born on the full moon of Kārtika, Saṁvat 1145 (A. C. 1088). In Saṁvat 1154 (A. C. 1097) he was initiated into the priestly orders ; in 1166 (A. C. 1109) he obtained the degree or title of Sūri and died in Saṁvat 1229 (A. C. 1172) at the age of 84". Vide also pp. 6 and 57 of *Life of Hemacandra* by Bühler (English Trans. by Dr. Manilal Patel, *Singhi Jaina Series* ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, Santiniketan, 1936).

the Bikaner MS used by PISCHEL and which is dated A.D. 1493. In view of these facts the value of this MS for textual purposes should be the greatest as Pischel found that even the best MS used by him was not at times trustworthy in constituting the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā*. Students interested in Prākṛta philology should try to procure a photographic copy of this MS from the authorities of the Saṅghavī's Pāḍā Bhāṇḍāra.[1]

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1. Vide p. 34 of the *Jain Bhandars Catalogue* (1937)—This collection belongs to the Laghupośālika branch of the Tapāgaccha. Neither Dr. Bühler nor Peterson had access to this collection though they managed to get lists of the MSS prepared through agents. Mr. Dalal states that he had complete access to these MSS and that he discovered many new and important Sanskrit and Prākrit works, both Jain and Brahmanical supposed to have been unknown or lost hitherto. He also discovered an enormous bulk of Apabhraṁśa literature, which is looked upon as the immediate source of many Indian vernaculars.

6. Date of Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra, The Pupil of Hemacandra–Between A.D. 1150 and 1170 ‡

The Editors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[1] of Rāmacandra state that very little is known about Rāmacandra's confrère Guṇacandra. They further assign to Rāmacandra "a life-period from 1100 to 1175 A. D."[2] No attempt seems to have been made to determine the exact limits for the date of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* within the life-period assigned to him by the editors. I shall, therefore, try to determine, as far as possible, the limits within which the date of this work could be fixed satisfactorily.

According to Bühler Hemacandra composed the *Kāvyānuśāsana*[3] "*probably in the beginning of the rule of Kumārapāla.*"[4] If this statement is correct we shall have to assign the *Kāvyānuśāsana* to the first decade of Kumārapāla's reign i.e. between A. D. 1143 and 1153. Hemacandra mentions Mammaṭa in his Kāvyānuśāsana[5].

‡ *Jain Vidyā*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 21-26.

1. G. O. S. Baroda, Vol. I, 1929, ed. by G. K. Shrigondekar and L. B. Gandhi.

2. Ibid, Preface, p. 3—"As much has been said already about the life of Rāmacandra in the introduction to the *Nalavilāsa* it is not necessary to repeat it here. Suffice it to say that he lived in the time of Siddharāja (1093-1143 A. D.), Kumārapāla (1143-1172 A.D.) and Ajayapāla (1172-1175 A. D.). This last King Ajayapāla is said to have been the cause of Rāmacandra's death. Rāmacandra was made under his order to stand on a burning piece of copper and was thus killed—When asked by Siddharāja as to who should be the next successor (Paṭṭadhara) Hemacandra replied in favour of Rāmacandra. As Hemacandra got Ācāryapada in 1110 A.D. it is reasonable to assign to his disciple Rāmacandra a life-period *from 1100 to 1175 A. D.* With regard to the place of Rāmacandra it is very probable that he was born and flourished in Gujarat."

3. Ed. by R. C. Parikh and R. B. Athavale, Vols. I and II, Bombay, 1938.

4. Ibid, Vol. II, *Intro.* p. CCCXXVIII. Mr. R. C. Parikh regards Bühler's dates for Hemacandra's works as "on the whole correct." Vide my paper on *Mammaṭa and Hemacandra* in the *Journal of the S. M. Library*, Tanjore, Vol. I., No. 1, pp. 9-13 (1939).

5. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 157—"यथाह मम्मटः"

Hemacandra's pupil Rāmacandra also mentions Mammaṭa.[1] These references put both Hemacandra and his pupil Rāmacandra sufficiently away from A. D. 1100, the probable date of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa according to Keith and Kane. They[2] also support Bühler's date for the composition of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* referred to above. It is also possible to presume[3] that Rāmacandra must have been studying the Sāhityaśāstra and helping his guru to compose the *Kāvyānuśāsana* between A. D. 1143 and 1153. It may further be pointed out that Rāmacandra's reference to Mammaṭa in his *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* is obviously later than Hemacandra's reference to Mammaṭa. If this position is accepted we are in a position to fix the following chronological series from Mammaṭa to *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* :—

मम्मट →	हेमचन्द्र →	काव्यानुशासन →	नाट्यदर्पण of रामचन्द्र
c. 1100 A. D.	A. D. 1080-1173	Between 1143 and 1153 A.D.- quotes मम्मट.	Between 1150 and 1175 A.D.- quotes मम्मट

The above series fixes the date of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* between say A.D. 1150 and 1175, a period of 25 years. This period further gets confirmation from the following evidence :—

Rāmacandra in his *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[4] quotes his own work called *Raghuvilāsa* composed by him earlier In this drama a MS[5] of which has been described by Peterson, we find Rāmacandra refer-

1, Vide p. 177 of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (G. O. S) Vol. I (1929) — मम्मटस्तु व्यभिचारिकमप्रस्तावे etc.

2. Vide p. 10 of my paper on *Mammaṭa* and *Hemacandra*.

3. Mr. Parikh observes that Hemacandra was not only provided with a good library by his royal friend but that he "had the assistance of his pupils like Mahendra Sūri, Rāmacandra, Guṇacandra and others who were only next to him in learning" [Vide p. CCC of Intro. to *Kāvyānuśāsana*, Vol. II. (1938).

4. Vide index of citations in *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, I, 1929 p. 227— "48 रघुविलासम् (स्वोपज्ञम्). 36, 37, 57, 80, 81, 82, 85, 90, 92, 94, 97, 107, 110, 136, 145, 156." P. 36— "योऽपि चास्माभी रघुविलासे अंककथावर्णनः etc."

5. *Fifth Report* by Peterson, Bombay, 1895, pp. 144 5 Extracts from MSS. preserved at Anhilwad Patan, No. 99—*Raghuvilāsanāṭaka* by Rāmacandra.

ring to the work of his guru Hemacandra as also to his own works[1], which he had composed earlier viz. *Nalavilāsa* and others. These references give us the necessary chronological data for fixing the earlier terminus to the date of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, the later terminus being of course A. D. 1175 as stated by the editors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* in giving us the life-period of Rāmacandra.

According to Bühler[2] Hemacandra's "Grammar must have been ready at the earliest towards the end of Vikrama year 1197—A. D. 1141." The editor of the *Kavyānuśāsana*, Mr. Parikh[3] also observes :—"We may place the completion of the grammar at the earliest, towards the end of Vikrama year 1185—A. D. 1139." In view of this date for Hemacandra's grammar which is described as "सिद्धहेमचंद्राभिधानशब्दानुशासन" in the *Raghuvilāsa* of the author of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* we are justified in regarding A. D. 1140 as the earlier terminus to the date of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* which mentions and quotes from the *Raghuvilāsa* several times as we have seen above. We, therefore, get the following chronological series with reference to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* :—

शब्दानुशासन	रघुविलास	नाट्यदर्पण
mentioned in रघुविलास A. D. 1140.	quoted in नाट्यदर्पण	Between say A. D. 1150 and 1175.

1. Ibid —

"सूत्रधारः

मारिष—श्रीसिद्धहेमचंद्राभिधानशब्दानुशासनविधानवेधसः श्रीमदाचार्यहेमचन्द्रस्य शिष्ये रामचन्द्रमसि जानासि ।

चन्द्रकः—सापेक्षम्—

पंचप्रबंधमिषपंचमुखानकेन विद्वन्मनः सदसि नृत्यति यस्य कीर्तिः ।
विद्यात्रयीचणमचुंबितकाव्यतंद्रं कस्तं न वेद सुकृती किल रामचंद्रम् ॥

किं तु द्रव्यालंकारनामा प्रबन्धोनभिनयत्वेन तावदास्ताम् । अपरेषां राघवाभ्युदययादवाभ्युदय-नलविलास-रघुविलासानां चतुर्णां रमणीयतमसंध्यंगनिवेशानां विशदप्रकृतीनां पुनर्मध्ये कुत्र प्रजानामनुरागः ।"

Rāmacandra also refers to दशरूपकः—

"यं प्राणान्दशरूपकस्य etc."

2. Vide Intro. to *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Parikh). Vol. II, 1938 pp. CCCXXVIII.

3. Ibid.—The chronology of Hemacandra's works has been approximately fixed by Dr. Bühler. Hemacandra has himself indicated the order in which he wrote his works, though he nowhere gives exact dates for any of his works.

In recording the above series I have necessarily presumed an interval of about 5 years on either side of the work, *Raghuvilāsa*, so that we may safely fix A. D. 1150 as the earlier terminus for the date of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, which appears to me to be the product of Rāmacandra's mature genius. In fact Rāmacandra refers to many of his earlier works[1] which number no less than *eleven* and which show that Rāmacandra was not only a critic but a poet and dramatist as well at the time when he composed this work on dramaturgy and its commentary called the *Nāṭyadarpaṇavivṛtti*, towards the close of which Rāmacandra bows to his guru Hemacandra in the following verse :—

P. 215 of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (Vol. I, 1929) —

"शब्द-प्रमाण-साहित्य-छन्दो-लक्ष्मविधायिनाम् ।
श्रीहेमचन्द्रपादानां प्रसादाय नमो नमः ॥ १ ॥"

In this verse Hemacandra is referred to as the author of works on शब्द (=शब्दानुशासन), प्रमाण (प्रमाणमीमांसा), साहित्य (=काव्यानुशासन), छन्दस् (=छन्दानुशासन). This reference proves that when the commentary on the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* was composed by Rāmacandra the works of Hemacandra referred to above were already in existence. We have already mentioned that according to Bühler काव्यानुशासन and छन्दोनुशासन were composed, say between A. D. 1143 and 1153, and शब्दानुशासन was composed towards the end of A. D. 1139 or say in A. D. 1140. The remaining work viz. प्रमाणमीमांसा belongs according to Bühler to the period viz., 1160-1173 (V.S. 1216-1229).[2] If this statement is correct we are in a position to infer that

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1. Vide Index of citations in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (Vol. I, 1929) The following works of Rāmacandra quoted by him in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* are noted in this Index :—

(१) कौमुदीमित्राणन्दं प्रकरणम् । स्वोपज्ञम्, (२) नलविलासं (नाटकम्) स्वोपज्ञम्, (३) निर्भयभीमव्यायोगः । स्वोपज्ञः, (४) मल्लिकामकरन्दं प्रकरणम् । स्वोपज्ञम्, (५) यादवाभ्युदयं (नाटकम्) स्वोपज्ञम्, (६) रघुविलासम् (नाटकम्) स्वोपज्ञम्, (७) राघवाभ्युदयम् (नाटकम्) स्वोपज्ञम्, (८) रोहिणीमृगाङ्कप्रकरणं स्वोपज्ञम्, (९) वनमाला नाटिका । स्वोपज्ञा, (१०) सत्यहरिश्चन्द्रं नाटकं । स्वोपज्ञम्, (११) सुधाकलशः स्वोपज्ञः ।

A list of 39 works of Rāmacandra is recorded on. *p. 33* of Intro. to *Nalavilāsa* (G. O. S. Baroda, 1926). This list includes the above mentioned 11 works. *P. 24*—Fellow-students of Rāmacandra were :—

(१) महेन्द्रसूरि, (२) गुणचन्द्रगणि, (३) वर्धमानगणि, (४) देवचन्द्रमुनि, (५) यशश्चन्द्रगणि, (६) उदयचन्द्र, (७) बालचन्द्र ।

2. Mr. Parikh's *Intro.* to *Kāvyānuśāsana* (II), p. CCCXXIX.

Rāmacandra composed his commentary नाट्यदर्पणविवृत्ति after the completion of Hemacandra's *Pramāṇamīmāṁsā* (between A.D. 1160 and 1173) that is to say after A.D. 1160 and before A.D. 1173. If the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and its *Vivṛtti* may be supposed to have been composed in close succession we shall have to assign both these works to the period *A. D. 1160–1173*. However, as the date stands at present I am inclined to assign the following limits to the chronology of the text and the commentary :—

(1) *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*—composed between *A.D. 1150 and 1170.*

(2) *Nāṭyadarpaṇavivṛtti*— composed between *A. D. 1160 and 1170.*

The later limit of A. D. 1170 indicated by me above for both the works is based on the following evidence :—

(1) King Ajayapāla[1] who killed Rāmacandra by torture ruled between A. D. 1173 and 1176.

(2) The story of the above torture is recorded by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* composed in 1305 A. D. (Saṁvat 1361) (Vide pp. 37–39 of Intro. to *Nalavilāsa*).

(3) Rāmacandra was living in A. D. 1173, when his guru Hemacandra died, and when Rāmacandra consoled King Kumārapāla according to the *Kumārapālacarita* composed in A. D. 1366 by Jayasiṁhasūri (vide p. 37 of *Intro.* to *Nalavilāsa*, G. O. S. Baroda, 1926).

(4) As Kumārapāla's reign is assigned to the period A. D. 1144-1173[1] and Ajayapāla's reign to the period A. D. 1173-1176, we must presume that Rāmacandra, the author of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* must have met his death after the death of Hemacandra[2] and also that of Kumārapāla in A. D. 1173. At any rate Rāmacandra could not have composed any works after A. D. 1173 if we believe in Merutuṅga's account of the hatred of Kumārapāla's successor

1. Vide p. 1047 of *Dynastic History of Northern India* by H. C. Ray, Calcutta, Vol. II (1936).

2. Vide p. CCXIC of Parikh's *Intro.* to *Kāv.* According to the *Pra. Cha.* Hemacandra died in the year V. S. 1229 = A. D. 1173 at the ripe old age of 84 years—a short time before Kumārapāla died.

towards him and the consequent death by torture which ended the brilliant literary career[1] of our author.

The chronology of the known works of Rāmacandra cannot be determined in this paper as it requires separate treatment. I shall, however, close this paper by recording a few dates about Rāmacandra which would give a useful back-ground for a close study of the chronology of his works :—

A. D.	Saṁvat	Particulars
1089	......	Birth of Rāmacandra's guru हेमचन्द्र.
1094	......	Initiation of हेमचन्द्र into holy order.
1139	......	हेमचन्द्र completes his grammar (शब्दानुशासन).
1143	......	Death of King Jayasiṁha Siddharāja.
1146	1205	Date of a Ms of Rāmacandra's द्रव्यालंकार (*Jesalmere MSS. Cata.* p. 11).
......	......	हेमचन्द्र composed काव्यानुशासन & छन्दोनुशासन.
1159	......	हेमचन्द्र composed commentary on रयणावली or दे. नाममाला.
c. 1159	......	Māṇikyacandra (a of काव्यप्रकाशटीका) refers in his शान्तिनाथमहाकाव्य to Rāmacandra :— "स रामः कविरुद्दामः प्रबंधाब्धि प्रबध्य यः" (see. p. 32 of Intro. to नलविलास).
1173	......	Rāmacandra consoles कुमारपाल on the death of हेमचन्द्र. (vide कुमारपालचरित—A. D. 1366).

1. Mr. Parikh (vide footnote to his *Intro.* p. CCXIC. *Kāv.*) states :—"Hemacandra had a group of disciples who were very learned and who helped him in his work. Of these Rāmacandra deserves special mention. He is reported to be the author of a hundred *Prabandhas*, that is, compositions. Some of his plays are published; they are good as literature and show considerable skill in the technique of play-writing. His *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* a work on dramaturgy has been published in the G. O. S. It throws some new light on the history of Sanskrit drama. His *Kumāra-vihāra-śataka* is a fine piece of description and gives an idea of what big temples were in those days. The poem should be studied very carefully by every student of Gujarat architecture and art."

A. D.	Saṁvat	Particulars
1185	1241	कुमारपालप्रतिबोध contains a quotation from Rāmacandra's नलविलास. (*See p. 35*; ibid).
c. 1173-74	......	Death of Rāmacandra caused by अजयपाल—(1173-76 A. D.).
1239	1295	गणधरसार्धशतकबृहद्वृत्ति contains a quotation from नलविलास of Rāmacandra (see. *p. 35*—ibid).
1250	1306	MS of निर्भयभीमव्यायोग of Rāmacandra. (vide p. 1131 of Vol II of *Dynastic His.* and *EI*, XI, p. 76).
1278	1334	प्रभावकचरित refers to the destruction of the right-eye of रामचन्द्र.

7. Identification of Kutulakhāna Mentioned by Jinaprabhasūri in his Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa ‡

Dr. B. C. Law in his "*Studies in the Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*" recently published in the *Jaina Antiquary*[1] states that this Jain work[2] is important and helpful in the study of ancient Indian Geography as some of the materials recorded in it are new and interesting. I find on a perusal of this work that this work contains some historical data also, which need to be properly exploited and corroborated from all sources possible, contemporary or otherwise. For this purpose, we must know the life-history[3] of its author Jinaprabhasūri and hence we are giving below a chronological survey of the events connected with the life of Jinaprabha and his contemporaries :—

‡ *K. V. R. Aiyangar Comm. Volume*, pp. 345–350.

1. Vol. IV, No. IV (March 1939), pp. 109-123.

2. *Vividhatīrthakalpa* by Jinaprabhasūri, Ed. by Muni Jinavijayaji, *Singhi Jaina Granthamālā* No. 10, Shantiniketan (Bengal), 1934. The Editor informs us in the Introduction that this work is important for History as well as for Geography. It is a sort of Guide Book to different *tīrthas* as existing in the 14th Century. Jinaprabhasūri was greatly honoured by Tughlak Sultan Mahammad Shah in the same manner in which Hīravijayasūri was later honoured by Emperor Akbar in the 16th Century. Dealing with the date of composition of this work the Editor states that it must have required about 30 years for its composition, because the earliest date recorded in it is *Saṁvat 1364* = A. D. 1308 while the latest date is *Śaṁvat 1389* = A. D. *1333*.—The dated Mss. of this work used by the Editor are as follows :—A.—*Saṁvat* 1466 = A. D. *1410* ; B.—about 400 years old ; C.—about 400 years old; D.—17th Century; Pa. *Saṁvat 1527* = A. D. *1471*; Pb.—an incorrect copy; P.—*Saṁvat 1505* = A. D. *1449*; E.—appears to be old.

3. Vide p. xxxvii of *Index to Authors* in Peterson's *Fourth Report on Mss* (1894, Bombay). J. (=Jinaprabhasūri) wrote his Commentary on *Bhayahara-Stotra* in Sākitapura in Saṁvat 1365 (= A. D. *1309*). He was a pupil of Jinasiṁhasūri. J. composed his Commentary on the *Ajitaśāntistava* of Nandiseṇa in the city of Dāśarathī (= Sākitapura = Ayodhyā) in *Saṁvat 1365* (= A. D. *1309*).

(*Continued on the next page*)

Date A. D.	Event J = Jinaprabhasūri	Place
1271	J. composed *Apāpābṛhatkapla.*	देवागारनगर
1275	Laghu Kharatara-gaccha founded by J's guru Jinasiṁhasuri.	
1293	J. helps Malliṣeṇa to complete his commentary on the *Syādvādamañjarī*	
1296	J. composed कातन्त्रविभ्रमटीका (See Jesalmere Catalogue)	
1308	J. compsed his *Vaibhāragiri Kalpa* (*Kalpa*, No. 11- p. 2·).	
1309	J. composed comm. on *Bhayahara-Stotra* as also a comm. on *Ajita-śāntistāva*.	स.केतपुर (= अयोध्या)
1310	The probable time when Isamy[1] was born at Delhi.	

(*Continued from previous page*)

Ratnaśekharasūri, author of the *Nyāyakandalīpañjikā*, studied under J. -J. composed *Sūrividyākalpa* or *Sūrimantrapradeśavivaraṇa* and helped Malliṣeṇasūri in his Commentary on the *Syādvāda-mañjarī* of Hemacandra completed in *Śaka 1214* or *Saṁvat 1349* = *1293* A. D. -J. is the Author of *Tīrthakalpa*. The *Apāpābṛhatkalpa* (No. 235 of A. 1882-83) is a part of *Tīrthakalpa* which was written in *Devagirinagara* in Saṁvat 1327 (= *A. D. 1271*)—Vide No. 1256 of 1886-92. J. composed another work called the *Pañcaparameṣthīstava* (No. 349 of A. 1882-8·). See Klatt's *Onomasticon* for a list of the known works of this writer. His known dates range from *Saṁvat* 1349 (= *A. D. 1293*), to Saṁvat 1369 (= *A. D. 1313*. His guru Jina-siṁhasūri founded the Laghukharataragaccha in *Saṁvat 1331* (= *A. D. 1275*).

1. Isamy wrote *Futūh-us-Salātīn*, a history of Musalman Kings of India in Persian verse. He migrated from Delhi to Daulatābād by the royal command in A. D. 1327 and lived at that capital for the next quarter of the century. He composed his history in 1349-50 A. D. after the establishment of Bahmani throne at Gulburga. Vide p. 261 of *Indian Culture* (Jan. 1939), Vol. V, No. 3). article by N. Venkata Ramanayya

Date A.D.	Event	Place
1293 to *1313*	Known dates for J. according to Peterson.	
1324	रुचादिगणवृत्ति (Composed Śaka 1246) See p. 126 *Limdi Cata*. 1928.	
1327	Muhammad Taghlakh transfers his capital from Delhi to Devagiri and calls it दौलताबाद.	दौलताबाद
1332	Muhammad Taghlakh honours J. by providing him with a good house to live in, which he called Bhaṭṭāraka Sarāi (*vide* p. [illegible]6 of *V. T. Kalpa*). "त्रयोदश नवाशीति वर्षे आषाढ कृष्ण सप्तम्यां" Corresponds to Wednesday, *15th July 1332 A. D.*	
1333	(*12th September*) Ibn Bāṭūṭa reached Indus.	
1334	(*22nd March*) Settlement of a dispute (Pudukottah inscription).	
1334-1339	Rebellions of Ma'bar and Lakhnauti.	
1342 (*22nd July*)	Bāṭūṭa set out for China as ambassador.	
1344 (*8th December*)	Recall of Qutlugh Khan from the Deccan.	
1349-50	Isamy composed his history, which is the earliest account of Muhammad Tughlaq's reign.	
1355	Ibn Bāṭūṭa dictated his *Travels* from memory.	

In the above chronology we get the dates of Jinaprabhasūri *viz.*, *A. D. 1271*, *1275*, *1293*, *1296*, *1308*, *1309*, *1324*, *1332*, the difference between the first date and the last date being 61 years. Evidently Jinaprabhasūri must have been a man of advanced age when he was honoured by Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. Presuming that he was twenty years old when he composed his *Apāpābṛhatkalpa* at Devagiri in A. D. 1271 he must have been born towards the middle of the 13th Century and as his above work is associated with Deva-

giri it may be reasonable to conclude that his contact with that place lasted upto at least A. D. 1332 when he was honoured by Muhammad Taghlaq as stated by him in his *Vividhatīrtha-Kalpa* (No. 51) in which he mentions one *Kutulaklān* (कुतुलखान) as the officer in charge of *Daulatābād* (दउलताबाद) as will be seen from the following lines[1] :—

"क्रमेग पत्तं सिरिदउलताबाद दीवाणे। भणियं च सविणयं नगरनायगेग सिरिकुतुलखानेन भट्टारयाणं सिरिपातसाहि फुरमाणागमणं ढिल्लीपुरं पइ पत्थाणं चाइट्टं।"

This appears to be the only reference to कुतुलखान by Jinaprabhasūri in the whole of the *Vividhatīrtha-Kalpa*[2] and as the editor has not identified him it is necessary to investigate and prove the identity of this historical personage on the strength of contemporary evidence.

I propose to identify कुतुलखान who is styled as नगरनायक with reference to the capital of Daulatabad in Jinaprabhasūri's work with QUTLUGH KHĀN about whom the following information is given by Prof. N. V. Ramanayya[3] :—

(1) He was recalled from his post on *8th December, 1344.*[4]

(2) He was governor of the Maratha country and his departure from Devagir must have taken place about March 1345 A. D.[5]

(3) His brother's name was "'Ālim-ul-Mulk.[6]

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1. My friend Prof. R. D. Laddu renders the above passage into Sanskrit as follows :—

"क्रमेण प्राप्तं श्री दौलताबाददीवाने। भणितं च सविनयं नगरनायकेन श्री कुतुलखानेन भट्टारकाणां श्रीपातसाहि फुरमानागमनं दिल्लीपुरं प्रति प्रस्थानं च आदिष्टम्"

2. Prof. H. D. Velankar records the following information about this work in the press-coppy of his *Jinaratnakośa* (p. 238) :—
,' तीर्थकल्प also called कल्पप्रदीप containing legendary and historical account of the different Jain holy places of pilgrimage, composed between Saṁvat 1365-1390 (*i. e.* A. D. 1309—1334) by Jinaprabhasūri, pupil Jinasiṁhasūri of *Kharatara Gaccha.* It is a very useful book and is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit. The different parts were written separately and then put together by the author. It is being published in the *Bibliotheca Indica.*"

3. *Indian Culture,* Vol. V (1938-39), pp. 135-146 and 261-269.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

(4) According to Isamy he led a successful expedition against the army of Nuṣrat Khān in Bidar and that he defeated Ali Shah at Dhārur.[1]
(5) His son Alap Khān led an expedition against Chandgaḍh.[2]
(6) The Sultan sent his order to Qutlugh Khān for sending the people from Devagīr to Dehli.[3]

The above information clearly shows that Qutlugh Khān was an important personage and played a prominent part at the Sultan's court at Daulatabad though he was recalled from the place in A.D. 1344. In the details about this governor of Devagiri recorded by Prof. Ramanayya I have not been able to trace the date of his appointment to the governorship of Devagiri but as Jinaprabhasūri mentions him as नगरनायक in A. D. 1332 it would be reasonable to suppose that he must have been appointed to that office some years earlier. It is, however, certain that he acted in that important capacity at least from A. D. 1332 to 1344, a period of 12 years. Ibn Battūta[4] who was born on *24th February 1304* and who reached Indus on *12th September 1333* and later reached the Sultan's capital Daulatabad refers to our कुतुलखान in the following lines :—"At Daulat Ābād resides the great Khān *Qutlu Khān*, the Sultan's tutor, who is governor of the town and the Sultan's representative there and in the lands of Sāghar, Tiling (Telingāna) and their dependent territories. This province extends for three months' march, is well populated and wholly under his authority and that of his lieutenants."[5]

It appears to me that *Kutula Khān* mentioned by Jinaprabhasūri, *Qutlū Khān* mentioned by Battūta and *Qutlugh Khān* mentioned by Isāmy and others are identical. If this identity is accepted it would be possible to suggest that Jinaprabha may have heard about Battūta who reached India about a year after Muhammad Taghlakh's meeting with Jinaprabha in July 1332. Though it is easy to imagine a personal contact of Qutlugh Khān with Jinaprabhha in A. D. 1332 and with Battūta after A. D. 1333 it is difficult to prove any direct contact between Jinaprabha and Battūta unless any documentary evidence on this point is discovered by scholars like Prof. Ramanayya and others, who have made a close study of the history of Muhammad Taghlakh's reign. I shall also be happy to learn from Jain scholars any historical facts about the biography of Jinaprabhasūri especially after A. D. 1332.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 263. 2. *Ibid.* 3. *Ibid.*

4. Vide p. 2 of Ibn Battu'ta : *Travels in Asia and Africa* (A. D. 1325—1354), ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, London, 1929 (Broadway Travellers). 5. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

8. Date of Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa of Sāgaranandin—Before A.D. 1431 ‡

Prof. Myles Dillon in his preface to the edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*[1] of Sāgaranandin states that this work was discovered by Prof. Sylvain Lévi during his visit to Nepal in 1922 and reported by him in the *Journal Asiatique* xciii, p. 210 (1933). In examining the question of the chronology of this work Prof. Dillon observes :—

"He (Prof. Lévi) pointed out that the text is quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in a commentary on the Amarakośa written A.D. 1431 which would give an inferior date but it has not been possible to verify this as I have been unable to discover a complete edition of the commentary." [2]

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‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) XIX, pp. 280-288.

1. Pub. by the Oxford University Press, 1937, Vol. I, Text with a Preface.

2. Do—*Preface*, p. vii. As Pro. Lévi's discovery of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* was announced in 1923 Dr. S. K. De could not make use of it in Vol. I (1923 of his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*. Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras appears to be unaware of it in 1933 when he made the following remarks in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XIV (1933), p. 260:—"On page 325 of his *Poetics*, Vol. I in the list of anonymous works Dr. De gives a work called *Nāṭakaratnakośa* as being cited by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji on Amara and as having been noticed by Aufrecht. There is every likelihood of this *Nāṭakaratnakośa* being only that section of the *Saṁgītarāja* dealing with Drama proper, the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Uparūpaka* scheme, Itivṛtta, Saṁdhi etc. The sections on Rasa and Nāṭaka, these two being widely read parts of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and connected more than the other sections to Alaṁkāra also perhaps got separated into independent works, as the existence of a separate Ms of the *Rasaratnakośa* and the citations of these sections with the mere chapter-name show." Dr. Raghavan further observes in the footnote to the above extract;—"From these *Ratnakośas* that are sections of the *Saṁgītarāja* must be distinguished the lexicon *Ratnakośa* which is quoted in commentaries on Amara. The lexicon *Ratnakośa* is very much earlier to the *Saṁgītarāja*."

Perhaps Prof. Lévi's statement may have been based on the following entry in Aufrecht's *Cata. Catalogorum*[1] :—

"नाटकरत्नकोश quoted by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji Oxf. 182 b[2]" In the above entry the fact of Rāyamukuṭa's quotation from and mention of the *Nāṭakaratnakośa*, if verified and identified in the text of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* now made available on the basis of the Nepal Ms. will have the highest chronological value. As however, Prof. Dillon has not been able to verify the above reference I propose to attempt such verification in this paper.

The *Padārthacandrikā*[3] of Bṛhaspati surnamed Rāyamukuṭamaṇi and generally known as Rāyamukuṭa was composed in A. D. 1431. It is based on sixteen earlier commentaries on the *Amarakośa*. The author was a native of Rāḍhā in Bengal. He was the son of Govinda and father of Viśrāma, Rāma and others. Aufrecht has already recorded a list[4] of authorities quoted by Rāyamukuṭa numbering about 270.

As neither a complete edition of Rāyamukuṭa's commentary nor the list of authorities published by Aufrecht was available to me I had to avail myself of a good copy[5] of the work available in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. On folio 96[b] of this copy I found the following passage :—

1. Vol. I, p. 284.

2. *Cata. of Bod. Library, Oxford, 1864*, by Aufrecht, p. 182—Here a Ms of a commentary of Bhānuji Dīkṣita on the *Amarakośa* has been described. In the list of authorities mentioned by Bhānuji नाटकरत्नकोश has been mentioned. Dr. Belvalkar assigns Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita to "about 1630 A. D." (*Systems of Sans. Grammar*, p. 47). Bhānuji, also called Rāmāśramī, was the son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. (Vide Kane : *Hist. of Dharma*. Vol. I, p. 455 f. n.).

3. Vide p. xix of Intro. to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. I, (G. O. S. Baroda, 1923) by Prof. Ramavatara Sharma. A. Borooah edited a portion of the *Padārtha-Candrikā* in 1887-88.

4. Z. D. M. G., xxviii, pp. 109–118.

5. Ms No. 109 of 1866–68 collection.

" एवं प्रकारतः विच्छित्यादयो गृह्यंते
ताश्चोक्ता नाटकरत्नकोषे--
लिलाविलासो विछित्तिर्विभ्रमः किल किंचितम् ।
मोट्टायितं कट्टिमितं विव्वोको ललितं तथा ॥
विकृतं चेति विज्ञेया स्त्रीणां चेष्टाः स्वभावजाः "

Now compare the following extract from Prof. Dillon's edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* with the above extract:—

Page 108—

" अथ चेष्टालंकारः कथ्यते

.. ..

लीला विलासो विच्छितिर्विभ्रमः किल किञ्चितम् ।
मोट्टायितं कुट्टमितं बिब्बोको ललितं तथा ॥
विकृतं चेति विज्ञेयाः स्त्रीणां भावाः स्वभावजाः ।"

As Rāyamukuṭa mentions "नाटकरत्नकोष" as the source of his quotation and as the quotation itself has been identified in Prof. Dillon's edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* we can easily conclude that नाटकरत्नकोश is identical with नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश.[1] As Sāgaranandin has drawn largely on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and as

1. The correct title of the work appears to be नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश of which नाटकरत्नकोश is evidently an abbreviated form. At the beginning of the work the author remarks "नाटकलक्षणं दशरूपकं ......वक्ष्यामः" (lines 6 7). In the following extract from the end of the work the word नाटकलक्षण has been emphasized and the colophon gives us the title नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश—Page 134 (lines 3217-3230)—

" इह हि भरतमुख्याचार्यशास्त्राम्बुराशे—
रमृतमिव रसाढ्यं लक्षणं नाटकस्य ।
प्रतिभृतमपहाय व्यासमुक्त्वा च लक्ष्या-
ण्यधिगमयितुमल्पज्ञानमल्पश्रमेण ॥
श्रीसागरेण मुकुटेश्वरनन्दिवंश-
व्योमाङ्गनैकशशिनाल्पधिया हिताय ।
सृष्टो मुनिप्रवचनैरिह नाटकस्य
बीजादिनैकविधलक्षणरत्नकोशः ।
श्रीहर्षविक्रमनराधिपमातृगुप्त-
गर्गाश्मकुट्टनखकुट्टकबादराणाम् ।
एषां मतेन भरतस्य मतं विगाह्य
घुष्टं मया समनुगच्छत रत्नकोशम् ॥
समाप्तश्चायं नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोशः कवेः श्रीसागरनन्दिनः "

Prof. Dillon has obliged us by giving us an exhaustive index of quotations from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* we are in a position to see that the three lines quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in A. D. 1431 as from नाटकरत्नकोश are found almost identical with the following lines found in chapter XXIV of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[1] called "सामान्याभिनय" :—

" लीला विलासो विच्छित्तिर्विभ्रमः किलकिञ्चितम् ।
मोटायितं कुट्टमितं बिब्बोको ललितं तथा ॥ ॥२ ॥
विहृतं चेति विज्ञेया दश स्त्रीणां स्वभावजाः । "

Though the above quotation from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is identical with that in Dillon's text of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* we must presume that Rāyamukuṭa has quoted from the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin and not from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as he mentions his source by name. It would be, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the work of Sāgaranandin was available to him. This inference enables us to state definitely that the date of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa* is earlier than A. D. 1431. We may even go a little further and conclude that it may have been composed *before the latter half of the 14th century*, presuming that a work to be quoted as authority by a writer of Rāyamukuṭa's learning and critical ability must have taken more than 50/60 years to attain the necessary celebrity and authority.

We have already recorded above that a work called नाटकरत्नकोश has been quoted by Bhānuji Dīkṣita in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* as stated by Aufrecht in his description of an Oxford Ms of the commentary. I find this quotation in a printed edition[2] of this commentary as follows :—

" लीला विलासो विच्छित्तिर्विभ्रमः किल किञ्चितम् ।
मोट्टायितं कुट्टिमितं विब्बोको ललितं तथा ॥
विहृतं चेति मन्तव्या दश स्त्रीणां स्वभावजाः
इति नाटकरत्नकोशः "

The first two lines of the above quotation are identical with the first two lines of Rāyamukuṭa's quotation from the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* but the difference in the 3rd line will be clear from their comparison as follows :—

1. Vide p. 210 of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. by Batuknatha Sharma and Baladeva Upādhyāya (Kashi Sans. Series No. 60) Benares, 1929.

2. *Amarakośa* with comm. *Vyākhyāsudhā* or *Rāmāśramī* by Bhānuji Dīkṣita (son of the grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita) ed. by Pandit Śivadatta, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1905.—Page 95—नाट्यवर्ग, verse 31.

1431 A. D.— *Rāyamukuṭa*—

" विकृतं चेति विज्ञेया स्त्रीणां चेष्टाः स्वभावजाः ।"

c. 1630 A. D.—*Bhānuji Dīkṣita*—

" विहृतं चेति मन्तव्या दश स्त्रीणां स्वभावजाः ।"

As Bhānuji Dīkṣita is a later commentator on the *Amarakośa* the possibility of his copying *in toto* an earlier quotation in Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on the same work will have to be disproved before any importance is attached to Bhānuji's quotation from the *Nāṭakaratnakośa*. I am of opinion that the difference in the 3rd line of the quotation as is revealed in the above comparison is so marked that we can safely presume the existence of a Ms of the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* from which Bhānuji has taken the quotation in question. This Ms obviously shows a different version of the text if we can judge from the variations noticeable in a single line as pointed out in the above comparison of the versions of the same line as found in Rāyamukuṭa's quotation and in Bhānuji's quotation.

Let us now consider the date of Bhānuji Dīkṣita. Dr. Belvalkar assigns his father Bhaṭṭoji to about 1630 A. D.[1] Dr. Saletore, however, assigns him to the "*last quarter of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century A.D.*"[2] If this date is correct we shall have to presume that Bhaṭṭoji flourished say between A. D.

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1. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915, Pages 46-47—"Jagannātha, the Court Pandit of Emperor Shahajahan, informs us in his *Prauḍhamanoramākucamardinī* that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣa-Kṛṣṇa, to whose memory he does very scant justice in his *Prauḍhamanoramā*. As Jagannātha himself was the pupil of the son of this Śeṣa-Kṛṣṇa, this gives us Bhaṭṭoji's date which must be about A. D. 1630. This is also confirmed by the fact that a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji wrote a work in Saṁvat 1693 (= A. D. 1637)."

2. Vide p. 98 of *Karnataka Historical Review*, Vol. IV, 1937 (Jan.-July) Nos. 1 and 2—Dr. Saletore's evidence may be briefiy indicated here. Bhaṭṭoji in the opening verses of his तत्त्वकौस्तुभ states that he wrote the work at the order of Keladi Veṅkaṭendra, who is identified by Dr. Saletore with king Veṅkaṭapa Nāyak I (1582—1629 A. D.). This king was noted for his patronage to learned men and seems to have composed a comm. on the *Śivagītā* of the *Padmapurāṇa*. Bhaṭṭoji calls himself the son of श्रीमद्विद्वन्मुकुटमाणिक्यलक्ष्मीधरभट्ट in the तत्त्वकौस्तुभ.

1575 and 1625. Prof. Kane[1] assigns Bhaṭṭoji to the period "about 1575-1650 A. D." in one place while in another[2] place he assigns him to a period "1560-1620 A. D."—a date which agrees with Dr. Saletore's date for Bhaṭṭoji mentioned above. I am inclined to accept for the present Dr. Saletore's view about Bhaṭṭoji's date and assign Bhānuji Dīkṣita[3] (the son of Bhaṭṭoji) to about 1630 A. D.

In view of the above date for Bhānuji Dikṣita, 'about 1630 A.D.' would be one of the later limits for the date of the *Nāṭakaratnakośa*. Prof. Dillon states (Preface p. vii) that the *Ratnakośa* cited by Rucipati in his commentary on the *Anargharāghava* appears to be the text of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇakośa* edited by him and that Raṅganātha in his commentary on the *Vikramorvaśīya* cites Sāgara regularly by name and quotes the text (vide pp. 90–96, foot-notes of Dillon's Edition). Though Rucipati's date is uncertain, observes Prof. Dillon, the Ms from which the commentary is edited in *Kāvyamālā* 5 was written in A. D. 1613. He, therefore, puts A. D. 1613 as the later limit for Sāgara's date.[4]

As we have, however, identified the reference to the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* mentioned by Rāyamukuṭa in the Dillon's edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, the later limit for Sāgara' date is A.D. 1431 definitely.

We have already referred to Dr. Rāghavan's view regarding the nature and contents of the *Nāṭakaratnakośa*. According to this view the work may have been originally a part of the *Saṁgītarāja*

1. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 716.

2. Ibid, p. 517—"आशौचनिर्णय by भट्टोजि (1560-1620 A. D.)"

3. Lakṣmaṇapaṇḍita wrote a work called अद्वैतसुधा in *1662 A. D.* He mentions रामाश्रम and उत्तमश्लोक as his preceptors. See Ms. *No. 143 of 1902-7*, folio 3—"रामाश्रमउत्तमश्लोकमुनिद्वय" mentioned in Kalpa I of the work. Most probably रामाश्रम mentioned as one of the preceptors of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita is identical with Bhānuji Dīkṣita alias Rāmāśrama. Lakṣmaṇapaṇḍita hailed from the Mahārāṣṭra (दक्षिणदिश्यपास्य श्रियः काश्यामुदासीनमतिः). Vide verse 10 at the beginning.

4. Sāgara quotes from numerous previous works. In the Index of authors given by Prof. Dillon we find the following names :— अश्मकुट्ट, कात्यायन, चारायण, दण्डिन्, नखकुट्ट, बादरायण, भरत, मातृगुप्त, राहुल, शातकर्णि. The Index of titles includes the following names :—अनुतापाङ्क, अभिज्ञान, अयोध्याभरत, उत्कण्ठितमाधव, उत्तरचरित, उन्मत्तचन्द्रगुप्त, उषाहरण, उर्वशी,

(*Continued on next page*)

composed by Rana Kumbha of Mewad (A.D. 1433–1468).[1] We have proved in this paper that the work mentioned by Rāyamukuṭa in A. D. 1431 as *Nāṭakaratnakośa* is identical with the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa* now made available to us in Prof. Dillon's edition. The author of this work is Sāgaranandin who flourished definitely before A.D. 1431, the date of Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on the *Amarakośa*. There is no possibility of any identity of the two works viz. *Saṁgītarāja* of Rana Kumbha and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin as these two works are distinctly separated in points of time and authorship.[2]

(*Continued from previous page*)

मर्दन, कनकवतीमाधव, कर्पूरमञ्जरी, कलावती, कामदत्तापूर्ति, कीचकभीम, कीचकाङ्क, कुन्दमाला, कुन्दशेखरविजय, कुम्भाङ्क, कुलपत्यङ्क, कृत्यारावण, कैकयीभरत, केलिरैवतक, कोशलाङ्क, क्रीडारसातल, क्षपणकापालिक, गृहवाटिका, गृहवृक्षवाटिका, गौरीगृह, चन्दनलतागृह, चित्रशालिका, जानकीराघव, तमालवीथ्यङ्क, दशरथाङ्क, दूताङ्गद, देवीमहादेव, धृतराष्ट्राङ्क, नदयन्तीसंहार, नरकवध, नरकोद्धरण, नलविजय, नागरसर्वस्व, नागवर्माङ्क, नागाद(ना?)न्द, पद्मावतिपरिणय, पुष्पदूषितक, पुंसवनाङ्क, प्रावृडङ्क, बालचरित, बिन्दुमती, भगवदज्जुक, भीमविजय, मदनमञ्जुला, मदनिकाकामुक, मदयन्तीसंहार, मायाकापालिक, मायामदालस, मायालक्षणाङ्क, मायाशकुन्त, मारीचवञ्चितक, मालतीपरिणय, मालतीमाधव, मुद्राराक्षस, मृच्छकटिक, रत्नावली, रम्भानलकूवर, राघवाभ्युदय, राधाख्यावीथि, रामविक्रम, रामानन्द, रामाभ्युदय, रामायण, रैवतीपरिणय, ललितानागर, लामकायनाङ्क, वालिवध, विक्रमोर्वशीय, विभीषणनिर्भर्त्सनाङ्क, विलासवती, वीणावती, वृक्षवाटिका, वृत्तोद्धरण, वेणीसंहार, शक्त्यङ्क, शकानन्द, शर्मिष्ठापरिणय, शशिकामदत्त, शशिविलास, शाकुन्तल, शालभञ्जिका, शृङ्गारतिलक, सत्यभामा, संपात्यङ्क, सुग्रीवाङ्क, सुन्दराङ्क, स्वप्नवासवदत्त,—(अनुतापाङ्क, अश्वत्थामाङ्क, उन्मत्तमाधव, कदलीगृह, गौरीगृह, चूडामणि, चैत्रावत्यङ्क, चौर्यविवाह, दुर्दिनाङ्क, धृतराष्ट्राङ्क, पलित्यङ्क, प्रतिज्ञाभीम, बृहद्धकुलवीथिका, भानुमत्यङ्क, मोटकाङ्क, वध्यशिला, श्मशानाङ्क, संकेताङ्क).

1. Vide *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol.III-A, by Major K. D. Erskine, Allahabad, 1909—Part III (Sirohi States), p. 303—"The great Rana Kumbha of Mewar (1433–68)"

2. Though the identity of the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* with the *Saṁgītarāja* is impossible in view of the evidence recorded in this paper it does not affect the other suggestion of Dr. Raghavan that the *Rasaratnakośa* forms a substantial section of Rana Kumbha's very voluminous work *Saṁgītarāja*. The nebular hypothesis of the *Rasaratnakośa* being separated from the central mass of the *Saṁgītarāja* and leading an independent existence is possible as the identity of authorship of these works is proved by Dr. Raghavan in his paper "The *Rasaratnakośa*, the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* and the *Saṁgītarāja*" (*Annals*, XIV, pp. 258).

We have fixed A.D. 1431 as one terminus to the date of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*. As regards the other terminus we quote Prof. Dillon's remarks :—"The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara which is cited at l. 3071 dates from the tenth century (see Konow : *Das Indische Drama*, p. 84). If the *Dūtāṅgada* cited at l. 983 is the play of Subhaṭa, which there is no reason to doubt, the superior date is A.D. 1243 (see Grey *J. Am. Or. Soc.* 32, 39) but the identity is not certain as there are no quotations. The *Rāmābhyudaya* quoted is not that of Rāmadeva (fifteenth century), which has been edited by Losch, *Das Indische schattenheater*, p. 80 for none of the quotations are to be found in that text. The *Ratnakośa* may be as early as the thirteenth century but I cannot now put forward any more exact date as the author Sāgaranandin is not known except in connection with this work (Lévi. *Jour. Asiatique* xciii, p. 211)."

In the above remarks Prof. Dillon refers to the work *Rāmābhyudaya* mentioned and quoted from[1] by Sāgaranandin. As Rāmadeva's *Rāmābhyudaya* of the 15th century has been ruled out by Prof. Dillon we must find other works of this name. Aufrecht[2] records a Ms of this work, which is in 30 Sargas but the authorship is ascribed to one Veṅkateśa. The work of this name quoted by Ānandavardhana must also be taken into account. It is ascribed to Yaśovarman.[3] I may, however, record an inscriptional reference to

1. Vide Dillon's Edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* pp. 33, 130 :—

line 784—"**रामाभ्युदये** रावणेन आरब्धकूटसंधौ जालिनीं राक्षसीं सीतारूपेण रामस्य दर्शयता रामस्य जनितो विमर्शः। यदाह।

कथमिव विदधामि तस्य संधिं
कथममरेंद्रगिरां भवामि वासः।
इति विषमविवर्तमानचिंता-
तरलमतिर्न विनिश्चिनोमि किंचित्॥"

line 3126—"यथा **रामाभ्युदये** वाली।
क्षपानलशिखाजालविकिरालसरावलिः।
दृश्यते न द्विपः सिंहः क्रुद्धो वाली न वैरिभिः॥"

2. *Cata. Catalo.* I, p. 523—"रामाभ्युदय Kāvya in 30 Sargas, by Veṅkaṭeśa. Burnell 161 b (and commentary)" also (1) रामाभ्युदय Nāṭaka by Yaśovarman. Quoted by Ānandavardhana in *Dhvanyāloka*, in *Sāhityadarpaṇa* p. 171 (2)—by Vyāsa Śrī Rāmadeva. Br. M. (addit. 26, 424).

3. Abhinavagupta who was born between 950 and 960 A. D. according to Dr. K. C. Pandey—vide p. 8 of his *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I—1935, refers to *Rāmābhyudaya* of Yaśovarman in his commentary *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana :—रामाभ्युदये यशोवर्मणा—'स्थितमिति यथा शय्यां--' (p. 148 of Kāvyamālā edition).

Rāmābhyudaya which appears to have been a Kāvya composed by a poet of the name Nārāyaṇa. The inscription in which this reference is found hails from the Central Provinces. The verse[1] containing the name of the work and the name of the poet reads as follows :—

"श्रीवत्सश्चरणाऽज(ब्ज)पूजनमतिर्न्नारायणः सत्कविः
श्रीरामाऽभ्युदयाभिधं रसमयं काव्यं स तद्यो व्यधात् ।
स्मृत्यारूढयदीयवाक्यरचना प्रादुर्भवन्निर्भर-
प्रेमोल्लासितचित्रवृत्तिरभवद्वाग्देवतावल्लकी ॥"

The bearing of this verse on the date of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* will have to be studied at some length and hence must be left to a future study.[2]

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1. This verse was kindly supplied to me by Prof. V. V. Mirashi of Nagpur in a private communication dated 27th July 1937, inquiring if I could trace a reference to this *Kāvya*. I have pointed out to him the available references to the *Ramābhyudaya*. Perhaps Prof. Mirashi may be able to throw some light on this *Rāmābhyudaya* of Nārāyaṇa different from the works of the same name, by Veṅkaṭeśa, Yaśovarman, and Rāmadeva.

2. Since my paper was sent to the press, I have received the following information from my friend Prof. V. V. Mirashi in a letter dated 13th September 1938 :—The "verse which refers to a *Rāmābhyudaya-Kāvya* by the Poet Nārāyaṇa occurs in a stone inscription found at Pujāripāli, a village 22 miles north by east from Sarangarh the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in the Eastern States Agency. It is now deposited in the Rajpur Museum. The inscription is undated but the prince Gopāladeva mentioned in it is identified by some with his name-sake, an inscription of whose reign has been found at Boramdeva in the State of Kawardhā dated in the Kalachuri year 840 (A. D. 1088-9). I am not inclined to accept the identification as in my opinion the Pujāripāli inscription belongs to a slightly later date i.e. to the *twelfth or thirteenth century A. D.* "

I am thankful to Prof. Mirashi for the above information. If we succeed in connecting the *Rāmābhyudaya Kāvya* of the above inscription with the *Rāmābhyudaya* quoted by Sāgaranandin, perhaps we may be able to assign the date of his *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* to the 13th century or rather the period between A. D. 1250 and 1350 but as the evidence stands at present this conclusion remains only a probability.

9. Date of Viśvalocanakośa of Srīdharasena ‡

Aufrecht[1] makes the following entries about the lexicon *Viśvalocana* or *Viśvalocanakośa* :— "विश्वलोचन lexicon, quoted Oxf. 135 b, 185 b. Perhaps the *Viśvaprakāśa.*" विश्वलोचनकोश[2], a synonymous lexicon by Śrīdharasena, son of Munisena, Peterson 5, p. 162. श्रीधर[3] a lexicographer, very often quoted by Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara.*"

As Sādhu Sundaragaṇi composed his *Dhāturatnākara* in A. D. 1624,[4] we may regard this year as one terminus to the date of Śrīdharasena, presuming that he is identical with the author of the *Viśvalocana* or *Viśvalocanakośa.*

The Oxford Ms[5] of Raṅganātha's commentary on Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* mentions the lexicon *Viśvalocana* ; and Aufrecht in his *Catalogue of Oxford Mss* identifies *Viśvalocana* with *Viśvaprakāśa*, though in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*[6] he states that this identification is a probability only.

An Oxford Ms[7] of the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra mentions *Viśvalocanakośa* and Śrīdhara in the margin of folio 61 b of the Ms ; but these marginal references have no historical value, as they are not found in the lists[8] of works and authors mentioned by Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and its commentary composed by himself.

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‡ *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 15-20.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 586 a.

2. *Ibid*, Part III, 123 b.

3. *Ibid*, Part I, 668.

4. *Ibid*, Part I, p. 725.

5. *Cata. of Mss in Bodleian Library*, 1864, Oxford, p. 135 b-Viśvalocana (= Viśvaprakāśa).

6. *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, p. 586 a-"विश्वलोचन...Perhaps the Viśvaprakāśa."

7. *Catalogue of Bod. Mss* p. 185 b.

8. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Part II, Index etc., pp. 317-322. ed. by Jayanta Vijaya, Baroda, (1-8-1920).

Raṅganātha's commentary on the *Vikramorvaśīya*[1] referred to above was composed in the Vikrama year 1712, *i.e.*, A.D. 1656; and, as Raṅganātha quotes *Viśvalocana*, we have in this work another dated reference to *Viśvalocana*, though it is later by thirty-two years than the reference in the *Dhāturatnākara* composed in A. D. 1624. These references prove that the lexicon विश्वलोचन must have been composed earlier than about A. D. 1550.

Peterson in his *Fifth Report* (1896) gives an extract from a Ms of *Viśvalocanakośa* preserved at Anhilwaḍ Patan (page 162, Paper Ms. No. 5); while in his Index to authors in the same Report (p. lxxv) he states about Śrīdhara that he was "the son of Munisena of the Senānvaya", and that the "*Viśvalocanakośa* is apparently ascribed to a pupil of his. 5, 162."

The Jain Granthāvali[2] mentions *Viśvalocanakośa* and refers to the very Ms mentioned by Peterson in his *Fifth Report* referred to above, but mentions 'दिगंबर' as the author of the lexicon stating thereby that the author is of the Digambara Sect and not of the Śvetāmbara Sect.

Prof. Handiqui[3] states that Jinarāja, commentator on the *Naiṣadhacarita*, quotes under XVI, 20, a lexicographer named Śrīdhara. According to Prof. Handiqui Jinarāja lived about A. D. 1650. Now the quotation[4] from Śrīdhara referred to by Prof. Handiqui is as under :—

"शाणः सार्धतोलके कर्षेकषणेकरपत्रिके इति श्रीधरः"

This quotation is almost identical with the following line from the published edition of Śrīdharasena's *Viśvalocanakośa*[5] :—

"शाणोर्द्धमाषकेकर्षे करणे करपत्रके"

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1. See p. XXV of Intro. of *Vikramorvaśīya* by Prof. Charudeva-shastri, Lahore, 1929. Raṅganātha was a resident of Vyomakośa-puṭabhedana. His father's name was Bālakṛṣṇa and he came of the family of Simbekara.

2. Published by the Jain Śvetāmbara Conference, Bombay, 1909, p. 313.

3. *Naiṣadhacarita* Intro. p. XVII. (Punjab Oriental Series, 1934).

4. *Ibid*, Notes p. 466.

5. *Viśvalocanakośa* (also called *Muktāvalikośa*) p. 104–Edited by Natha Rangaji Gandhi, N. S. Press, Bombay, June 1912.

This quotation, therefore, furnishes us with another dated reference to the *Viśvalocanakośa* of Śrīdharasena.

Prof. Handiqui further observes about Śrīdhara thus :—

"Śrīdhara is quoted in the *Puruṣakāra* Commentary on the *Daivam*. The *Puruṣakāra* has been assigned to the 13th century." (See Intro. to Trivandrum edn.)

The quotations from Śrīdhara referred to by Prof. Handiqui are as follows :—

Page 66 :—

"तथा च श्रीधरो नृत्यागेन नृत्यादीन् पठित्वा एताम्सस वर्जयित्वा इत्याह"

Page 16 :—

"श्रीधरस्तु 'स्तृञ् छादने' दीर्घः स्तृञ् छादने ऱ्हस्व इत्युभावप्युपन्यास्यत्"

The above quotations appear to be from some grammatical work and not from the lexicon *Viśvalocana* of Śrīdharasena. At any rate these references have no chronological value for our present inquiry, unless the identity of Śrīdharasena, the lexicographer, with Śrīdhara the grammarian is proved on conclusive grounds.

A commentator on the Saupadma grammar of the name Śrīdharacakravartin[1] is known, but as we have not got the text of this commentary before us, it is not possible for us to identify the above quotations.

The editor of *Viśvalocanakośa*,[2] Mr. Nandalal Sharma, ascribes the authorship of the works ( ) *Śrutāvatara*, (2) *Bhaviṣyadattacaritra* and (3) *Nāgakumārakathā*, to an author Śrīdhara, but remarks that as he had no occasion to examine these works, he is unable to say anything about their author. Out of these three works we have examined a Ms of *Bhaviṣyadattacaritra viz.*, No. 1199 of 1891–95 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O R. Institute, Poona (folios 49). The author of this work is mentioned as *Vibudhaśrīdhara*, and we have no evidence to prove his identity with Śrīdharasena, the author of the lexicon *Viśvalocanakośa*. This Ms was copied in the year A. D. 1580 (Saṁvat 1636) at Ambāvatīdurga during the reign of Raja Bhagavantadāsa, who is called *Mahārājādhirāja*. Presumably

1. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 112, Poona, 1915.
2. *N. S. Press*, Bombay, June 1912.

this Vibudhaśrīdhara must have composed this work before about A. D. 1525, if not earlier.

We have already fixed A. D. 1550 as one terminus to the date of Śrīdharasena, and have seen that the references to his namesakes recorded above have been found insufficient to furnish the other terminus.

Before proceeding to note the internal evidence on the question of our inquiry, it may not be out of place to record some negative evidence having some bearing on the question of fixing the earlier terminus for the date of the *Viśvalocanakośa*. We have already seen above that Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* does not refer to either the *Viśvalocanakośa* or its author Śrīdharasena. This omission may suggest that the *Viśvalocanakośa* was written after Hemacandra's time, *viz.*, A. D. 1150.[1] Then, again, another lexicon, *viz. Viśvaprakāśa* or *Viśva* of Maheśvara,[2] which was composed in A. D. 1111, does not mention Śrīdharasena or his *Viśvalocana* in the list of earlier works utilized by him.

This omission may also suggest the probability that the *Viśvalocanakośa* was not known to Maheśvara in A. D. 1111. On the contrary, there is ample evidence to prove that Śrīdharasena has borrowed freely with slight variations from both Hemacandra and Maheśvara, either directly or through *Medinīkośa*[3] which criticizes the *Viśvaprakāsakośa* of Maheśvara in an adverse manner. With a view to establish the indebtedness of Śrīdharasena to Hemacandra, Maheśvara, and Medinī, it would be useful to take some lines which are found common to all the three lexicons with slight variations :—

1. Duff, *Indian Chronology*, p. 152.

2. *Viśvaprakāśa*, Preface, p. 1—"In compiling this volume our author has employed Nāmapārāyaṇa as his guide and has derived material aid from the following :—राजकोश भागीन्द्र, कात्यायन, साहसाङ्क वाचस्पति, व्याडि, विश्वरूप, अमलमंगल, सुभंग, गोपालित, भागुरि" (Chokhamba Sans. Series, 1911).

3. Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1872.

"अपि बहुदोषं विश्वप्रकाशकोषञ्च सुविचार्य"

The extract of 6 verses containing names of previous writers is given at the beginning of this edition.

A. D. 1088–1172	हेमचन्द्र p.100 verse 106	गोमेदकं	पीतरत्ने	काकोले	पत्रकेऽपि च
A.D. 1111	विश्वप्रकाश p. 18, verse 197	,,	पीतमणौ	,,	,, ,,
After A.D. 1111	मेदिनी p.20, verse 186b	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,
	श्रीधरसेन p.33 verse 190b	गोमेदकः	,,	,,	,, ,,

In the above table we know the indebtedness of मेदिनी to विश्वप्रकाश, and may, therefore, conclude that the line गोमेदकं, etc. has been exactly copied by him from the विश्वप्रकाश lexicon. How far विश्वप्रकाश borrowed from हेमचंद्र is a matter for investigation, because the possibility of a common source cannot be excluded in this case. Hemacandra (A.D. 1088-1178) and the author of *Viśvaprakāśa*, *viz.*, Maheśvara (A.D. 1111) were contemporaries; and the possibility of one contemporary quite ignoring the work of another, even if it were accessible to him, or of utilizing it *in extenso*, is equally tenable. But in case it is definitely proved on independent grounds that the विश्वप्रकाश has borrowed from Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* we may infer that the reading पीतरत्ने of the *Anekārthasaṁgraha* has been changed to पीतमणौ by the author of the *Viśvaprakāśa*; and श्रीधरसेन may have borrowed the line with this change either from the *Viśvaprakāśa* or the *Medinīkośa*.

In support of this probable evidence we may compare another line from the *Viśvalocana* and its variations or otherwise as found in these four lexicons :—

हेमचन्द्र p.49, verse 62a	पुलाको	भक्तसिक्थे	स्यात्	संक्षेपा	सारधान्ययोः
विश्वप्रकाश	पुलाक	-स्तुच्छधान्ये	,,	संक्षेपे	भक्तसिक्थके
मेदिनी p.13, verse 122a	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
श्रीधरसेन p. 21, verse 117	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, -शिक्थके

This table also shows that variations from Hemacandra's text as found in the *Viśvaprakāśakośa* have been preserved in the

Medinī, as also in the *Viśvalocanakośa* of Śrīdharasena. It is, however, difficult to establish on conclusive grounds whether Śrīdharasena has borrowed from the *Viśvaprakāśa* or the *Medinīkośa*.

Another argument in favour of the late chronology of Śrīdharasena's lexicon is the following fact pointed out by Mr. Nandalal Sharma in his Hindī Introduction to this lexicon :—

"There are may *nānārthakośas* in Sanskrit but so far as I am aware there is no lexicon as comprehensive as or containing so numerous meanings of a single word as this lexicon......For instance, the word रुचक has *four* meanings in the *Amarakośa*, ten in the *Medinīkośa*, and *twelve* meanings in this lexicon."[1]

The above remarks, if substantiated by many other analogous examples may go to prove that S'rīdharasena composed his lexicon after the *Medinīkośa*, in which case the date of Śrīdharasena's work will depend on that of the *Medinīkośa*. If this line of argument is accepted, we shall have to put Śrīdharasena between the twelfth century and the sixteenth century, because Prof. Rāmāvatāra Sharma[2] in this learned introduction to *Kalpadrukośa* is inclined to push back Medinī's date to the twelfth century. As Medinī refers to and criticizes the *Viśvaprakāśa* (A.D.1111) and as he is quoted in the *Pṛṣodarādivṛtti* of Padmanābhadatta in A. D. 1375,[3] we may not be far wrong if we assign him to the thirteenth century, and,accordingly,assign Śrīdharasena's *Viśvalocana* to a date between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century, or tentatively between A.D. 1350 and A.D. 1550. These limits cannot be narrowed down in the present stage of our inquiry for want of conclusive evidence.

Now, as regards the parentage of Śrīdharasena and the town of his residence etc., we get some information in the *praśasti*[4] in his

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1. Sharma, *Viśvalocanakośa*, Intro., p. 5. (Hindi ed.).
2. *Kapladrukośa* Vol. I, (p. XI), Gaekwar Ori. Series 1928.
3. *Ibid.*
4. This *praśasti* reads as under :—

"सेनान्वये सकलसत्वसमर्पितश्री:
श्रीमानजायत कविर्मुनिसेन नामा ।
आन्वीक्षिकी सकलशास्त्रमयी च विद्या-
यस्यासवादपदवी न दवीयसी स्यात् ॥ १ ॥

(*Continued on next page*)

lexicon. The name of his *guru* was Munisena, who was well-versed in logic and was also a great poet. He was also respected by some of the kings of his time. In verse 4 of the *praśasti* the expression "**पदविदां च पुरे निवासी**" is used with respect to Śrīdhara-sena's town of residence. I am unable to identify this town at present.

(*Continued from previous page*)

तस्मादभूदखिलवाङ्मयपारदृश्वा
विश्वासपात्रमवनीतलनायकानाम् ।
श्री श्रीधरः सकलसत्कविगुम्फितत्व-
पीयूषपानकृतनिर्जरभारतीकः ॥ २ ॥
तस्यातिशायिनि कवेः पथिजागरूक-
धीलोचनस्य गुरुशासनलोचनस्य ।
नानाकवींद्ररचितानभिधानकोशा-
नाकृष्य लोचनमिवायमदीपिकोशः ॥ ३ ॥
साहित्यकर्मकविताागमजागरूके-
रालोकितः **पदविदां च पुरे** निवासी ।
वर्त्मन्यधीत्य मिलितः प्रतिभान्वितानां
चेदस्ति दुर्जनवचो रहितं तदानीम् ॥ ४ ॥
यत्नो मया यमनपायमशेषविद्या
विद्याधरीपरिवृढस्य मतौ नियोक्तुम् ।
त्यक्त्वा पुनर्विमलकौस्तुभरत्नमन्यो
लक्ष्मीविनोदरसिको रसिकोऽस्ति धन्यः ॥ ५ ॥
नागेन्द्रसंग्रथितकोशसमुद्रमध्ये
नानाकवीन्द्रमुखशुक्तिसमुद्भवेयम् ।
विद्वद्महादमरनिर्मितपट्टसूत्रे
मक्तावली विरचिता हृदिसंनिधातुम् ॥ ६ ॥"

10. The Genealogy of Maṇḍana, the Jain Prime-Minister of Hoshang Ghori of Malwa—Between A. D. 1405 and 1432 ‡

In a paper contributed by me to the *Jaina Antiquary* (Vol. XI, No. 77, pp. 25-34) on "*Maṇḍana, the Prime Minister of Malwa and his Works*" I have assigned this Jain author to the period A. D. 1400 to 1432 on the following grounds :—

(1) Mss of Maṇḍana's works शृङ्गारमण्डन and काव्यमण्डन are dated *Saṁvat 1504 = A. D. 1448.*[1]

(2) अल्मसाहि or अलमसाहि, the patron of Maṇḍana has been identified by me with अल्पखान or Hoshang Ghori, who ruled Malwa between A. D. 1405 and 1432 or so.

Since the above paper was sent for publication I have discovered the following chronological evidence in support of my chronology for Maṇḍana and his works :—

(1) Prof. H. D. Velankar in his जिनरत्नकोश or *Catalogus Catalogorum of Jain Mss* that is now being published by the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, makes the following entry about an author धनदराज :—

"शतकत्रय (नीति, वैराग्य and शृङ्गार) by धनदराज संघपति, son of देहड—Chani. 69 ; PAPR. 18 (19) ; PAZB 1 (.8 ; 29—MS dated *Saṁvat 1504*); 23 (8—MS dated *Saṁvat 1504*)."

It is evident from the above entry that MSS of the शतकत्रय of this author धनदराज were copied in *Saṁvat 1504* (= A. D. 1448) the very year in which the MSS of Maṇḍana's शृङ्गारमण्डन and काव्यमण्डनं were copied. Let us now see if धनदराज has any connection with मण्डन the Prime-Minister of Almsāhi of Malwa.

I have already pointed out in my paper on Maṇḍana that his father बाहड was a संघपति connected with the खरतरान्वय and that he

‡ *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. IX, No. 77, pp. 91-94.

1. Vide मण्डनग्रन्थसंग्रह (काव्य-मण्डन-शृंङ्गारमण्डनौ) ed. by Prabhudāsa and Vīra-Candra, Patan, 1919 (हेमचन्द्राचार्यग्रन्थावली, No. 17).

himself was a संघपति like his father and a devout follower of Jain religion as he calls himself "श्रीमद्गच्छजिनेन्द्रनिर्भरनते: कवे:. Maṇḍana further gives us the following information about his family :—

(1) झंझण was his grand-father.

(2) झंझण had six sons :—

(i) चाहड, (ii) बाहड, (iii) देहड, (iv) पद्म, (v) पाहुराज and (vi) कोलाभक्ष (?).

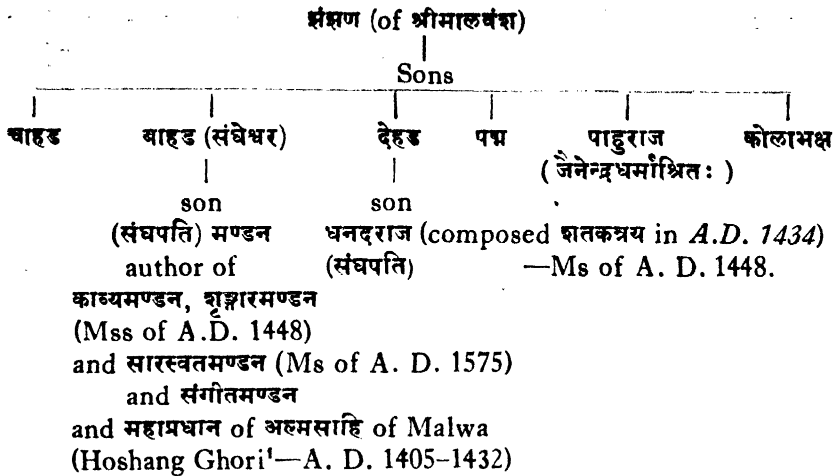
(3) बाहड in the above list was Maṇḍana's father. Unfortunately Maṇḍana does not record the names of his cousins, the sons of चाहड, बाहड, देहड etc. This deficiency has, however, been partially made up by the entry regarding the शतकत्रय of धनदराज, son of देहड. I am inclined to identify देहड, the father of संघपति धनदराज, with Maṇḍana's uncle देहड. The title संघपति appears to have been held by many members of the family as मण्डन calls himself संघपति. He also calls his father संघश्वर (or संघपति). धनदराज was also a संघपति and MSS of his शतकत्रय were copied at मण्डपदुर्ग in A. D. 1448, the very year in which the MSS of Maṇḍana's works were copied.

धनदराज composed his शतकत्रय[1] at Maṇḍapadurga or Maṇḍu fort in *Saṁvat 1490 = A. D. 1434*. This date confirms my chronology for Maṇḍana viz. A. D. 1405 to 1432, a period during which his patron Hoshang Ghori ruled Malwa. Both these cousins मण्डन and धनदराज were men of literary taste and ability and if one of them composed a work in A. D. 1434 the chronology of the other cousin's works may be safely assigned to the period, A. D. 1405—1432, as determined by me already on the strength of probable evidence, which now gets confirmed by the date of धनदराज viz. A. D. 1434.

The genealógy of Maṇḍana's family may now be reconstructed as follows :—

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1. Ed. in Kāvyamālā, 13 (N. S. Press, Bombay). Vide p. 318 of *Classical Sans. Literature* by Krishnamachariar, 1937 —"Dhanadarāja, son of Dehala, wrote three Śatakas like Bhartṛhari in 1434 A. D."



In the following stanzas we find Maṇḍana recording his ministership with अल्मसाहि, his Jain faith, his श्रीमालवंश, and his father's name :—

MSS of सारस्वतमण्डन (B. O. R. Institute, Poona) *No. 675 of 1891-95*, fol. 17a and *No. 13 of 1877-78*, folio 17—

"सविग्रहाणामुभये स्वराणामिति प्रकृत्या सहसाहसानां ।
श्रीमण्डनः सूभविदल्मसाहिमहाप्रधानो व्यदधात्सुसंधीन् ॥
सद्यःसांद्रजिनेंद्रसुंदरपदद्वंद्वप्रसादोद्भव-
द्भूयोभीष्टपुमर्थसार्थकजनुः श्रीमालमालामणिः ।
सोयं सोनगिरान्वयः खरतरः श्रीबाहडास्यात्मजः
श्रीसारस्वतमंडनं रचयति क्ष्मामंडनं मंडनः ॥"

Udayarāja[2], a court-poet of Mahamūda Begḍā, Sultan of Gujarat, composed a poem in praise of his patron called the राजविनोद. In this poem he refers to the confinement and release of अल्पखान[3] (=अल्मसाहि, patron of मण्डन) or Hoshang Ghori of Malwa as follows:.

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1. Cf. *Āin-i-Akbari* (Tr. by Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891).

p. 218—"*Alp Khān*, son of Dilāwar Khān was elected to the succession under the title of *Hoshang*.........Sultan Muzaffer of Gujarat marched against him."

2. Vide pp. 101—115 of *Journal of the Bombay University*, Vol. IX, Part 2, Sept. 1940. (My paper on the *Rājavinoda* of Udayarāja).

3. Ibid, p. 105, foot-note 1.

"मुमोच बंदीकृतमल्पषानमनल्पवीर्यं बलवत्तरोयः ।
वंशास्ततो मालवराजबंदिमोक्षं पदाख्यं विरुदं वहन्ति ॥"

This confinement and release was carried out by Muzaffer, Sultan of Gujarat (A. D. 1392–1410) sometime about A. D. 1409. The poem राजविनोद was composed between A. D. 1458 and 1469 and consequently the use of the name अल्मसाहि for Hoshang Ghori is earlier than the use of the name अल्पखान recorded by Udayarāja.

The students of the history of Malwa should investigate and determine the exact period of Maṇḍana's Prime-ministership and the influence exercised by this Jain Prime-minister on the policy of Hoshang Ghori. This association of a Jain संघपति with a Muslim ruler of Malwa in the first half of the 15th century is as interesting as it is instructive. Maṇḍana refers to his Muslim patron in glowing terms in his काव्यमण्डन and शृंगारमण्डन, as also in his सारस्वतमण्डन. The MS of Maṇḍana's संगीतमण्डन is not available to me and hence I am unable to say what information it contains about its author and his Muslim patron.

11. The Oldest Dated Manuscript of Puñjarāja's Commentary on the Sārasvata-Prakriyā–Dated A. D. 1556 (Saṁvat 1612)*

Puñjarāja, the author of two works on *alaṁkāra*[1] composed a commentary on the *Sārasvata-prakriyā*. According to Aufrecht[2] he lived at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century *i.e.* between *A. D.* 1475 and 1530. Aufrecht[3] records some MSS of his *Sārasvata-ṭīkā*, some of which are dated ones[4], being copied in

* *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. V, Part 3, pp. 1–5.

1. These works are (1) *Dhvani-pradīpa* and (2) *Kāvyālaṁkāra-Śiśu-prabodha* (Vide p. 301 of Dr. S. K. De's *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, 1923.)

2. *Ibid.*, 302.

3. *CC*, *I*, *700*—"सरस्वतीसूत्र—Comm. by Puñjarāja I. O. 859, 1194, W. p. 220."

CC, *II*, 167—"Fl. 181. Rgb. 495. Stein 48 (inc.)."

CC, *III*, 145—"Peters 5, p. 166, 5,240, 6,256".

4. I record below the dates of these MSS as I find them recorded in the Catalogues. I have examined the MSS. found by me in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute and verified the dates recorded in these MSS. only.

A. D.	SAṀVAT	PARTICULARS OF MS
1565	1622	सारस्वतटीका—*No. 495 of 1884–87* (B. O. R. Institute).
,,	,,	—Do— *No. 289 of 1880–81.*
1600	1656	—Do— *No. 256 of 1895–98.*
1587	1643	—Do—India Office MS No.801(vide p. 214 of *Cata.* II, 1889). The Chronogram reads "वन्हृयब्धिषड्विधु" = Saṁvat 1643 = A.D. 1587 (and not 1616 as stated in the Catalogue). H. D. Velankar in his *Cata. of B. B. R. A. Society MSS* records MS No. 61 of Puñjarāja's comm. dated Saṁvat 1643 = *A. D. 1587*.

A. D. 1566, 1587 and 1600. Subsequent to the publication of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* the B. O. R. Institute published a list of additions to the Govt. MSS Library in 1925. In these additions two[1] more MSS of Puñjarāja's commentary were added to the Govt. MSS. Library, one of which is dated Saṁvat 1612 = *A. D. 1555* as will be seen from the following extract :—

"इति श्रीमालकुलश्रीमालभार श्रीपुंजराजविनिर्मिता **सारस्वतटीका** संपूर्णव्याख्या। विशेष . . . . . . संगते। श्रीपुंजराजो यदिहाभ्यधत्त अविस्तरं चाहविनिश्चितार्थं सर्वस्वमूलसमपेक्षितंता ॥ २३ ॥

. . . . बलशालनां च वोविस्तरागमबभेतिं भारिती।
तेनदुर्नयनिवारिणोचिते। पूर्वकोविदमत्ते विलीयते ॥ २४ ॥

गर्वाज्ञानमतो निमीलिततया मालिन्यमर्थेषु ये।
संसुद्रेष्कपितत्वतेन तदधीकार। परीष्याविधौ।
क्रित्वते गुणदोषयो स(?)मदशो वैराग्यनिष्टा इव।
श्रेष्टां हंत परोक्तिनिस्पृहधियसूक्ष्मादमीभ्यो नमः ॥ २५ ॥

ग्रंथाग्रं ॥ ४२०० ॥ श्रीरस्तु संवत् १६१२ वर्षे मार्गसिरसुदि। ७ दिने। बृहस्पतिवार[2] श्रीषतरगच्छे। श्रीश्रीश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरिशिष्यश्रीउदयवल्लभमहोपाध्याय तत् शिष्यवाचनाचार्यपद्मसुंदरगणितत्सिष्यभवनशोभे(भे?)न लिपीकृताः ॥ श्रीरेकमनगरे। श्रीजिनचन्द्र[3]सूरिविजयराज्ये ॥ सुभं भवतु ॥

॥ श्रीक्षेमराजो महोपाध्यायाः शिष्यवाचनाचार्य श्रीदयातिलकगणिव.........णां शिष्यपंडित . . . . खेमसोमगणिवराणां शिष्यपंडितउत्तमपुण्यतिलकमुनिवराणां शिष्यपं० विनयकीर्तिसत्यकीर्त्ति . . . .।"

1. MSS *No. 287 of 1899-1915* and *No. 342 of 1895-1902* dated *Saṁvat 1612*.
MS No. 342 of 1895-1902.

2. This date corresponds to Thursday, *21st November, 1555* (Vide p. 313 of *Ind. Ephemeris*, Vol. V).

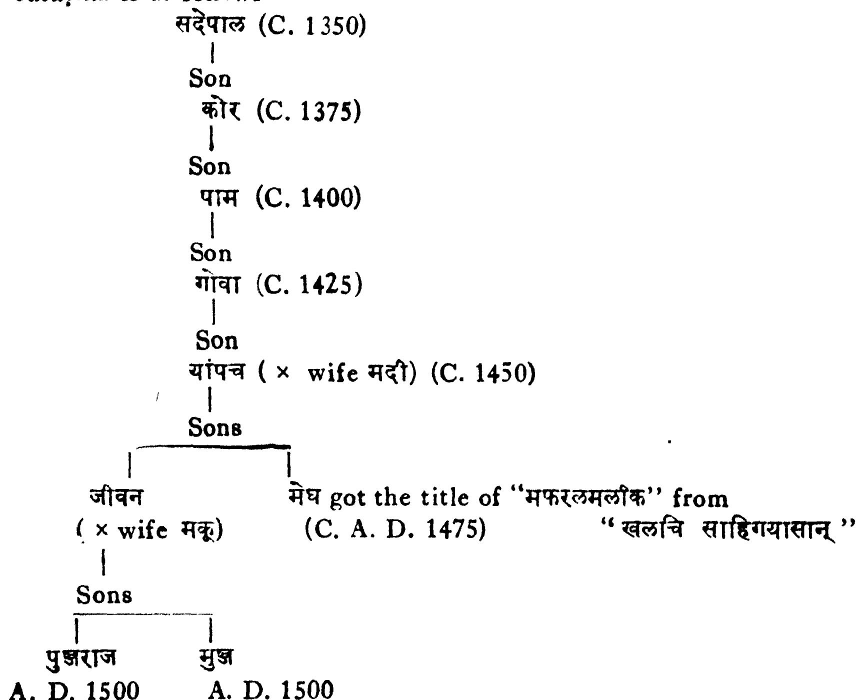
3. Vide p. 34 of *Kharataragaccha-Paṭṭāvali-Saṁgraha* by Muni Jinavijayaji, Calcutta, 1932—Here one जिनचंद्रसूरि of खरतरगच्छ is mentioned. His dates are as follows :

(1) Born—*A. D. 1539* (*Saṁvat 1595*).
(2) Became *Sūri*—*A. D. 1556* (*Saṁvat 1612*).
(3) Died—in *A. D. 1614* (*Saṁvat 1670*).

It appears to me that the MS of *A. D. 1556* from which I have quoted above is the earliest dated MS of Puñjarāja's *Sārasvataṭīkā*[1] so far as I can judge from the published Catalogues available to me for reference. The date of this copy *viz.*, *A. D. 1556* harmonizes with the date assigned to Puñjarāja by Aufrecht and accepted by other scholars *viz.*, "*A. D. 1475 to 1520.*" As Puñjarāja's uncle Megha was patronized by a Muhammadan king of Malwa[2] who flourished in *A. D. 1475* we can definitely assign Puñjarāja

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1. The genealogy of Puñjarāja as recorded by him in his *Sārasvataṭīkā* is as follows :—



Lane Poole (*Muhammadan Dynasties*, 1925, p. 311) records only one Khalji King of Malwa *viz.*, *Ghyāth Shāh b. Mahmud* (*A. D. 1475*) who was the patron of Puñjarāja's uncle मेघ.

2. Peterson (5th Report) p. 167—सारस्वतटीका

"श्रीविलासवति मंडपदुर्गे स्वामिनः खलचिसाहिगयासान् ।
प्राप्य मंत्रिपदवीं भुवि याभ्यामर्जितार्जितपरोपकृतिः श्रीः ॥ १ ॥"

Ghias-ud-din Khalji was poisoned on *30th March 1501*. Nāsir-ud-din Khalji succeeded him and ruled till his death on *30th April 1511*—Vide p. 381 of *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1928). Puñjarāja may

(*Continued on next page*)

to a period between *A. D. 1475* and *1520* and consequently the B. O. R. I. MS of his work dated *A. D. 1556* is not much removed from the life-time of Puñjarāja. The line of the Khalji rulers of Malwa came to an end in *A. D. 1531* when Nāsir's successor Mahmūd Khalji was put to death. The kingdom of Malwa was conquered by Humāyūn in *A. D. 1535*. We have no means of determining the fate of Puñjarāja's family, say, after *A. D. 1531*. The patronage to learning and the comparatively peaceful condition of life enjoyed by the family of our author must have ceased after the death of Mahmūd Khalji, the last Khalji ruler of Malwa.

Speaking of Puñjarāja Dr. Belvalkar[1] states that Puñjarāja "was a minister to Ghaisuddin Khilji of Malwa 1469–1500." The statement seems to be wrong because in the account of himself and his ancestry given by Puñjarāja in the *praśasti* at the beginning of his commentary on the *Sārasvata* we are only informed that Puñjarāja's father Jīvana and his uncle Megha got the title of मंत्रि from Ghaisuddin Khilji (स्वामिनः खलचिसाहिगयासात् प्राप्य मंत्रिपदवीम् भुवि याभ्याम्). We are also told that Puñjarāja became king (नरेन्द्र) but abandoned the kingdom to his younger brother Muñja (मुंज...उपाहित-राजकार्यभार). Thus while he refers to his father Jīvana and his uncle Megha as ministers (*e.g.* "मेघमंत्री") in v. 11, he styles himself as "पुंजराजो नरेन्द्रः" in verses 13 and 23 of the *praśasti*. We must, therefore, try to verify from contemporary history of Malwa the exact significance of the title नरेन्द्र[2] applied by Puñjarāja to himself

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(*Continued from previous page*)

have been the contemporary of both these Kings. These Khaljis were not only patrons of learning but they were men of some literary taste. A work called *Kaṅkāli Grantha* has been attributed to Nāsir Shah Khalji (Vide my paper in the *Annals* B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XII, 289-291). Sardar G. N. Mujumdar has brought to light a Marathi commentary on the *Saṁgītamakaranda*, composed by one Mutoji of the Khalji Dynasty (Vide pp. 1 to 4 of offprint from Vol. IX of the *Journal of Music Academy*, *Madras* 1938).

1. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 1916, p. 97.

2. After the death of Nāsir-ud-din Khalji of Malwa in A. D. 1511 there was some scramble for the throne in which Mahmud Khalji succeeded with the help of a Hindu officer Medinī Rao. After

(*Continued on next page*)

but this task must be left to the historians of Malwa for the present.[1]

(Continued from previous page)

a time Mahmud resenting the insolence of Medinī Rao, the all-powerful minister, fled to Guzerat. Bahadur Shah captured Malwa and Mahmud and his family were made prisoners. Mahmud was later put to death (in *A.D. 1531*). It remains to be seen if our Puñjarāja became नरेन्द्र during the rule of Medinī Rao, *i.e.* say between *A. D. 1511* and *1526* or after *A.D. 1531* when the Khalji dynasty of Malwa came to an end. Humayun conquered Malwa in *1535*. Perhaps our Puñjarāja, the son of the ex-minister of the Khalji ruler, may have declared independence between *A. D. 1531* and *1526* as this period was most opportune for this purpose. Medinī Rao, the powerful minister of Mahmūd Khalji between *1511* and *1526 A. D.* would not have tolerated our Puñjarāja styling himself as independent King (Vide p. 380 of *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 1928.)

1. Vide *Epi. Indo-Moslemica* (1937-38) p. 23ff. — Bhonrasa Inscription (Gwalior State) of Sultān Ghiyāth Shāh of Malwa dated A.D. *1483* is in Hindi language. It refers to the revival of worship and prevention of vandalism to some Hindu temple [Vide also E.I.M. (1936-37) — Dhumeshvar Temple Inscription]. These inscriptions show the religious toleration of Muslim kings (p. 24).

12. Exact Date of Amarakīrti, the Author of a Commentary on the Ṛtusaṁhāra of Kālidāsa —A. D. 1593‡

In my note[1] on "*A commentary on the Ṛtusaṁhāra of Kālidāsa by Amarakīrtisūri*" I drew the attention of scholars to the only Ms of this commentary available in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, viz. No. 372 of 1887-91. I tried also to fix the probable limits for the date of the author of this commentary viz. 1550 and 1600 A. D. and tentatively assigned Amarakīrti to the 16th century.

The evidence for the limits of Amarakīrti's date recorded by me was more probable than direct but since my note was published, I have come across the following evidence regarding Amarakīrti's date which corroborates the limits fixed by me tentatively:—

In the *Dictionary of Jain Biography*[2] the following entry has been recorded regarding Amarakīrti —

"*Amarakīrti* — Under him a Ms of Jinadatta's *Vivekavilāsa* was transcribed in *Vik. Saṁ. 1649-Saṁvat 1649*[3] varṣe *bhādrapada māse Kṛṣṇa-pakṣe, navamyām tithau, Somadine* likhitoyam granthaḥ. Srī... Nāgapurīya tapā gacchā diraga bha. Śrī Śrī 3 Harṣakīrtisūriḥ. Śrī Śrī 3 *Amarakīrti* vijaya rājyapaṁ. Śrī Śrī Rājakīrtiḥ tat-śiṣya likhitam Muni Rāmakīrtiḥ Śrī *Ahipura*-madhye. *Akabbara*(*Akbar*)rājye.

Ref.—*Des. Cat. Cal. Sans. Coll.* XI. p. 332".

The Ms referred to in the above entry is deposited in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. It was copied in the year

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‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XVII, pp. 208-210.

1. *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 234-236.

2. *A Dictionary of Jain Biography* (Part I-A) compiled by Umrao Singh Tank, BA., LL. B., Pub. by the General Jain Publishing House, Arrah, 1917, p. 55.

3. Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 387—The date of the Christian era corresponding to this date would be *Monday, 18th September 1592.*

Saṁvat 1649 = A. D. *1592* (18th September) at *Ahipura* (= modern Nagpur) when *Amarakīrti* was at the head of the *Nāgapura tapāgaccha* during the reign of the Emperor Akbar.

The above particulars furnished by the Ms of the *Vivekavilāsa* are quite definite as regards time and place of the copy in question. We shall now try to identify Amarakīrti mentioned in the colophon of the Ms of the *Vivekavilāsa* with Amarakīrti, the author of the commentary on the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, the only Ms of which is available in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The B. O. R. I. Ms definitely ascribes the authorship of the commentary to Amarakīrti ("अमरकीर्तिविनिर्म्मि[ता]यां........काव्यवृत्तौ सर्गोऽजनि प्रथम एष नृपाभिरम्यः") and this Amarakīrti is further stated to be the head of the Nāgapur tapogaṇa ("नागपुरीयतपागणभूपश्रीअमरकीर्त्ति-विहृ(हि)तायां ऋतुवर्णनस्य वृत्तौ"). We are not aware of any other Amarakīrti acting as the head of Nāgapura tapāgaccha between A. D. 1550 and 1600 and hence will be justified in identifying the author of the commentary on the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* with his namesake under whom the Ms of the *Vivekavilāsa* was copied at Nāgapur in Saṁ. 1649 i.e. A. D. *1592* during Akbar's reign[1] (A. D. 15:6–1605).

If our identification of the two Amarakīrti-s is accepted, we shall have to assign the author of the commentary on the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* to the last quarter of the 16th century.

The *Dictionary of Jain Biography* mentions two other namesakes of Amarakīrti : (1) "A Dig. Bhaṭṭāraka, author of the *Svayambhu-Sahasranāma-Stotraṭīkā*" and (2) "the Author of a commentary on Ratnaśekharasūri's *Sambodha-sitterī*." I have not examined the question of the chronology of these two authors and hence am unable to say anything about it in the present note.

The third namesake of our Amarakīrti not recorded by the *Dictionary of Jain Biography* has been brought to our notice by Prof. Hiralal[2] of Amraoti. He is distinct in all particulars of time

1. Akbar patronised the Jaina learned men. In A. D. 1582 he placed Hīravijaya Sūri in the first division of the order of the Learned. In 1592 he conferred the title of yugapradhāna on Jinacandra Sūri. An inscription of Saṁvat 1651–52 (A. D. 1594–95) at Aṇhilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa describes the interview between Akbar and Jinacandra Sūri (See *Dict. of Jain Biography* pp. 37–38).

2. Vide *Jaina Antiquary* Vol. II, Part 3, pp. 80–92 and Vol. II' **Part 4**, pp. 120–131 (1935–36).

and place from our Amarakīrti of the Nāgapura tapāgaccha. He belongs to the "*Māthura Sangha*" and his line of spiritual preceptors as recorded by Prof. Hiralal is as follows:—"**अमितगति-शान्तिसेन-अमरसेन-श्रीषेण-चन्द्रकीर्ति-अमरकीर्ति.**" He completed his work षट्कर्मोपदेश in *apabhraṁśa* in "संवत् १२४७, भाद्रपद मास, द्वितीय (शुक्ल?) पक्ष, १४ तिथि, गुरुवार" when कृष्णनरेंद्र son of वंदिग्गदेव of the Cālukya dynasty was reigning at Godhra in Gujarat. He wrote seven other works viz. (1) नेमिनाथ चरित्र, (2) महावीर चरित्र, (3) यशोधर चरित्र, (4) धर्मचरित्रटिप्पण, (5) सुभाषितरत्नविधि, (6) धर्मोपदेशचूडामणि and (7) ध्यानप्रदीप. I have verified the date of the षट्कर्मोपदेश as recorded by the author and find that it corresponds to *Thursday, 16th August 1190*.[1] It would thus be seen that this namesake of our commentator flourished 400 years earlier.

1. Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, III, p. 383.

13. A Commentary on the Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra by Jñānapramodagaṇi Composed in Jehangir's Reign in A. D. 1625 (Saṁvat 1681) ‡

No mention is made of a commentary on the *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra* of Vāgbhaṭa I by a Jain Commentator Jñānapramodagaṇi either by Dr. S. K. De in his *Sanskrit Poetics* or by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Only the *Jain Granthāvali* (1909) refers to a manuscript of this work in the Patan Bhandar (on p. 312) but the date of composition recorded therein and indicated by the remark "रच्याने संवत् १६२१" is wrong. Perhaps "१६२१" is a misprint for 1681 but this misprint is repeated in the Index of Dates given at the end of the Jain Granthāvali and is left uncorrected in the शुद्धिपत्र annexed to the volume.

The Govt. MSS Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, possesses only one manuscript of this *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāravṛtti*. It is No.798 of 1899-1915 and is included in the list of MSS printed by this Institute in 1925. Though the folios of the manuscript are serially numbered, the manuscript is incomplete, as on folio 1 the commentary on stanza 22 of the 2nd Pariccheda begins. The colophon of the 2nd Pariccheda as recorded on folio 3 of the MS reads as follows:—

"इति बृहत्खरतरगछे भट्टारकप्रभुश्रीजिनराजसूरिविजयिराज्ये श्रीसागरचंद्रसूरिसंतानेपट्टानुक्रमसंजातरत्नधारगणिप्रवरविनेयवाचनाचार्यज्ञानप्रमोदगणिविनिर्मितायां वाग्भटालंकारवृत्तौ द्वितीयः परिछेदः"

The MS consists of 78 folios and is uniformly written in a legible manner, characteristic of the Jain scribes.

The colophon of the MS reads as follows on folios 77-78:—

"इति बृहत्खरतरगछे भट्टारकप्रभुश्रीजिनराजसूरिविजयिराज्ये श्रीसागरचंद्रसूरिसंताने पट्टानुक्रमसंजातश्रीमद्वाचनाचार्यरत्नधा(धी)रगणिप्रवरविनेयवाचनाचार्यज्ञानप्रमोदगणिविनिर्मितायां वाग्भटालंकारवृत्तौ पंचमः परिछेदः ॥ ५ ॥ श्री–

‡ *Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Poona*, 1936, pp. 78–86.

व्याख्यातमस्मिन् यदसंमतं त-
दुग्रंथे विशोध्यं विबुधैर्महद्भिः ।
मयि प्रसद्यप्रपरस्य दोष-
गुणामलज्ञानविधौरदिष्टैः ॥ १ ॥

विधाय टीकां यदिमां सुपुण्यां
समुज्झितं द्राह्मयकाहितेच ।
सिद्धिं लभतामचिरेण सम्यग्
भव्या विधूताखिलकर्मसंगाः ॥ २ ॥

चंद्रकुलविपुलवियदिंदुसुखउद्योतनाभिधः सूरिः
आसीत्तत्पट्टाधिपगणभद्भावर्द्धमानगुरुः ॥ ३ ॥
तत्पदपद्माहर्मणिरभूज्झिनेश्वरसुनामसूरिवरः ।
खरतरगणस्य सुमहिमकारी जिनचंद्रसूरिश्च ॥ ४ ॥

श्री अभयदेवसूरिनवांगवृत्युत्करस्य निर्माता
श्री जिनवल्लभसूरि । र्युगाद्वरो जैनदत्तगुरुः ॥ ५ ॥

पट्टानुक्रमभूता जिनादुदयराजभद्रसूरीशाः ।
श्री जिनपूर्व्वश्चंद्रः समुद्रहंसो जिनालक्ष्म्यं ॥ ६ ॥

श्री जिनमाणिक्यगुरुर्युगप्रधानजिनचंद्रमुनिनाथः ।
युगवरजिनसिंहाह्वः खरतरगच्छ श्रियेवासीत् ॥ ७ ॥

तत्पट्टोदयभूधरारुणवरो भव्यांबुजोद्बोधकः ।
प्रोद्यच्छ्रीजिनराजसूरिगुणभृद्भट्टारको धीपतिः ॥
अल्पीयः पदिनां प्रसन्ननयनस्तुच्चैः पदारोपको
बोहित्थान्वयशेखरो विजयतां स्फूर्जत्प्रतापावलिः ॥ ८ ॥

सूरिश्रीजिनसागरपरिवृतजिनराजयिनिमुराज्ये ।
प्रथमोदितजिनराजगुरुधृतभुवनरत्नसूरिपद ॥ ९ ॥

तदीय यत्कैरवपार्वणेंदुः
साधुप्रभुः सागरचंद्रसूरिः ।
संविप्रशिष्यावलिलपूरेषा
तन्नामधेया भवदुच्चशाखा ॥ १० ॥

तत्पट्टपूर्वाचलचंडधामा ।
बभौ च धर्मादिमरत्नसूरिः
सद्धर्मरत्नाकर इत्युदग्रो ।
बुद्ध्या गुरुर्वजयतीवलब्धद्वा ॥ ११ ॥

तदीय शिष्यः समयार्थपारगः ।
पुण्यश्रियां वल्लभ इत्यतोभवत् ।
श्रीमानुपाध्यायपपुण्यवल्लभो ।
यथार्थनाम्ना वृषरत्नसेवधि ॥ १२ ॥

ततौ बभौ वाचकमौलिरत्नं ।
श्रीमान् दयाधर्मगणिर्दयालुः ।
तदन्तभूच्छीशिवधर्मनामा ।
मद्वाचनाचार्यगुणोद्धतो वा ॥ १३ ॥

द्वेष्टे तदीयौ हि विनेयमुख्यौ
श्रीहर्षहंसाभिधरत्नधीरौ ।
वादीभवृंदोद्धततारसिंहो ।
स्फुरद्वरायो गुणरत्नगेहौ ॥ १४ ॥

जिताः समुद्रागुरुभिर्मदीयै-
ज्ञानं ददद्भि स्विदशैरलभ्यं ।
यद्दीयमानं सततं मुनिभ्यः ।
प्रवर्द्धते चैव करोति मुक्तिं ॥ १५ ॥

तिरस्कृता स्वप्रमणिद्रुमाद्या-
नुभाववाराः प्रकटप्रभावाः ॥
प्रकाशितच्छात्रसुबुद्धिवित्ता
जीयासुरिद्वा गुरुतुष्टपादाः ॥ १६ ॥

श्रीमद्वाचकधुर्यानल्पधियां रत्नधीरसुगुरुणां ।
टीका मया प्रसादाद्विहिता ग्रंथानुसारेण ॥ १७ ॥

संवद्विक्रमनु(नृ)प तो विधुवसुरसशशिभिरंकिते वर्षे ।
ज्ञानप्रमोदवाचकगणिभिरियं विरचिता वृत्तिः ॥ १८ ॥

प्राज्यश्रिणि साम्राज्ये सिलमेसाहेः प्रशस्तभूपस्यः ।
श्री गजसिंहमहीपे । लवेरनामनि शुभस्थाने ॥ १९ ॥

श्री पातसाहिपुंगव । सिलेस(म)साहौ प्रवर्त्तमानेत्र ।
राज्ये नवकोट्टपतेः ॥ श्री गजसिंहस्य भूपस्य ॥ २० ॥

चंद्रार्कौ गगने यावद्यावत्पृथिवी सभूधरा ।
वाग्भटालंकृते वृत्ति । जीयाज्ज्ञानप्रमोदिका ॥ २१ ॥

वृद्धो मदीयशिष्यो गणिगणगुणनंदनः । स नंदिजयः
गुणनंदनगणिरलिखत्प्रथमादर्शं प्रयत्नेन ॥ २२ ॥

The chronogram "विधुवसुरसशशि" in verse 18 of the above colophon gives us *Saṁvat 1681* (= A.D. 1625) as the date of composition of this commentary by Jñānapramodagaṇi as stated in the verse. The expression "साम्राज्ये सिलमेसाहेः" presumably refers to the reign of Emperor Jehangir, whose Christian name, as we are given to understand, was Muhammad Sultan Salim.[1] Then again the epithet "पातस्याहिपुंगव" as applied to "सिलेमसाह" in verse 20 definitely states his imperial descent and this statement combined with the date of composition of the commentary viz. A. D.1625 leaves no doubt that the reference to "सिलेमसाहि" in the two verses 19 and 20 is definitely applicable to Emperor Jehangir alone and not to Salem Shah, who was Emperor of Delhi between A. D. 1545 and 1553[2] and who is stated to have honoured Candrakīrti, the Jain Commentator of the *Sāràsvataprakriyā* of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya. The above colophon also mentions one "गजसिंहभूप" or "गजसिंह महीप". I am inclined to identify this King with Maharaja Gaja Sing[3] who was one of the distinguished officers employed by Jehangir to hunt down Shah Jahan in May 1623 A. D. during the latter's revolt against the former. We also know that this officer of Jehangir was signally defeated in one of his encounters with Shah Jahan's forces to such an extent that even his tent equipage was seized by the enemy. Dr. Sudhindranath Bhattacharyya[4] describes this encounter in his learned article on "*The Rebellion of Shaha Jahan* etc." as follows:—

"The need for wiping off the stain of this defeat was keenly felt and the rebel prince now made a fresh effort to dislodge the Imperialists from their entrenchments. The fleet and the artillery renewed their activities and the Rajput forces under *Raja Gaj Singh* of Jodhapur were now vigorously attacked and reduced to great straits. Raids upon the Imperialist Camp followed, in one of which even the tent equipage of the Rajput Chief Gaj Singh was seized and many of his followers slain. The turn of Sultan Pervez

1. Veniprasad : *History of Jehangir* (Allahabad), 1922, p. 8.

2. Bhandarkar (R. G.) : *Report 1882-83*, p. 43 – See extract on p. 227—

"श्रीमत्साहिसलेम भूमिपतिना संमानित : सादरं ।
सूरिः सर्व्वकलिदि काकलितधीः श्री चंद्रकीर्तिः प्रभु : ॥ ३ ॥"

3. Veniprasad : *History of Jehangir* p. 362.

4. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Dec. 1934, p. 705.

soon came. His camp was also successfully attacked and some of his personal effects including the bed-stead were carried away"—(Beharistan 313a—313b.)

As regards the identification of "लवेरस्थान" mentioned in verse 19 of the colophon, I am inclined to identify it with "*Lahore*" which was occasionally the seat of Jehangir's court and where Jehangir arrived from Kashmir on October 12, *1625* and stayed for a few months before he set out for Kabul in March *1626*.[1] The name "लवेर" of the present MS colophon is phonetically nearer to "Lahore" than other names for it recorded by Mr. N. L. Day viz. लवपुर, लववर, लोहवर.[2]

Our commentator informs us in the last verse of the colophon that the present MS is the प्रथमादर्श i.e. the first original MS of the commentary, written by a scribe who is none other than one of his pupils named गुणनंदनगणि. It appears to me, however, to be rather a copy of this प्रथमादर्श than the प्रथमादर्श itself for the reason that in spite of the missing portion of the commentary for the 1st Pariccheda and 21 verses of the 2nd Pariccheda, the copyist has numbered the folios serially from 1 to 78 and secondly our MS contains scribal errors though it is neatly written, which would not have been the case, had it been a प्रथमादर्श prepared under the direct supervision of the author. Our copy appears, however, to be very old being characterized by the use of पृष्ठमात्राs.

Our commentator Jñānapramoda belonged to बृहत्खरतरगच्छ, which is the 11 th branch line from the main line of खरतरगच्छ.[3] The commentary was composed in *Saṁvat 1681* (= A. D. 1625) when जिनराजसूरि was the head-monk of the बृहत्खरतरगच्छ (जिनराजसूरि-विजयिराज्ये). He died in Śaṁvat 1699 (= A. D. 1643)[4] at Patan i.e. 18 years later. A year later i.e. in A. D. 1644 the खरतरगच्छ divided into several branches. The "सागरचंद्रसूरिसंतान" referred to in the colophon is the line founded by सागरचंद्राचार्य.[5] His predeces-

1. *History of Jehangir*, p. 401.

2. *Geographical Dictionary* (Cal. Ori. Series, 1927), p. 244.

3. Jinavijaya : *Kharatara Gaccha Paṭṭāvali Saṁgraha*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 36.

4. Ibid. Compare—"श्रीबृहत्खरतरगच्छनायका: श्रीजिनराजसूरय: सं १६९९ आषाढ सु. ९ पत्तने स्वर्गभाज: तदैव सं. १७०० मिते उ०......खरतरशाखाभिन्ना etc."

5. Ibid, p. 32.

sor was one जिनराजसूरि who became सूरि in Saṁvat 1432 (= A. D. 1376) at Patan and died in Saṁvat 1461 (= A. D. 1405).

The "रत्नधीरगणिप्रवर" to which our commentator belongs has not been mentioned in the Kharatara Gaccha Paṭṭāvalis. There is, however, one रत्ननिधान[1] mentioned as one of the five pre-eminent pupils of जिनचंद्रसूरि. This जिनचंद्र was born in Saṁvat 1595 (= A.D. *1539*) and died in Saṁvat 1670 (A. D. *1614*).

The "चन्द्रकुल"[2] mentioned in verse 3 of the colophon is one of the four कुलs or families called after नागेन्द्र, चन्द्र, निवृति and विद्याधर who are said to have renounced the world with their families at the advice of श्रीवज्रसेनाचार्य. Other सूरिs of खरतरगच्छ mentioned in verses 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 of the colophon are :—

उद्योतनसूरि[3]—He comes after नेमिचन्द्र in the Paṭṭāvali of खरतरगच्छ He is said to have founded 84 गच्छs.

वर्द्धमानसूरि[4]—He is said to have died after installing जिनेश्वर in the line in Saṁvat 1088 (= A. D. 1032). He gave the title खरतर to his pupil जिनेश्वर.*

जिनेश्वरसूरि[5]—He obtained the title खरतर in Saṁvat 1088 (= A. D. 1032) from his guru वर्द्धमान.

जिनचंद्रसूरि[6]—There are several सूरिs of this name referred to in the Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali but the सूरि meant here is the same as No. 41 of the Paṭṭāvali, who was preceded by जिनेश्वरसूरि and succeeded by अभयदेवसूरि.

The Paṭṭāvali (p. 44) records an anecdote of this Sūri according to which मोजद्दीन पातिसाह of Delhi, while on death-bed, mistook

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1. Ibid. p. 35.

2. Ibid, pp. 8, 9, 18.

3. Ibid, pp. 3, 10, 20, 43.

4. Ibid, pp, 3, 10, 20, 43, 44.

5. Ibid, pp. 12, 21, 43, p. 44—The story of how the title खरतर was obtained by जिनेश्वरसूरि from his गुरु वर्द्धमान is given in Paṭṭāvali No. 3— "एते असत्यवादिनः तस्कराः। यूयं खरतराः इति सत्यवादिनः। गुरुभिः उक्तमेते कोमलाः इति। ततः श्री गुरुभिः खरतर बिरुदं प्राप्तं"—The गच्छ was called खरतर गच्छ after this incident narrated in the Paṭṭāvali.

6. Ibid, p. 23.

an attendant called खवास मोजदीन for prince मोजदीन and granted the royal arms to him. खवास मोजदीन was the son of a पिंजारक, prophesied by जिनचंद्रसूरि to become पातिसाह. When the above mistake was pointed out to the Emperor he remarked::—"मया यद्दत्तं तद्दत्तमेव । सत्पुरुषवाक्यं नान्यथा स्यात्." Thereafter the Emperor's true son was destroyed and खवास having obtained kingdom ruled as मोजदीन पातिसाहि.

अभयदेवसूरि[1]—He is mentioned as 42 nd Sūri in the Paṭṭāvali. No dates of this Sūri are recorded in the Paṭṭāvali. He is the author of नवांगवृत्ति.

जिनवल्लभसूरि[2]—He is mentioned as the 43rd Sūri in the Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali. He wrote many works and became Sūri in Saṁvat 1167 (= A. D. 1111) and died six months later in Saṁvat 1168 at Citrakūṭa. About this time the first branch line of the Kharataragaccha came into existence and was called "मधुकर खरतर."

जैनदत्त[3]—He is identical with जिनदत्त mentioned in the Paṭṭāvalis. The name जैनदत्त is applied to this Sūri in the खरतरगच्छसूरिपरंपरा (p. 4). He was born in Saṁvat 1132 (= A. D. 1076) and died in Saṁvat 1211 (= A. D. 1155) at Ajmere. Many anecdotes are recorded about his miraculous powers and achievements in the Paṭṭāvalis. The Sūris mentioned in the 1st line of verse 6 of the colophon under the expression "जिनादुदयराजभद्रसूरिशाः" are the following:—

जिनोदयसूरि[4]—He is 54th Sūri in the Paṭṭāvali. He was born in Saṁvat 1375 (= A. D. 1319) and died at Patan in Saṁvat 1422 (= A. D. 1366).

जिनराजसूरि[5]—He is No. 55 of the Paṭṭāvali. He became Śūri

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1. Ibid, pp. 3, 10, 23, 24, 34, 45, 46.—p. 3 —
"वृत्तिश्चक्रे नवांग्या ललितपदयुता देवतादेशतो यै-
र्नव्यस्तोत्रेण येषां प्रकटतनुरभूद् भूमितो दिव्यरूपी ।"

2. Ibid, pp. 3, 4, 10, 24, 46.

3. Ibid, pp. 4, 10, 11, 24-27, 29, 46-51, 53.

4. Ibid, pp. 31, 32.

5. Ibid, p. 32.

in Saṁvat 1432 (i.e. in A. D. 1376) at Patan and died at Devalvad in Saṁvat 1461 (= A. D. 1405).

जिनभद्रसूरि[1] —He is No. 56 of the Paṭṭāvali. He became Sūri in Saṁvat 1475 (= A. D. 1419) and died in Saṁvat 1514 (= A. D. 1458).

The Sūris mentioned in the 2nd line of verse 6 of the colophon are:—

जिनचंद्रसूरि[2]—He is No. 57 in the Paṭṭāvali. He resided at Jesalmeru. He was born in Saṁvat 1487 (= A. D. 1431) and died in Saṁvat 1530 (= A. D. 1474).

जिनसमुद्रसूरि[3] —He is No. 58 in the Paṭṭāvali. He was born in Saṁvat 1510 (= A. D. 1450) and died at Ahmedabad in Saṁvat 1555 (= A. D. 1499).

जिनहंससूरि[4]—He is No. 59 in the Paṭṭāvali. He was born in Saṁvat 1524 (= A. D. 1468) and died at Patan in Saṁvat 1582 (= A. D. 1526).

The Sūris of the Kharataragaccha mentioned in verse 7 of the colophon are:—

जिनमाणिक्यसूरि[5]—He is No. 60 of the Jain Paṭṭāvali and was born in Saṁvat 1549 (= A. D. 1493) and died in Saṁvat 1612 (= A. D. 1556).

जिनचंद्रसूरि[6] —He is No. 61 of the Jain Paṭṭāvali and was born in Saṁvat 1595 (= A. D. 1539). He became Sūri in Saṁvat 1612 (= A. D.1556) and died in Saṁvat 1670 (= A.D. 1614).

जिनचंद्रसूरि[7]—He is No. 62 of the Jain Paṭṭāvali. He was born in Saṁvat 1615 (= A.D. 1559), became Sūri in Saṁvat 1670 (= A. D. 1614) and died in Saṁvat 1674 (= A. D. 1618).

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid, p. 33.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, p. 33.
6. Ibid, p. 34.
7. Ibid, p. 35.

जिनराजसूरि[1]—This Sūri mentioned in verse 8 of the colophon is No. 63 of the Jain Paṭṭāvali. As we have remarked above he was at the head of the बृहत्खरतरगच्छ at the time when the commentary by Jñanapramodagaṇi was composed in Saṁvat 1681 (= A. D. 1625). He died in Saṁvat 1699 (= A. D. 1643). His parents belonged to the बोहित्थरा गोत्र. One of the pupils named सिद्धसेनगणि who belonged to the same गोत्र viz. बोहित्थरा was made Sūri by him and named जिनसागरसूरि, who is identical with जिनसागर mentioned in verse 9 of the colophon. The branch of Kharataragaccha called the लघुखरतरगच्छ began with जिनसागरसूरि[2] in Saṁvat 1686 (= A. D. 1630).

The expression जिनराजगुरुधृतभुवनरत्नसूरिपद of verse 9 of the colophon obviously refers to the fact, corroborated by the Paṭṭāvalis, that जिनराजसूरि installed भुवनरत्न[3] as a Sūri in his own line. In verse 10 of the colophon we are informed that an illustrious branch of the Kharataragaccha was named after सागरचंद्रसूरि,[4] while verse 11 states that धर्मरत्नसूरि belonged to the branch-line called after सागरचंद्र. This धर्मरत्न is the same as was installed by जिनचंद्रसूरि in his line as stated in the Paṭṭāvali.[5] Verse 12 of the colophon mentions that वल्लभ was the pupil of this धर्मरत्न. After वल्लभ comes दयाधर्मगणि and after him is mentioned श्रीशिवधर्म (verse 13). Verse 14 of the colophon introduces us to रत्नधीर who was the direct preceptor of our commentator as stated in verse 17. This preceptor रत्नधीर belonged to the line of गुणरत्नसूरि.[6] Verses 15 and 16 of the colophon contain merely laudatory description of रत्नधीर who, as we have seen above, was the immediate preceptor of our author ज्ञानप्रमोदगणि.

In the foregoing lines we have tried to identify with the help of available documents all historical data of an important nature

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid, p. 35— "सं० १६८६ आचार्यजिनसागरसूरितः लघु-आचार्यीयखरतर-शाखा भिन्ना। अयमष्टमो गच्छभेदो जातः।"

3. Ibid, p. 32—the Paṭṭāvali refers to जिनराजसूरि as "भुवनरत्नाचार्य-सागरचंद्राचार्य स्थापकाः"

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, p. 33.

6. Ibid, pp. 12, 33— जिनचंद्रसूरि founded the lines called after धर्मरत्न and गुणरत्न.

furnished by the only available MS of Jñānapramoda's commentary on the *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra*. It is not the object of the present paper to discuss the literary merits of the commentary in question and hence that question must be left to other scholars. Our purpose in the present study is mainly historical and more specifically chronological, as chronology is the very back-bone of all historical research.

As the present commentary furnishes its own date of composition, internal evidence is of no use for purposes of its chronology. Some of the references it makes to previous authors and works may, however, be noted here as the commentary is represented only by two MSS so far as we know. These references are the following :—

अभिधानचिंतामणि — folios 9, 44.

प्रभासपुराण — fol. 12.

दंडि — fol. 14.

काव्यप्रकाश — fol. 14, 33, 41.

वृत्यंतरव्याख्याने — fol. 21.

अमरुशतकटीका — fol. 29, 45.

सर्वंकषावृत्ति (on माघकाव्य) — fol. 41.

Though the commentary does not bristle with references as in the case of Mallinātha's commentaries, it is quite learned in its tone and treatment.

14. Date of Meghavijayagaṇi's Commentary on the Hastasañjīvana–Between A.D. 1680 and 1700 ‡

Aufrecht makes the following entries in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* regarding the MSS. of a work on palmistry called हस्तसंजीवनी :—

CC I, 765—"हस्तसंजीवनी palmistry, by a Jainācārya.
L. 1514.[1] Bik 296."[2]

CC II, 236—"हस्तसंजीवनी palmistry, Ulwar[3] 2028.
Extr. 604. Com. by Meghavijayagaṇi'[4] ibid."

‡ *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Bombay), Vol. III, pp. 126–130.

1. Vide pp. 106–107 of *Notices* by Rajendralal Mitra. The MS of हस्तसंजीवन described by Mitra contains 390 ślokas. It is described as "भाष्यसहित" and of unknown authorship. It is said to be a work on "palmistry and divination". It begins with "श्रीशङ्खेश्वरपार्श्वं प्रणमन् ध्यायंस्तमेव वृजिनवृषभे" etc. and ends as follows :—"इति हस्तसञ्जीवने सिद्धज्ञाने हस्तस्पर्शनाधिकारः सम्पूर्णः."

2. Vide p. 296 of R. Mitra's Notices of *Bikaner MSS* (1880)—MS No. 637—हस्तसंजीवनी. This MS begins with verse 2 of L. 1514 viz. "श्रीनाभेयः प्रभुर्जीयात् etc." It is described as a work of a Jainācārya.

3. Vide p. 86 of Peterson's *Catalogue of Ulwar MSS* (1892)—"2028 *Hastasañjīvanī* by a Jain writer, L. 1514. Bik. p. 296, with the Commentary of Meghavijayagaṇi. This is probably the author of Candraprabhā, a Commentary on Hemacandra's *Śabdānuśāsana*. (1701)". In Extract No. 604 the MS begins:—

" ॐ नमः सिद्धमर्हंतं ध्यायन्निति कृतांजलिः । हस्तसंजीवनव्याख्यां कुर्वे स्मृत्वा गुरोर्गिरम् ॥ तत्रादौ......मंगलमाह ॥ श्री शंखेश्वरपार्श्वमिति ॥"

The MS ends :—"इतिश्रीहस्तसंजीवनव्याख्यायां सामुद्रिकलहर्यां ॥ महोपाध्यायश्रीमेघविजयगणिविरचितायां द्वितीयः स्पर्शाधिकारः संपूर्णः ॥ "

4. CC I, 466—"मेघविजय, a Jain author wrote in 1701 : *Candraprabhā*, a Comm. on Hemacandra's *Śabdānuśāsana*." (See Peterson 3.201 for *Candraprabhā*.)

CC I, 793 —" मेघविजय *read* 1669 instead of 1701."

[On p 56 of *Cata. of Ujjain MSS*, (1936) we find a MS of हस्तसंजीवनीविद्या by मेघविजयगणक copied in Śaka 1756 = A. D. 1834. The MS contains 56 leaves].

The description of the Ulwar MS of the *Hastasañjīvana* by Peterson creates an impression that the text of the work is written by one Jain author, while the commentary has been written by Meghavijayagaṇi. In the colophon of the Ulwar MS the name of this commentary is recorded as "सामुद्रिकलहरी." In a MS of the *Hastasañjīvana* recently acquired by the B. O. R. Institute we find the following elaborate colophon :—

Last Folio 20—

" एवं यद्बहुसंमतं तदुदितं वामेपि रेखाफलं
सर्वं चाप्यनया दिशैव सुधिया ध्येयं विधेयं धिया ।
औनत्यं समुदेति मेघविजयं यस्मादकस्मात्श्रियां
नित्याभ्यासवशेन लभ्यमसकृत्तल्लक्षणान्वीक्षणात् ॥ ८१ ॥

इति वामहस्तरेखाविशेषश्चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

श्रीसामुद्रिकभावमद्भुतरसं गंभीरमध्यासितं
नानाकारमहार्थभासुरमणिज्योतिर्भिरुद्भासितम् ।
साकल्येन परिगृहीतुमचिरात् व्यक्तानशक्ता जना-
स्तद्ब्रह्माहितजीवनेन सहितास्ते संतु सुधाशयाः ॥

किंचिच्छास्त्रसमीक्षणाद्गुरुमुखादन्वीक्षणाल्लक्षणा-
भ्यासादत्र समुच्चितं समुचितं ग्रंथं मया वाङ्मये ।
तद्दूष्यं विदुषा न किंतु सुधिया संभावनीयं करे
यस्मान्निर्मलतामुपैति सकलं शास्त्रं सतां संग्रहात् ॥ ८४ ॥

गृहे वृष्टिस्तस्य स्फुरति कनकैर्मेघविजया-
द्धित्वापः पाणिग्रहणविधिमीक्षेत निपुणः ।
समुद्रादुद्भूता सदवयवसंबंधमधुरा
महालक्ष्मीः पाणिग्रहणमुदिता तेन रमते ॥ ८५ ॥

प्रेष्यस्तथा गच्छ नृपालिचक्रिण-
श्चक्रे गुरोः श्रीविजयप्रभप्रभोः ।
शिष्यः कृपालोर्विजयस्य धीमतः
शास्त्रं समेघाद्विजयाख्यवाचकः ॥ ८६ ॥

अनुष्टुभां सपादात्र ज्ञेया पंचशती[1] ध्रुवं ।
ग्रंथे सतां प्रसादाच्च श्रेयः श्रीरस्तु शाश्वती (॥ ८७ ॥)

1. The number of stanzas in the MS is about 500 excluding the prose comment. These stanzas are not, however, all of them in *anuṣṭup* metre, some of them being quotations from earlier works.

इति श्रीहस्तसंजीवने सिद्धिज्ञानशास्त्रे महोपाध्याय-
श्रीमेघविजयगणकविरचितं हस्तसंजीवनं संपूर्णं ॥
श्रीरस्तु ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ वाक्सत्यतास्तु"

(Here a line in Persian characters is recorded by the scribe). The metaphor of मेघ (cloud) and वृष्टि (rain) in stanza 85 of above extract is also found in the following extract from folio 2:—

"सामुद्रिकोऽद्‌दोधपयो निपीय मेघो रसं वर्षति मृ...मुख्यां ।
समेघतां तेन सुखेन लोकः श्रीहस्तसंजीवनमेतदाख्यम् ॥ १० ॥

इति श्रीहस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने शास्त्रपीठिका ॥ "

Sometimes the verses are followed by a prose comment introduced by the words "भाष्य यथा" which show that the MS contains both the text and commentary.

The question now arises : Is Meghavijaya the author of the हस्तसंजीवन as stated in the colophon "मेघविजयगणकविरचितं हस्तसंजीवनं" ? With a view to deciding this question we must record some of the colophons in the body of the MS. These colophons[1] are as follows :—

Folio 8—"इति हस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने तिथिवारनक्षत्रवेलादित्वर्णगंधरसस्पर्शा-कारादि हस्तस्वरूपवर्णनाधिकारः ॥ १ ॥

Folio 11—"इति ह(स्तसंजीवने) ह(स्त)स्पर्शनाधिकारः"

Folio 19—"इति हस्तसंजीवने रेखाविमर्शनं नाम तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥"

Folio 20—"इति वामहस्तरेखाविशे(प)श्चतुर्थोऽध्यायः"

These colophons though irregularly recorded in the MS indicate that the work *Hastasañjīvana* consists of 4 *adhyāyas* or *adhikāras*. Let us now record the works and authors referred to in the MS. These are as follows :—

(1) नीतिशास्त्रविवेकविलासे, fol. 1 (Cf. CC I, 298—नीतिविलास and नीतिविवेक)

(2) नष्टजातक, fol. 5,—(Vide CC I, 282)

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1. A MS of the *Hastasañjīvana* at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 1386 of 1886-92) has the following colophons:—*Folio 8*—

"इति हस्तसंजीवने तिथ्यादिहस्तस्वरूपवर्णनाधिकारः प्रथमः ॥ "

Last Folio 11—"इति श्रीहस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने हस्तस्पर्शनाधिकारः संपूर्णः ॥ "

Evidently this MS is incomplete as it contains 2 *adhikāras* only.

(3) भद्रा(बा ?)हुसंहिता, fol. 5

(4) पवनजातक, fol. 5

(5) पद्मकोश, fol. 5 (Vide CC I, 212 — ज्योतिष पद्मकोश and CC I, 321 — पद्मकोश, पद्मकोशजातक

(6) मतांतरेण, fol. 5, 7, प्राच्यां मते (fol. 8), 16

(7) ज्योतिःशास्त्रे, fol. 8

(8) शैवसामुद्रिके, fol. 11, 19, 15 (दशमाध्याये), 17 (अष्टादशाध्याये)

(9) विवेकविलासे,[1] fol. 11, 15, 16, 18, 19

(10) प्रकरणकारः[2], fol. 11, 15, 17, प्रकरणे, 12, 16, 17, 18, 14, 15 (प्रकरणमते)

(11) हस्तबिंबकार, fol. 11, 15, 16

(12) भोजकृतसामुद्रिके, fol. 16, 18 (भोजसामुद्रिके)[3]

(13) जैनसामुद्रिके, fol. 16

The foregoing names of works and authors introducing certain views or quotations pertain mostly to the science of palmistry as expounded by Jain or non-Jain writers. It is necessary to see if these works on palmistry are now represented by any extant MSS in our Manuscript Libraries.

The MS of the *Hastasañjīvana* analysed above contains some chronological data which may help us to fix the chronological limits for the work. On folio 3 we find the following comment :—

"अत्र सुखावबोधाय किंचिद्दाप्यं य(था) सं । १७३७ शा १६०२ प्रमोदसंवत्सरे । आषाढ शुद्ध द्वितीयायां तिथौ । भृगुवासरे । पुष्यनक्षत्रे । श्रीसूर्योदयाद्गतंघटीषु ७।० तत्समये । हस्तवीक्षणे प्राप्ता तृतीया तिथिः etc." [4]

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1. Prof. H. D. Velankar mentions two works of the name विवेकविलास, one by भवसेनसूरि and the other by जिनदत्तसूरि of the Vayada Gaccha (Pub. at Ahmedabad, 1898).

2. The quotations from प्रकरण or प्रकरणकार are all in Prakrit verses e.g. (Folio 17)—"प्रकरणकारस्त्वाह ॥

वरपउमसंखसछि अभद्दासण कुसुमछ जलकुंभ ॥
वसहगजछत्तचामरदामहयवज्जमच्चरेच ॥ ९१ ॥"

3. Compare सामुद्रिककण्ठाभरण (CC I, 711).

4. The date in this extract corresponds to *Friday, 18th June 1680* (Vide 162 of *Ind. Ephemeris* VI).

Folio 8—"अत्रोदाहरणं । सं. १७३७ वर्षे सुभिक्षनिर्णयाय यथाविधि कुमार्या-स्पृष्टो दक्षिणहस्तस्यानामिकायाः ॥" etc.

Folio 10—"भाष्यं । यथोदाहरणं । सं. १७३७ ॥ आषाढसित द्वितीयायां सप्तमघटिसमये करे क्षणे तत्र औदयिकी द्वितीया" etc.

As the commentator Meghavijaya uniformly mentions *Saṁvat 1737* (month *of Āṣāḍha, tithi 2 of Śukla pakṣa*) I am inclined to think that our commentator composed his commentary most probably in the month of *Āṣāḍha* of *Saṁvat 1737* or *Śaka 1602* (= A. D. 1680–81). At any rate it seems certain that the date of composition of the commentary lies in the year Saṁvat 1737 or after this year but not prior to A. D. 1680. Now let us see if this chronology of Meghavijaya's *bhāṣya* or commentary agrees with other known dates of his works[1] viz. A. D. 1660, 1671, 1691.

According to the *Jaina Granthāvali*[2] Meghavijaya composed *Candraprabhāṭīkā* in *Saṁvat 1757* (= A. D. 1701) and *Hemakaumudī* in *Saṁvat 1758* (= A. D. 1702).[3]

If these dates are correct, we may take it for certain that Meghavijayagaṇi's literary career[4] lies between A. D. 1650 and say 1705. It is thus possible that he composed his commentary on the हस्तसंजीवन at least in A. D. 1680-81 or between, say, A. D. 1680 and 1705.

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1. Vide p. 425 of *Classical Sanskrit Literature* by M. Krishnamachariar — Meghavijaya composed his पञ्चाख्यानोद्धार in *Saṁvat 1716* (= A. D. 1660). (Vide Keith's *SL*, 260.)

Page 192—Meghavijaya composed *Devānandābhyudaya* in *Saṁvat 1727* (= A.D. 1671).

Page 193 — Meghavijaya (pupil of कृपाविजय) composed *Digvijaya-mahākāvya* (the life of विजयप्रभसूरि) in *Saṁvat 1747* (A.D. 1691).

2. *Jaina Granthāvali* (Bombay, 1909), p. 78.

3. *Ibid.*, 303.

4. Vide p. 192 of Krishnamachariar's *Classical Sans. Literature* —"Meghavijayagaṇi was a Jain monk. He was a pupil of Kṛpāvijaya and 5th in hierarchical descent from Hīravijaya. He was well versed in grammar, astronomy and logic and his writings on these branches of learning are now appreciated." His works :— (1) सप्तसंधान, (2) देवानन्दाभ्युदय (A. D. 1671), (3) शान्तिनाथचरित, (4) मेघदूत-समस्यालेख, (5) दिग्विजय महाकाव्य (A. D. 1691), (6) युक्तिप्रबोध.

We have now to see if our Meghavijaya the author of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Hastasañjīvana* is identical with his namesake, the author of works composed between A. D. 1650 and 1705.

In verse 86 of the colophon quoted above Meghavijaya calls himself the pupil of Kṛpāvijaya ("शिष्यः कृपालोर्विजयस्य धीमतः"). He also refers to विजयप्रभ in the same stanza. We have already seen that the दिग्विजयमहाकाव्य, composed in A. D. 16(?)1 by Meghavijaya, is a life of Vijayaprabhasūri as stated by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar. It is, therefore, clear that our Meghavijaya, the commentator of the *Hastasañjīvana* is identical with his namesake, the author of works composed in A. D. 1660, 1671, 1691, 1701 and 1702. It is also proved that our commentator, the author of the सामुद्रिकलहरी commentary on the *Hastasañjīvana* composed this commentary in A. D. 1680-81 or sometime thereafter but before A. D. 1705 or so. The question already raised by me in this paper regarding the identity of the author of the *Hastasañjīvana*[1] with the author of the *Sāmudrikalaharī* commentary cannot be answered at present as I have no other complete MS of both the text and commentary for examination and comparison.

(Continued from previous page)

[Vide p. 370 of Poleman's *Indic MSS in U. S. A.*,1938—a MS of चतुर्थस्मरण with Comm. was copied by लक्ष्मीविजय pupil of मेघविजयगणि.]

Mr. M. D. Desai on pp. 188-190 of his जैन गूर्जर कविओ, Vol. I, (1931, Bombay) supplies the following information about the Gujarati and Sanskrit works of Meghavijaya, the pupil of Kṛpāvijaya :—*Gujarati Works* : (1) विजयदेव निर्वाणरास, (2) पार्श्वनाथनाममाला (Saṁvat 1721 = A. D. 16(?)5) ; *Sanskrit Works* : (1) देवानन्दाभ्युदयकाव्य (Saṁvat 1727 = A.D. 1671); (2) मातृकाप्रासाद (Saṁvat 1747 = A. D. 1691) composed at धर्मनगर ; (3) चन्द्रप्रभा व्याकरण (Saṁvat 1757 = A. D. 1701) composed at Agra ; (4) सप्तसंधानमहाकाव्य (Saṁvat 1760 = A. D. 1704) with Ṭippaṇa ; (5) शांतिनाथचरित्र; (6) तत्त्वगीता; (7) धर्ममंजूषा; (8) युक्तिप्रबोधनाटक; (9) मेघदूतसमस्यालेख; (10) भक्तामरस्तोत्रवृत्ति and (11) विजयदेवमाहात्म्यप्रयोगपरिस्फोटन.

1. Prof. Velankar in his *Jinaratnakośa* makes the following entries regarding this work :—

"हस्तसंजीवन" of Meghavijaya. See JG p. 363 fn. Siddhajñāna is a part of this work BK. 1606 ; DB. 46(18) ; Mitra IV. No. 1514 ; Pet. IV. No. 1386. PRA. 1518. Ulwar, ex. 604."

"Ṭīkā by Meghavijaya Upādhyāya, Bk. 1600 PRA, 1518. Ulwar ex. 604."

15. A Contemporary Manuscript of the Hastasañjīvana-Bhāṣya of Meghavijayagaṇi, Belonging to Raghunātha Mahādeva Ghāṭe-Between A. D. 1680 and 1700 ‡

In a recent paper contributed by me to the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*,[1] Bombay, I tried to establish that Meghavijayagaṇi, the author of numerous works in Sanskrit and a few works in Gujarāti, composed his commentary on the *Hastasañjīvana* either in A. D. 1680-81 or between A. D. 1680 and 1705. I further suggested that this view of mine was in harmony with the known dates of composition of the works of this Jain author viz., A. D. 1660, 1665, 1671, 1691, 1701, 1702 and 1704. Since my paper was sent to the above journal for publication I have come across a rare MS of the *Hastasañjīvana*, which appears to be identical with the *Hastasañjīvana* together with *Bhāṣya*, the authorship of which is ascribed to Meghavijayagaṇi. This MS though incomplete is very important as it is a contemporary copy of the *Hastasañjīvana* with *Bhāṣya*, composed by Meghavijaya and hence supports my chronology for it viz., *A. D.* 1680-81 or "*between A. D. 1680 and 1705.*"

The MS[2] of the *Hastasañjīvana* referred to above belongs to the Sanskrit Pāṭhashālā, Rajapur (Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency). It was presented to this Pāṭhashālā in 1931 by the late Narayan Sitaram Ghāṭe[3] of the village Harḍī near Rajapur along with many valuable MSS from his family collection. The description of the MS is as follows:—

Size:—10 inches by 4½ inches.

Material:—Country paper, very old, though well preserved.

Extent :—14 folios; 14 lines to a page; about 42 letters to a line. On folio *1a* we find the following endorsement. "श्रीहस्तसंजी-

‡ *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 25-29.

1. Vide Vol. III (1942).

2. This MS was made available to me by my friend Pandit Raghunatha Shastri Patankar of Rajapur.

3. He was in his 90th year in 1931 and died 5 years later.

वनप्रारंभ अथ हस्तसंजीवनपुस्तकं घांटोपनामक कौशिकगोत्रोत्पन्न-यशास्करभट्टस्य श्रीरस्तु शिवमस्तु etc."

A similar endorsement [1] is found at the close of the MS on folio 14 *a*.

The MS begins as follows:—

"श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥ श्रीभद्रकाल्यै नमः ।

श्रीशंखेश्वरपार्श्वं प्रणम्य ध्यायंस्तमेव जिनवृषभं ।
हस्तप्रशस्तलक्षणपरीक्षणे दक्षतां वक्ष्ये ॥ १ ॥

श्रीनाभेयः प्रभुर्जीयात् सर्वज्ञो जगदीश्वरः ।
येन लाक्षणिकी विद्या निर्दिष्टा भुवनश्रियै ॥ २ ॥

श्रीवर्द्धमानो जयतु सर्वज्ञानशिरोमणिः ।
पंचहस्तोत्तरो वीरः सिद्धार्थनृपनंदनः ॥ ३ ॥

अंगविद्या निमित्तानामष्टानामपि गीयते ।
मुख्या शुभाशुभज्ञाने नारदादिनिवेदिता ॥ ४ ॥
यदुक्तं etc."

Folio 2a—"इतिश्रीहस्तसंजीवने शास्त्रपीठिका" —verses 1 to 19

Folio 3a—"इति हस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने पुण्यसाधने ध्यानविधानं" —verses 1 to 21

Folio 3b—"इति हस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने नामानि" —verses 1 to 15

Folio 4a—"इति हस्तसंजीवने सिद्धज्ञाने हस्तविलोकनविधिः" —verses 1 to 17

Folio 4b—"इति हस्तसंजीवने तिथिदर्शनं" —verses 1 to 18

Folio 8b—"इति ह० अंगुलीस्वरूप चक्री" —verses 1 to 83

Folio 13—ends—

"पतृरेखांगुष्टरेखा···क्लेशो तन्नवः ॥ ८७ ॥"

The MS breaks off here and is followed by the endorsement regarding its ownership which we have quoted already in this paper.

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1. This endorsement reads as follows ;—

"श्रीमत्कौशिकमहर्षेः वंशकुलपरंपरागत र (?) घंटाभिधान-यशस्करभट्ट-सर्वज्ञसंपन्नसर्व-कुसु (?) सुरवंद्यश्रीमद्यशस्करभट्टस्येदं पुस्तकं हस्तसंजीवनाख्यमित्यास्तां विस्तरः प्रकृत-मनुसरामः । "

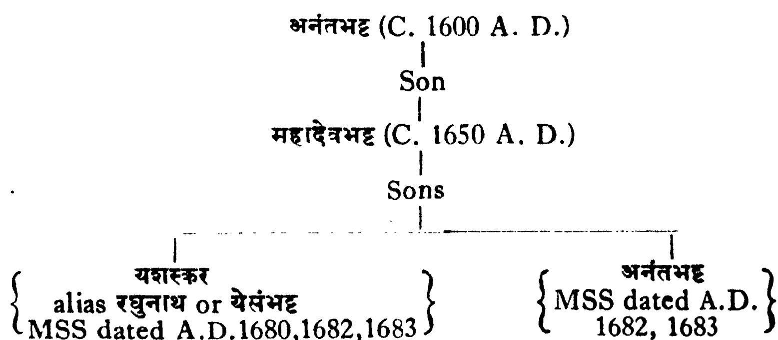
Verse 87 "पितृरेखांगुष्टरेखा etc.") quoted above corresponds to verse 87 of the 3rd *adhyāya* (रेखाविमर्शन) of the हस्तसंजीवन of the B. O. R. Institute MS of the work acquired in 1942. The rest of the work as represented by folios 14 to 20 of the B. O. R. I. MS is wanting in the Rajapur MS before me and hence it is incomplete as the work consists of 4 *Adhyāyas*. Perhaps the original from which the Rajapur copy was prepared was incomplete. The B. O. R. I. copy which is complete and which gives us some verses at the close about Meghavijaya, Vijayaprabha and Kṛpāvijaya has the same text (verses and prose भाष्य) as is found in the incomplete Rajapur MS.

The *Bhāṣya* on folio 3 of the B. O. R. I. MS mentions as an example *Saṁvat 1737*, *Śaka 1602 Pramoda Saṁvatsara* with other chronological details which give us the date *Friday, 18th June 1680.*[1] *Śaṁvat 1737* is again mentioned on folios 8[2] and 10 of the B.O.R.I. MS. This mention of the year A. D. 1680 warrants an inference that the work *Hastasañjīvana-bhāṣya* of Meghavijaya was composed either in A. D. 1680 or between A. D. 1680 and 1705, which is the last recorded date of one of Meghavijaya's works.

I shall now state my evidence for regarding the Rajapur MS of the *Hastasañjīvana* as a contemporary copy. This evidence is as follows:—

(1) यशस्कर घांटे of कौशिक गोत्र, the owner of the हस्तसंजीवन MS, flourished between A. D. 1650 and 1700 and was a contemporary of मेघविजयगणि, whose dates range between A. D. 1660 and 1704.

(2) यशस्कर was also called येसंभट्ट or रघुनाथभट्ट. His genealogy as reconstructed by me is as follows:—



1. Folio 4*a* of Rajapur MS contains the extract giving these chronological details.

2. Vide folio 9*a* of the Rajapur MS.

(3) यशस्कर घांट or घांटे composed some works on *dharmaśāstra* viz., श्राद्धनिर्णयदीपिका निर्णयरत्नावलि, सोमेश्वरदशक etc. In these works he mentions निर्णयसिंधुकार *i.e.* the author of the निर्णयसिंधु of Kamalākara which was composed in A. D. 1612.

(4) यशस्कर performed a जप in A. D. 1680 and kept a record of it in his own handwriting. This document records his name and the year A. D. 1680 when the जप was performed.

(5) The Rajapur MS of the हस्तसंजीवन must have been copied presumably between A. D. 1680 and say 1700 *i.e.* during the lifetime of यशस्कर or रघुनाथ महादेव घांटे of the village Hardī near Rajapur, where his descendants are still living. The fact that this MS belonged to यशस्कर (*alias* रघुनाथ) महादेव घांटे is clear from the endorsements at the beginning and end of the Rajapur MS of the हस्तसंजीवन. Similar endorsements are found on other MSS belonging to यशस्करभट्ट and his brother अनंतभट्ट, both of whom flourished between A. D. 1650 and 1700. These brothers were definitely living between A. D. 1680 and 1683 as proved by the record of these dates on their MSS. In my paper[1] on रघुनाथ महादेव घांटे (between A. D. 1650 and 1700) I have recorded sufficient contemporary documentary evidence regarding the chronology of the works of this author and hence it need not be repeated here.

That an author who flourished between A. D. 1650 and 1700 should own a copy of the हस्तसंजीवनभाष्य of मेघविजय proves beyond challenge the contemporary character of the copy and hence supports my limits for the date of composition of this work *viz.* "between A. D. 1680 and 1700." Most probably the work was composed in the year A. D. 1680 which is mentioned twice or thrice in the body of the work.

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1. Vide *Journal of the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore*, Vol.II, No. 3, pp. 9-13.

16. The Chronology of the Commentary of Sadānandagaṇi on the Siddhānta-Candrikā of Rāmāśrama or Rāmacandrāśrama — A. D. 1743 ‡

Aufrecht[1] records a few Mss of a commentary on the *Siddhānta-Candrikā* of Rāmacandrāśrama by Sadānandagaṇi but records no date of composition of this commentary. Dr. Belvalkar[2] refers to this commentary in his account of the "Commentaries on the Sārasvata independently of the Prakriyā" but records no chrono-ogy for the work of its author. H. P. Śāstri[3] describes a few Mss of Sadānandagaṇi's *Subodhinī* but makes no remarks about its date of composition. Prof. H. D. Velankar[4] in his *Jinaratnakośa* or Catalogus Catalogorum of Jain Mss refers to *Subodhinī Vṛtti* composed by Sadānandagaṇi, pupil of Bhaktivijaya of the Kharatara-Gaccha but does not mention its chronology. The *Jaina Granthāvali* also refers to this author without recording his chronology. I propose, therefore, to record in this paper some information about this author and his commentary *Subodhinī* on the *Siddhānta-candrikā*.

The Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, con-

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‡ *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. IX, pp. 15-19.

1. *CC I, 718*—"सिद्धान्तचन्द्रिका gr. by सदानंद Oudh XVII,22, Comm' सुबोधिनी by the same. L 2911. Oudh XVIII, 56; XVII, 22."

2. Vide p. 102 of *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915. "ii. Sadānanda who wrote a Com. called Subodhinī which has been published at Benares."

3. Vide pp. 151—153 of *Des. Cata.* of *Vyākaraṇa Mss* (R. A. S. B.) Vol. VI (1931) Calcutta.—Ms Nos. 4456, 4457, 4457A "Sadānanda appears to be a Jain of the school of Kharatara."

4. The *Jinaratnakośa* records the following Mss of this Commentary :—

"*B. O.* p. 43, 44; *CC I*, p. 718; III, P. 145; *D.B* 36 (5); *JG*, p. 308 ; *K.B* 3 (29,65), 5 (12); *Mitra* IX, p. 20; *Surat* I. 5"

tains some Mss[1] of Sadānandagaṇi's *Subodhinī*. These Mss were not known to Aufrecht as they were added to the Govt. Mss Library subsequent to the publication of the *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Two of these Mss are important as they contain the verse recording the date of composition of the work viz. *Saṁvat 1799 = A. D. 1743.* In the preliminary six verses of the *Subodhinī* Sadānanda gives us some information[2] about himself, his guru Bhaktivinaya and the

1. These Mss are :—

* (1) *No. 347 of 1895-1902* — folios 242
* (2) *No. 294 of 1899-1915* — folios 217
(3) *No. 295 of 1899-1915* — folios 10 (fragment)
(4) *No. 296 of 1899-1905* — folios 139
(5) *No. 261 of 1899-1915* — folios 135

* The colophon of these Mss reads as follows:—

"श्रीमत्पाठकधुर्यभक्तिविनया नंदंति सद्विद्यया
नानाशास्त्रविचारजातपरमानंदाः स्वभासोज्ज्वलाः ।
संवेगादिगुणैर्वशीकृतजना विख्यातकीर्तिप्रभाः
गंत्रर्त्स्थंनितपकां विनयवान् शिष्यः सदानंदकः ॥ १ ॥

निधिनंदाश्वभूवर्षे सदानंदः सुधीः मुदे ।
सिद्धांतचंद्रिकावृत्तिं कृदंते चक्रवानृजुम् ॥ २ ॥

इति कृदंतं समाप्तम् ॥ श्रीः ॥ "

The chronogram निधि (9) नंद (9) अश्व (7) भू (1) = Saṁvat 1799 = A. D. 1743.

2. MS *No. 294 of 1899-1915* begins :—

"॥ ६० ॥ पुराणपुरुषं ध्यात्वा नत्वा चार्हतनायकं
सिद्धांतचन्द्रिकावृत्तिं चर्करीमितरामहं ॥ १ ॥

विद्यारत्नपयोनिधौ खरतराम्नाये जगत्पूज्यके
श्रीभट्टारकसंपदां गुणगणैः स्तुत्या धरन् पुण्यवान्
पूज्यश्रीजिनभक्तिसूरिरधिपो वर्वर्ति विद्यानिधिः
सोयं शीतकरायते च यशसा सूरीयते तेजसा ॥ २ ॥

श्रीकीर्त्तिरत्नसूर्याह्वो यतींद्रोभूत्तरांततः
श्रीमत्सुमतिरंगाख्यः पाठकः प्रवरस्ततः ॥ ३ ॥

श्रीपाठकाः श्रीसुखलाभसंज्ञा जाग्रत्प्रभावा विलसत्प्रतिज्ञाः
तच्छिष्यवर्याः कृतराजिधुर्याः श्रीपाठकाः पाठकचारणेंद्राः ॥ ४ ॥

श्रीभागचंद्रागणिसंप्रवर्हाः संवेगरंगांगनिमग्नविग्रहाः
श्रीभक्तिपूर्वं विनयं हि येषां त्वन्नामधेयं गुरवो वदंति ॥ ५ ॥

तेषां हि तेषां विनयप्रधानोऽनवद्य विद्याऽभ्यसनैकतानः
प्राज्ञः सदानंदगणिः सुशिष्यः करोति वृत्तिं सुगमां सुबोधिनीं ॥ ६ ॥"

Kharataragaccha to which he belongs. Verse 2 of the six verses giving this information refers to जिनभक्तिसूरि of the खरतराम्नाय who may be identical with his name-sake mentioned in the following *guruparamparā* [1]:—

(A. D. 1743) जिनभक्तिसूरि
|
pupil
जिनलाभसूरि
|
pupil
क्षमाकल्याण (Composed जीवविचारप्रकरणवृत्ति in A. D. *1794* or Saṁ. *1850*)

Prof. H. D. Velankar states in his *Jinaratnakośa* that क्षमाकल्याण who composed the above vṛtti was a pupil of अमृतधर्म of the खरतरगच्छ.

The commentary of Sadānandagaṇi is rich in citations especially in the Uttarārdha. I may note below some of the authors and works mentioned by this commentator. The number against each reference indicates the folio of Ms *No. 347 of 1895-1902* of this commentary in the Govt. Mss Library.

I —*References in the Pūrvārdha* (folios 1 to 125)

अमरः, 1, 14, 30, 37, 38, 50, 51, 53, 65, 68, 85, 99, 108
पतंजलिः, 2; पराशरः, 33; भारते, 33; यादवः, 37; विश्वः, 46; माधवः, 56;
लघुभाष्यकर्तुः, 56 ("इति लघुभाष्यकर्तुरपि प्रयासो व्यर्थ एव") —
This is evidently a criticism of an earlier commentator.
हरदत्तः, 70; वृत्तिकारः, 72; हरिः, 73, 113; उदीचीनामाचार्याणां मते, 90;
हैमः, 102, 119.

Colophon on folio 125—

"श्रीमत्पाठकवर्यभक्तिविनया विख्यातकीर्त्तिप्रभा
राजेन्द्रैः परिपूजिताः सुकृतिनः पुंभाववाग्देवताः ।
संतारो जगतां पतिं गुणगणैर्विभ्राजमानाः सनत् (?)
संवेगादियुजो जयंतु सततं षट्शास्त्रविद्याविदः ॥ १ ॥

1. Vide p. 220 (MS 1372-1) of *Cata. of Bodleian MSS, Vol. II (1905)* by Keith and Winternitz.

तेषां शिष्यः सदानंदस्तदनुग्रहभूषितः ।
सिद्धांतचंद्रिकावृत्तिं पूर्वार्द्धेऽचकरीदिमां ॥ २ ॥

इति श्रीसिद्धांतचंद्रिकाख्या(ख्या)यां सदानंदकृतौ सुबोधिन्याख्यायां पूर्वार्द्धं समाप्तं शुभं भवतु कल्याणमस्तु श्रीरस्तु ।"

II — *References in the Uttarārdha* (Folios 1 to 117)

This section begins :—

"श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥

साध्वीयं सच्चिदानंदं नामं नाभं जगत्प्रभुं ।
सिद्धांतचंद्रिकाख्यानवृत्तिश्चेक्रियतेतराम् ॥"

माघः, 8, 27, 73, 80, 85, 93; श्रीहर्षः, 8, 32, 59; नैषधे, 21;

मनोरमायां, 22—This is possibly a reference to the प्रौढमनोरमा of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita (A.D. 1560–1620)

अमरः, 24, 72, 75, 81; माधवमते, 38; भट्टिः, 56

Colophon on folio 64—

"इति लकारार्थप्रक्रिया ॥

बुद्धिमांद्यवशात्किंचिद् यदशुद्धमलेखि तत् ।
द्वेषभावं समुत्सृज्य सोधनीया मनीषिभिः ॥ १ ॥

इति सिद्धांतचंद्रिकाव्याख्यायामाख्यातं कामं समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥
प्रतोष्य जगन्नाथं सदानन्देन संमुदा ।
सिद्धांतचंद्रिकावृत्तिः क्रियते कृत्प्रकाशिका ॥ १ ॥"

हैमः, 70, 75, 82, 84, 86, 98, 107
रघुः, 75, 78
हरचंद्रः, 81, 82
रत्नमाला, 81
विश्वः, 81, 82, 83 (A. D. 1111)
मेदिनी, 82, 83, 85, 86
वररुचिकोशः, 82
शाश्वतः, 82
धरणिकोशः 83, 93
त्रिकांडशेषः, 83, 86
विश्वप्रकाशः, 84
रंतिदेवः, 84
चंद्रः, 84
संसारावर्तः, 84
विक्रमादित्यकोशः, 86, 99
वैजयंती, 86
अजयकोशः 96, 106
हेमचंद्रः, 96, 99
द्विरूपकोशः, 98, 106
शब्दार्णवः, 100
वायुपुराणे, 105

The foregoing analysis of the Mss of *Subodhinī* of the Jain commentator of the *Siddhānta-Candrikā* proves the following points about his history and chronology:—

(1) Sadānandagaṇi (= S) composed this commentary in A. D 1743.

(2) S belonged to the *Kharataragaccha*, his guru being *Bhaktivinaya*.

(3) S was a very close student of Sanskrit grammar as will be seen from his voluminous commentary *Subodhinī* and his acquaintance with the works of previous writers on grammar as also the numerous lexicons quoted by him profusely in his work.

(4) S shows in an ample degree the interest of the Jain writers[1] in Sanskrit grammar as late as the middle of the 18th century and maintains the great tradition of scholastic studies established by such early writers on grammar Śrī Hemacandrācārya.

I shall feel thankful to our Jain scholar-friends if they bring to light any other works of Sadānandagaṇi known to them, either with private persons or public libraries not accessible to me.

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1. Prof. H. D. Velankar in his *Jinaratnakośa*, which has been published by the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, refers to three Jain Commentaries on the *Siddhānta-candrikā* of Rāmacandrāśrama :—

(1) *Subodhinī* by Sadānandagaṇi, the subject of my present paper.

(2) *Ṭippaṇa* by Candrakīrti, which is different from his commentary on the *Sārasvataprakriyā* (Candrakīrti flourished about *A. D. 1550)*.

(3) *Ṭīkā* (anonymous).

II — BRAHMANICAL

17. Date of Sārāvalī of Kalyāṇavarman–Between A. D. 550 and 966 ‡

Mr. V. Subrahmanya Shastri writes in his preface to the edition of *Sārāvalī* [1] of Kalyāṇavarman: "In my attempts to make out the ambiguous portion of certain Ślokas in *Jātakapārijāta*[2] I had to refer to *Bṛhajjātaka* and its commentary by Bhaṭṭotpala to decide upon the right interpretation of the dubious passages. I found that *Bhaṭṭotpala who lived in the time of Emperor Jehangir* supported his explanations of the passages in Varāhamihira's work by largely quoting from Sārāvalī, because his authority on astrological points was undisputedly acknowledged in his time." "The author Kalyāṇavarman appears to have flourished between the ages of Varāhamihira and Bhaṭṭotpala."

I wonder on what authority Mr. Subrahmanya Shastri makes the statement that Bhaṭṭotpala lived in the time of Emperor Jehangir whose period of reign is A. D. 1605 – 1627. The date of Varāhamihira[3] being A. D. 505 we shall have to conclude on the assumption of the contemporaneity of Bhaṭṭotpala and Emperor Jehangir that Kalyāṇavarman flourished between A. D. 505 and A. D. 1627.

Mr. Shastri's statement, however, appears to be wrong in view of the following facts:—

(1) *Bhaṭṭotpala*, the commentator on the *Bṛhajjātaka* of

‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XVI, pp. 147–148.

1. *Sārāvalī* (3rd edition) 1928, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay; Preface, pp. 1–2.

2. Vide *Jātakapārijāta* of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, Vol. I (1932) and Vol. II (1933) with English translation and Notes by V. Subrahmanya Shastri, Bangalore.

3. Duff: *Chronology of India*, p. 38.

Varāhamihira wrote his commentary in A. D. 966.[1] This commentary is called *Jagaccandrikā*.[2]

(2) There is no other commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* ascribed to any other Bhaṭṭotpala except the one referred to above, which is expressly dated in A. D. 966.

Our conclusion, therefore, would be that Kalyāṇavarman flourished between A. D. 505, the date of Varāhamihira and A. D. 966, the date of Bhaṭṭotpala who quotes from *Sārāvalī* as stated by Shastri in the extract from his Preface given above.

In Duff's *Chronology of India*, however, the following statement is found re. *Kalyāṇavarman*:—

" *A. D. 578*— Kalyāṇavarman, the astronomer, probably flourished about this date. He lived after Varāhamihira and was probably a contemporary of Brahmagupta—*Gaṇakataraṅgiṇī*, ed. Sudhākara, *The Pandit* N.S.XIV." [3]

We know as a matter of fact that the astronomer Brahmagupta was born in A. D. 598[4] and wrote his *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* in Śaka 550 (= A. D. 628) that is at the age of thirty. If Kalyāṇavarman flourished about A. D. 578, Brahmagupta's literary activity began about A. D. 628 i.e. about 50 years later. Brahmagupta wrote another work viz. *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* in A.D. 665 i.e. 37 years after the date of the *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*. These dates throw some doubt on the theory of contemporaneity of Brahmagupta and Kalyāṇavarman so far as the above facts go.

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1. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 534.
2. Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I. p. 64.
3. Duff: *Chronology of India*, p. 44.
4. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 522.

18. Date of the Grammarian Bhīmasena–Before A. D. 600 ‡

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his section on *Dhātupāṭha*[1] refers to the grammarian Bhīmasena in the following extract:—

"We next turn our attention to the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* which deals with the same subject and which was written by Mādhava or Sāyaṇa, the great Vedic Bhāṣyakāra (1350 A. D.). Sāyaṇa also mentions numerous workers in the same field whose labours he partly utilised. Among these may be mentioned, as belonging to the Pāṇinīya School, *Bhīmasena* and Maitreyarakṣita."

The reference to Bhīmasena by Sāyaṇa about A. D. 1350 enables us to fix A.D. 1300 or so as one terminus to the date of Bhīmasena.

Aufrecht[2] records numerous MSS of Bhīmasena's *Dhātupāṭha*

‡ *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 108–110.

1. Vide p. 53 of *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915. On p. 42 Dr. Belvalkar refers to another *Bhīmasena*, the author of a Commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, composed by him in *Saṁvat* 1779 (= A. D. 1722). He is of course different from the grammarian *Bhīmasena*, the author of *Dhātupāṭha*. Aufrecht refers to Bhīmasena Dīkṣita (CC II, 94) who lived under Ajitasiṁha of Yodhapura and wrote *Kuvalayānanda Khaṇḍana*. One Bhīmasena, minister of a King of Nepal wrote a work called *Sarvalakṣaṇapustaka*. All these name-sakes of the grammarian Bhīmasena appear to be different from him- —The Ind. Office has a MS of रत्नावलीटिप्पन by भीमसेन (Vide *I. O. Cata*. Vol. II, Part II, No. 7353. p. 1205) written merely to explain Prākṛta passages ("संस्कृतऽतिप्रवीणानां प्राकृतीयमजानताम् । उपकाराय रचितं भीमसेनेन टिप्पणं ।" I.O. MS No. 7730 (p. 1398) called the भीमसेन नामधारणी in 35 verses is dated A. D. 1764 and deals with Buddhist mystic formula or धारणी.

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, p. 271—"IO 2832. Br. M. (Addit. 26, 424). L. 2536. Poona 256. Peters 2. 189. *Cata. Catalogorum*, II, 58—"CU add. 1402." *Cata. Catalogorum*, III, p.58—"Hpr. 2. 108. Tod. 84."

and mentions him as the author of Bhaimī grammar[1] quoted by Rāyamukuṭa and Padmanābha. As Rāyamukuṭa wrote his commentary in A.D. 1431 Sāyaṇa's reference to Bhīmasena of about A.D. 1350 is of course the earliest one so far noticed.

M. M. Haraprasad Shastri has described[2] three MSS of Bhīmasena's Dhātupāṭha in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. In his scholarly Preface (P. xxxi) M.M. Shastri observes :—

"Every grammarian had to make his own list of verbal roots from the pre-existing indices. Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha*[3] consists of 1944 roots, plus 20 *Śrauta dhātus* which have to be picked up from the Sūtras of Pāṇini. The works on roots of the School of Pāṇini have

1. Ibid. I, 413—"भीमसेन—Dhātupāṭha. Bhaimī grammar. He is quoted by Rāyamukuṭa and Padmanābha Oxf 110 b." Padmanābha mentions Bhīmasena in his सिद्धसारस्वतदीपिका (vide Oxford 110 b) represented by a MS dated *Śaka 1631* = A. D. *1709*.— There are three MSS of Bhīmasena's Dhātupāṭha in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute viz. No. 220 of 1892-95, No. 94 of A 1883-84 and No. 327 of A 1881-82. (These have been described by Dr. Belvalkar on pp. 163 to 166 of his *Descriptive Catalogue of Grammar MSS*, Vol. II, Part I (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1938). Describing MS No. 220 of 1892-95 (which is dated *Saṁvat 1696* = *A. D.* 1639) Dr. Belvalkar observes :—

"The list of roots is said to be the work of Pāṇini while भीमसेन is said to have supplied their meaning. This भीमसेन is an elderly writer and is credited with the authorship of a distinct commentary called प्रदीप on this same धातुपाठ."

2. Catalogue of *Vyākaraṇa Manuscripts*, Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 71-72 — Nos. 4351, 4352, 4353. The last of these three MSS is dated *Saṁvat* 1743 = *A. D. 1687*. It was copied by one *Viśvanātha*, of the *Surname Pattavardhana*. Aufrecht (CC I, 416) refers to भैमी grammar as follows :—

"भैमी grammar, by Bhīmasena, Oppert 3334, 4236, II, 2774."

3. Winternitz in his *Geschichte der ind. Litteratur*, III (1920) deals with the *Dhātupāṭhas* of Pāṇini, Kātantra, Candra, Hemacandra, Vopadeva as also Pālī Dhātupāṭha but I find no reference to Bhīmasena in the Index to this volume. He, however, refers to the *Dhātupradīpa* of Maitreyarakṣita (p. 395). In "*Materialien zum Dhātupāṭha*," Bruno Liebich, Heidelberg, 1921, (Carl Winters) I find no mention of Bhīmasena's *Dhātupāṭha*.

many commentaries......... *Numbers 4351 to 53 are by Bhīmasena and 4354 is by Maitreya-rakṣita* one of the *Buddhist Commentators of Pāṇini. It is later than Bhīmasena. Maitreya flourished according to Śriśa Babu about 1100* A. D. The greatest work on Sanskrit roots of this school is by the well-known Mādhavācārya. It has been published in the Mysore Sanskrit Series. It is of an encyclopædic character. Babu Śriśa Candra has written a commentary on the *Dhātupradīpa* by Maitreya in his edition published by the Varendra Research Society."

If Bhīmasena is earlier[1] than Maitreya-rakṣita (who flourished about A. D. 1100) the date of our Bhīmasena is pushed back by 250 years from A. D. 1350, the date of Sāyaṇa, who refers to him as stated by Dr. Belvalkar. We have now to see if we can push back the date of Bhīmasena still further backwards from A. D. 1100.

The evidence on the strength of which I propose to push back Bhīmasena's date by at least 500 years from A. D. 1100, the date of Maitreya-rakṣita is as follows :—

The *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*,[2] a treatise on the fundamental principles of Jainism was composed by Umāsvāti with his self-composed commentary (*Svopajñabhāṣya*) "between the 1st and the 4th centuries of the Vikrama era" according to Prof. H. R. Kapadia[3] or between 1 and 85 A.D. according to Satis Chandra Vidyabhushan.[4] Sidhasenagaṇi composed a commentary on Umāsvāti's *Sūtra* and *bhāṣya*. In this voluminous commentary he refers to many previous *Sūris*[5]. In his discussion of Siddhasena's date Prof. Kapadia

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1. M. M. H. P. Shastri (in his description of MS 4354 dated Śaka 1490 = *A. D. 1568*) states that *Dhātupradīpa* of Maitreya "*follows Bhīmasena*" (p. 73).

2. Ed. by Prof. H. R. Kapadia with Siddhasenagaṇi's commentary (Devachand Lalbhai J. P. Fund Series, No. 76), 1930 — Part II (Chap. VI to X).

3. Ibid, p. 42.

4. *History of Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, p. 8.

5. Vide pp. 100–101 and 123 of Prof. Kapadia's edition of *T. Sūtra*. Prof. Kapadia attempts an identification of some of the *Sūris* etc. (pp. 54–65 of *Introduction*) mentioned by Siddhasena. I shall here note for reference their names only as found on p. 123 :—

शाकल्य, बाष्कल, कुथुमि, सात्यमुग्रि, राणायन, कठ, मध्यन्दिन, मोद, पिप्पलाद, बादरायण, स्विष्टकृद्, अनिकात्यायन, जैमिनि, वसु, मरीचि, कुमार, कपिल, लुक, गार्ग्य, व्याघ्रभूति, वाद्वलि, माठर, मौद्गल्यायन, कोकुल, काण्ठेविद्धि, कौशिक, हरिश्मश्रु, मान्धनिक, रोमक, हारित, मुण्ड, आश्वलायन, वसिष्ठ, पराशर, जातूकर्ण, वाल्मीकि, रोमहर्षणि, सत्यदत्त, इलापुत्र, औपमन्य, चन्द्रदत्त, धर्मकीर्ति (p. 397 of Part I) etc.

states that "Siddhasena's date does not go ahead of the 7th century" (p. 64 of Introduction). Satischandra Vidyabhushan assigns Siddasena to about 600 A. D. (Vide p. 182 of *History of Indian Logic*). In view of this early date for Siddhasena the following reference to वयाकरण भमिसेन enables us to fix A. D. 600 or so as one terminus to Bhīmasena's date:—

Pages 254 — Umāsvāti's bhāṣya reads:—

"चिती सञ्ज्ञानविशुद्धयोः धातुः । तस्य चित्तमिति भवति निष्ठान्तमौणादिकं च"
Siddhasena comments :

चिती सञ्ज्ञानविशुद्धयोर्धातुरित्यादि । भीमसेनात्परतोऽन्यैर्वैयाकरणैरर्थद्वये पठितो धातुः सञ्ज्ञाने विशुद्धौ च । इह विशुद्धयर्थस्य सह सञ्ज्ञानेन ग्रहणम् । अथवानेकार्था धातवः इति सञ्ज्ञाने पठितो विशुद्धावपि वर्तते । भाष्यकृता चोपयुज्यमानमेवार्थमभिसन्धाय विशुद्धिरपि पठिता तस्य चित्तमिति रूपं भवति निष्ठान्तमौणादिकं च चेततीति चित्तं विशुद्धयतीत्यर्थः । "

I believe the reference in the above extract to भीमसेन वैयाकरण and his धातुपाठ contained in the expression "भीमसेनात्परतोऽन्यैर्वैयाकरणैरर्थद्वये पठितो धातुः" is quite explicit and it needs no elaborate proof for establishing the identity of this भीमसेन with भीमसेन, the author of the धातुपाठ followed by Maitreyarakṣita in A. D. 1100 and referred to by Sāyaṇa about A. D. 1350 as already pointed out in this paper. I have not searched for other references to Bhīmasena in Siddhasena's voluminous commentary as such search is rendered quite difficult in the absence of any index to proper names accompanying Prof. Kapadia's edition.

We know practically nothing about this grammarian but as he has been now proved to be earlier than A. D. 600 or so on account of Siddhasena's reference to him scholars interested in the history of Sanskrit grammar will do well to gather more information about him than what they have gathered and recorded so far.

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19. The Date of Mahākṣapaṇaka's Anekārthadhvanimañjarī ‡

Vardhamāna[1] in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi refers to Kṣapaṇaka[2] in the following quotation, verse 261: *tālo dhanuṣi pīyūkṣā*; Commentary: *pīluvācī*[3] *pīyūkṣanniti Kṣapaṇakaḥ pīyūkṣāyāḥ paiyūkṣam.* As Vardhamāna composed his work in A. D. 1140, Kṣapaṇaka must have written his work before that date.

Zachariae[4] thinks that Kṣapaṇaka and Mahākṣapaṇaka may be identical authors. He observes in this connection: "The time of Mahākṣapaṇaka cannot be determined at present. The older commentators including Rāyamukuṭa appear not to know his work. Perhaps Mahākṣapaṇaka is identical with Kṣapaṇaka, a commentator of the Uṇādisūtra." If the above presumption about the indentity of Kṣapaṇaka and Mahākṣapaṇaka is correct, the date of Mahākṣapaṇaka[5] who is the author of Anekārthadhvanimañjarī and Ekākṣarakośa, goes back to a period before A. D. 1140, the date of Gaṇaratnamahodadhi.

I have to record in this note some additional data, which push back the date of Mahākṣapaṇaka by more than 200 years.

Vallabhadeva, the author of the commentaries on the Mahākāvyas, rarely resorts to authority in support of his interpretations. I have, however, found the following quotation from the *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī* on folio 68 of a Ms of his commentary on the Raghu-

‡ *Festchrift M. Winternitz*, 1933, pp. 89-91.

1. *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, ed. by Eggeling, London, 1879, Preface, p. vi.

2. Ibid., p. 309.

3. Compare the following line in a Ms. of *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī* (No. 270 of 1880—81 of the Govt. Mss. Library, B. O. R. Institute) on folio 9 : *vṛkṣajāti gajau pīlū pradarau rogaśārṅgiṇau* (variant : *bhārgaṇau*).

4. Zachariae, *Die indischen Wörterbücher*, p. 25 (§13).

5. Aufrecht, *Catalougus Catalogorum*, part I, p. 435a.

vaṁśa, viz. No. 449 of 1887—91 of the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute: *narapatiścakame mṛgayāratiṁ samadhumanmamadhumanmathasaṁnibhaḥ*. This is the second line of the stanza 59[1] of the text. Vallabha's commentary on this line reads: *manmathakāmaḥ tatsabhānamadhūmadyaṁ madhūkṣaudramadhupuṣparasastathā / madhurdaityo madhuścaitro madhuko' pi madhurmṛdūḥ anekārthamañjarī*. The lexicon *Anekārthamañjarī* from which Vallabha quotes in the foregoing extract appears to be that of Mahākṣapaṇaka, a Kashmirian. It is natural that Vallabha, himself a Kashmirian, should quote from an earlier lexicon composed by another Kashmirian Mahākṣapaṇaka. The above quotation can be identified in a Ms of *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī* (No. 270 of 1880—81 of the Govt. Mss Library - B. O. R. Institute). This Ms is dated Saṁvat 1568 (= A. D. 1512). On folio 1 of the Ms the quotation appears as under: *madhurdaityo madhuścaitro madhukopi madhurmmataḥ*. The lexicon in question is known by two names. Two Mss of the work—one described by Rajendralal Mitra[2] and another by Dr. Eggeling[3] — have the title *Anekārthamañjarī* similar to that used in Vallabha's quotation given above. The work is also called *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī* and many Mss are recorded under this title by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Eggeling also describes a Ms under this title in his *Catalogue of India Office Mss.*[4]

Now as regards the date of Vallabhadeva, he is put by scholars in "the first half of the 10th century ;[5] for, his grandson Kayyaṭa, son of Candrāditya, wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devīśataka* in 977—78 A. D. during the reign of Bhīmagupta of Kashmir (977—82 A. D.). To be more specific about Vallabha's date we are informed that he lived about A. D. 925.[6]

In view of the above chronology about Vallabha we shall have to fix the first half of the 10th century or roughly A. D. 925 as the

1. The stanza is numbered 48 in Nandargikar's Edition, p. 279.

2. *Notices of Sanskrit Mss*, Vol. IV, p. 28, Ms. No. 1404. The Colophon reads: *Iti śrīkāśmīrāmnāye Mahākṣapaṇakaviracitāyām anekārthamañjaryāṁ śabdādhikāraḥ samāptaḥ*.

3. *India Office Catalogue*, Part II, p. 291, Ms. No. 1030.

4. Ibid, p. 290, Ms. No. 1029.

5. S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 97.

6. Duff, *Chronology of India*, 1899, p. 87.

terminus ad quem for the date of Mahākṣapaṇaka, the author of *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī*.

As regards the *terminus a quo* for the date of *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī* we have no evidence to fix it except the worthless legend of the Nine Jewels[1] at the court of Vikramāditya. Candragupta II (A. D. 401)[2] adopted the title of Vikramāditya and according to Keith's suggestion the fame of this Vikramāditya as the patron of the poets may be looked upon as having its attestation in the legend mentioned above. According to this legend the literary distinction of Candragupta's court was mainly due to the Nine Jewels or men of literary eminence, viz. Dhanvantari, Kṣapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, etc. If one is inclined to give any credence to the suggestion adumbrated above we may have to regard about A. D. 350 as the *terminus a quo* for the date of the lexicographer Kṣapaṇaka (or Mahākṣpaṇaka) referred to in the legend. In the present state of Indian chronology, however, we are not inclined to take any precipitous leaps into the domain of the unknown.

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1. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, p. 76.
2. Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 288.

20. The Nature and Contents of a Lost Medical Treatise by Kharanāda or Khāraṇādi ‡

Aufrecht[1] refers to खरनाद as the name of an author referred to by Aruṇadatta in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II. The following passage is found in Aruṇadatta's commentary on verse 34 of Chapter 1 of the *Cikitsitasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.[2]

'तथाच खारणादिरपाठीत्—"बहुद्रव्यो घनः स्वच्छमल्पाँपभं जलम् " इति'

In foot-note 7 on p. 549 the editor notes the variant 'खरनादोऽपाठीत्'. These two variants खारणादि and खरनाद found in two MSS of Aruṇadatta's commentary *Sarvāṅgasundarā* on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* give rise to the question whether the correct name of the author quoted by Aruṇadatta[3] (about 1220 A. D.) is खारणादि or खरनाद. This doubt is further aggravated by the use of the variant खरणादि in the following passage from Aruṇadatta's commentary on verse 77 of Chap. I of the *Cikitsitasthāna* (p.559) :—

"खरणादिऽप्युक्तम्—'पटोलं फलं निम्बं कर्कोटककठिल्लकम्। शाकं पर्पटकं च स्यात्' इति"

As against these three variants viz. (1) खारणादि ; (2) खरणादि and (3) खरनाद found in the MSS of Aruṇadatta's commentary, we find that Hemādri has quoted extensively from a medical writer called by him as 'खारणादि'. As Aufrecht does not record any MSS of the

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‡ *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VI, pp. 49–62.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 136 *b*.

2. Edited by Paradkar Sastri, N. S. Press, Bombay, p. 549 ; On p. 136 Hemādri (between 1260–1309 A. D.) quotes Aruṇadatta "मधु क्षौद्रम् 'मार्द्वीकम्' इति अरुणदत्तः" and " 'मैरेयो'...'खर्जुरासवः' इति अरुणदत्तः "

3. Vide Hoernle : *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, p. 17.

4. Vide p. 10 of my Introduction to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II (Ed. by Paradkar Shastri). *Āyurvedarasāyana* was composed between 1271 and 1309 A. D. (when Rāmacandra of Devagiri was ruling). Hemādri refers to his earlier work *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi* in the *Ā. rasāyana*.

works of the author खारणादि or even his name it would be useful to record the quotations from खारणादि's work found in the *Āyurveda-rasāyana*[4] of Hemādri.

These quotations are as under:—

Page 40—"यदाह खारणादिः—"पित्तं शाम्यति, तच्छैत्याद्वायुः श्लेष्मा च चीयते" इति"

Page 42—"यथोक्तं खारणादिना—"स्वभावशैत्याद्रौक्ष्याच्च वातकोपाद्बलक्षयात् । विधिर्विशेषात्स्निग्धोष्णः शिशिरे हैमनो मतः ॥ " इति"

Page 43—"यदाह खारणादिः—"हेमन्ते निचितः श्लेष्मा शिशिरेऽपि न कुप्यति । आहारैश्च गुरुस्निग्धैर्भृशमेवोपचीयते" इति"

Page 63—"कालमानं तूक्तं खारणादिना—"वार्षिकं तदहर्वृष्टं भूमिष्ठमहितं जलम् । व्युष्टं द्विरात्रं तच्चैव प्रसन्नममृतोपमम्" ॥ इति"

Page 65—"खारणादिना च— "नदीकूपतडागोद्भिद्वयाप्यादिषु विशिष्यते । अनूपे गौरवादम्बु शैले धन्वनि लाघवात्" ॥ इति"

Page 67—"खारणादिस्तु पाल्वलमवरमाह—"पाल्वलं जलमम्भसाम्" इति"

Page 69—"अत एव खारणादिनोत्तमशब्दः प्रयुक्तः —
"गव्यं स्नेहोत्तमं क्षीरं गव्याच्च प्रयसः पयः ।
यथोत्तरं स्नेहहीनमौरभ्रछागमाहिषम् ॥" इति"

Page 70—"खारणादिस्त्वाह—"स्वाद्वम्लपाकं स्निग्धोष्णं गुरुपित्तकफोल्बणम् ।
आविकं बृंहणं क्षीरं हिक्काश्वासानिलापहम् ॥ " इति"

—"युक्तिरुक्ता खारणादिना[1]—"अर्धोदकं क्षीरशिष्टमामाल्लघुतरं स्मृतम् ।
"स्यान्निर्जलं श्रुतं द्वित्रिचतुरष्ठांशशेषितम् ॥
यथाशृततमं सारं गुरुबल्यतमं पयः । " इति "

1. These three lines quoted by Hemādri as from खारणादि's work are quoted by Aruṇadatta as from खरनाद's work :—

Page 70 — (*Sarvāṅga-Sundarā* of Aruṇadatta on verse 28 of chap. V of Sūtra-sthāna of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya—"युक्तिः योग उपायः । खरनादेन क्षीरस्य श्रपणे युक्तिः स्पष्टं कृत्वा दर्शिता — "अर्धोदकं क्षीरशिष्टमामाल्लघुतरं शृतम् ।" इति..

"खरनादेनोक्तम् — "स्यान्निर्जलं शृतं द्वित्रिचतुरष्टांशशेषितम् ।
यथा शृततमं सारं गुरुबल्यतमं पयः ॥ इति"

Page 74—"मारुताध्मानजननश्चेक्षूणां भक्षितो रसः । " "इति खारणादिना-
प्युक्तं वातलत्वं भुक्तमात्रपीतेक्षुरसविषयम् । "

—"उक्तं च खारणादिना —"मध्यकाण्डे सुमाधुर्यमिक्षोर्मूलाग्रपर्वसु ।
माधुर्यं साम्ललवणं विदाही तेन यान्त्रिकः ॥ " इति"

Page 85—"रक्तः श्येनाहृतो गौरः सुगन्धः काञ्चनो महान् ।
पतङ्गः कलमः पाण्डुर्लोहवालः प्रमोदकः ॥

दीर्घनालः शीतभीरुः सारिवः शङ्खमौक्तिकः ।
तूर्णको दीर्घशूकाख्यो लाङ्गलाद्यश्च शालयः ॥

शीतला मधुराः स्निग्धा ग्राहिणो मांसशुक्रलाः ।
वातपित्तहराबल्याः सृष्टमूत्राः सहायनाः ॥

स्निग्धः शीतो लघुर्ग्राही तृष्णाघ्नः शुक्रमूत्रकः ।
रक्तशालिस्त्रिदोषघ्नः कलमोऽनु महांस्ततः ।। " इति खारणादिः"

Page 88—"ननु, स्निग्धोष्णा कफवातघ्नीः सतिक्ता मधुरानसी । "
इति खारणादिना श्लेष्मघ्नत्वमुक्तम् "

Page 89—"यदाह खारणादिः—"वर्षस्थितं सर्वधान्यं परित्यजति गौरवम् ।
न तु त्यजति तद्वीर्यं वीर्यं मुञ्चत्यतः क्रमात् ॥ " इति"

Page 98—"उक्तं च खारणादिना—"अविदाह्यनतिस्निग्धं नातिशीतलमामि-
षम् । छागं लघु त्रिदोषघ्नमनभिष्यन्दि बृंहणम् ॥ " इति"

Page 99—"स्वाद्वम्लपाकं स्निग्धोष्णं वातघ्नं बृंहणं गुरु ।
स्वेदनं तर्पणं हृद्यं बल्यं शौकरमामिषम् ॥ "
इति खारणादिवचनादुष्णत्वस्याप्यौपदेशिकत्वात् "

Page 100—"शिरोवत्पादगौरवम्" इति खारणादिना पादयोः शिरस्तुल्यत्व-
वचनात् चकारात् पादयोश्च गौरवं विद्यात् ।।

—"यदाह खारणादिः—"सक्थिस्कन्धा उरः शीर्षं मुष्कौ वक्त्र मेहनं
कटिः । गुरुत्तरोत्तरं विद्याच्छिरोवत्पादगौरवम् " इति । ननु,
खारणादिस्त्वचोधिकं कव्या गौरवमाह etc."

Page 102—"खारणादिः—"सस्नेहोष्णं लघुस्वादु पाके दोषानुलोमनम् ।
उष्णं तिक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नं शाकं निम्बपटोलयोः ।। '
तथा,-पटोलनिम्बवातघ्नतिक्तमन्यत्तु वातलम् । " इति । तत्र
खारणाद्युक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नत्वमेव ग्राह्यं etc.''

1. Quoted by Vopadeva in *Siddhamantraprakāśa*, folio 8.

—"निम्बे तु खारणाद्युक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नत्वं फलविषयम्"

—"आह खारणादिः—"अवल्गुजः सैडगजः पित्तकृत्कफवातजित् ।" इति ।"

—"तथा वेत्राग्रस्य खारणादिना त्रिदोषघ्नत्वमुक्तम्"

Page 104—"अत एवोक्तं खारणादिना —
"तण्डुलीयमर्मरिका पाठा वेत्राग्रं सुनिषण्णकम् ।
शठी शाकं च सङ्ग्राही दोषत्रय हितं लघु ॥ "[1] इत्यादि"

Page 105—"अलाबु भेदनं तेषां त्रपुस त्वतिमूत्रलम् ।
एर्वारुकं सृष्टमूत्रं, ग्राहि कर्कारुचिर्भटम् ॥ " इति खारणादि वचनात्"

Page 105—"यदाह खारणादिः—"कालशाकं सकारञ्जं कटुकं वातकोपनम् ।
दीपनीयं प्रशस्तं च विषशोकोदरार्शसाम् ॥" इति"

Page 107—"तथा च खारणादिः—"रूक्षं विदाहि तीक्ष्णोष्णं कटुकं स्वादु-पच्यते । उत्क्लेदि स्तम्भि गुर्वामं मूलकं त्रिमलोल्बणम् ॥" इति"

Page 110—"रूक्षाम्लं दाडिमं यत्तु तत्पित्तानिलकोपनम्" इति खारणादि वचनात् ।"

Page 113—"भव्यं स्वादुकषायाम्लं रूक्षं गुर्वास्यशोधनम् ।
शीतं ग्राह्यरुचिच्छर्दिरक्तपित्तकफापहम् ॥" इति खारणादिना पृथग्गुणकथनात् "

Page 114—"उक्तं च खारणादिना— "फलाम्लिकैरावतककोशाम्रकरमर्दकम् ।
आम्रातकं दन्तशठमम्लोष्णं रक्तपित्तलम्" इति"

—"अत एव खारणादिना—"ग्राह्यम्लं बदरं रुच्यं लघूष्णं मारुता-पहम् । मधुरं तद्गुरुस्निग्धं शीतं पित्तानिलापहम्" इत्युक्तम्"

Page 116—"सस्नेहं मधुरं पाके वर्ण्यं रोचनदीपनम् ।
दोषत्रयघ्नं चक्षुष्यं शीतं सस्वादु सैन्धवम् ॥ " इति खारणादिना शीतमुक्तम् etc."

"सैन्धवं सारसं पाक्यं सौवर्चलमथौद्भिदम् ।
पूर्वं पूर्वं गुणोत्कृष्टमुष्णं तेषां यथोत्तरम् ॥ " इति खारणादिनैवो-ष्णत्वस्योक्तत्वात्"

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1. Quoted by Vopadeva, Ibid, folio 7.

—"ऊर्ध्वानुलोम्यकृद्वायोः शूलघ्नं दीपनं बिडम् ।" इति खारणादि वचनात्"

Page 117—"ननु, "स्वाद्वम्लभावात्पवनं, कटुतिक्ततया कफम्
कषायमधुरत्वाच्च पित्तं हन्ति हरीतकी ॥"
इति खारणादिना पित्तघ्नत्वमप्युक्तम्"

Page 118—"खारणादिना हरीतकीलक्षणमप्युक्तम्—
"क्षिप्ताम्भसि निमज्जेद्या गुणकृत्सा प्रकीर्तिता ।" इति"

—"खारणादिरपि—"कषायमधुरं शीतं लघुपित्तकफापहम् ।
बिभीतक तस्मात्त्रिफला सार्वयौगिकी ॥" इति "

—"अत एव खारणादिना कषायमधुरमुक्तम्"

Page 119—"यत्तु "रोपनं दीपनं छेदि सुगन्धिकफवातजित् ।
नात्युष्णं कटुकं तीक्ष्णं मरिचं नातिपित्तलम् ॥" इति
खारणादिना नात्युष्णत्वं नातिपित्तलत्वं चोक्तम्"

Page 133—"यदाह खारणादिः—"गुडमाषतिलक्षीरविरुढबिसमूलकैः ।
ग्राम्यानूपौदमांसानि त्वेकेनापि विरुध्यते ॥" इति ।

Page 138—"यदाह खारणादिः—"दोषप्रकृतिदेशर्तुव्याधीनां स्वगुणैः पृथक् ।
विपरीतगुणैः सात्म्यं तुल्यं चासात्म्यमुच्यते ॥" इति ।

Page 141—"उक्तं च खारणादिना—"इन्द्रियातिश्रमाद्रूक्षो वातलो जागरो निशि । तदालस्याद्दिवास्वप्नः स्निग्धः पित्तकफोल्बणः ॥ आसीन-प्रचलस्वप्नो निरभिष्यन्दि बृंहणः ।" इति

Page 143—"अत एवाह खारणादिः— "असुप्तानां तथा रात्रौ तन्मात्रं स्वपनं दिवा ।" इति

Page 148—"उक्तं च खारणादिना—"यदभ्यवहृतं सम्यग्यथाकालं जरां व्रजेत् । प्रकृत्यविकृतिं कृत्वा तन्मात्रालक्षणं विदुः ॥ " इति ।"

Page 150—"उक्तं च खारणादिना—"विसूच्यलसकौ वाम्यौ पिप्पलीलवणाम्भसा । " इति । "

—"स्वेदफलवर्तिद्रव्याण्युक्तानि खारणादिना—
"शूले तु स्तिमिते सामे स्वेदः शस्तो मुहुर्मुहुः ।
रूक्षोष्णैः कटुकैः पांशुकरीषसिकतादिभिः ॥

पिप्पल्यौगारधूमश्च मदनं सर्षपास्त्रिवृत् ।
हेमक्षीरीवचा किण्वं कुष्ठं दन्ती यवाग्रजः ॥
समूत्रलवणाभ्यक्ताफलवर्तिरियं हिता ।
संस्वेद्यालसके शूलविबन्धानाह नाशिनी ॥" इति "

Page 151—"तथा च खारणादिः—"आमाशयविशुध्यर्थमर्थेनमुपवासयेत् ।
जीर्णे विरिक्तवृत्तिः स्याद्या प्रोक्ता मण्डपूर्विका ।।" इति ।"

Page 153—"यदाह खारणादिः —"विष्टब्धे स्वेदनं वर्त्यो लवणोष्णाम्बु शस्यते । विदग्धे वमनं शस्तमुपवासो विरेचनम् ॥" इति"

Page 154—"तथा च खारणादिः—"एतान्युक्तानि लिङ्गानि स्वामाजीर्णो विनिर्दिशेत् । " इति"

—"तथा च खारणादिः—"आमे स्वामप्रशमनं विमाने द्विविधं मतम् । इति"

Page 155—"यदाह खारणादिः—"रसशेषे हितः स्वप्नो घर्माम्बु लघु-भोजनम् ।" इति ।"

Page 158-"यत्तूक्तं खारणादिना—"कटुं लवणमम्लं वा पूर्वमाहारमाहरेत् ।
आहारो मधुरोऽग्रे हि गुरुर्विष्टभ्य जीर्यति ॥" इति ।"

—"यदाह खारणादिः—"कामं दोषवदप्यन्नममात्रं वा निषेवितम् ।
अल्पदोषमदोषं वाऽप्यनुपानेन जीर्यति ।।" इति ।"

Page 159—"यदाह खारणादिः— "कृशक्षीणामयोन्मुक्तपुष्टिवर्णबलार्थिनाम्
मद्यस्त्रीश्रमनित्यानां शुष्यतां च रसो हितः ॥" इति ।"

Page 167—"एके खारणादिप्रभृतयः गुर्वादीन् गुणान् वीर्यं च वदन्ति ।"

Page 188—"यथा च खारणादिः—"पञ्चकर्माणि सर्पींषि सतिक्तावस्तयस्तथा ।
पथः" इति । "

Page 189—"खारणादिरप्याह— "रसधातोः परं धाम पच्यमानात्प्रसीदति ।
सौम्यस्वभाव रक्ताग्रे यत्तदोजः प्रकीर्तितम् ॥" इति ।"

It will be seen from the foregoing extracts that Hemādri (about A. D. 1271) had before him a medical work by a writer of the name खारणादि and even though the work has been now lost, the quotations recorded above will acquaint the reader with the form and nature of its contents. It appears that in Hemādri's time and even earlier the treatise of *Khāraṇādi* was looked upon with authority since a writer of Hemādri's learning and literary repute quotes from it extensively as an authoritative work. From the identity of a quotation ascribed by Hemādri to खारणादि, and to खरनाद by Aruṇadatta we

have suggested above that the names खारणादि and खरनाद are indentical. Let us now see if the name खारणादि uniformly used by Hemādri in his quotations from this treatise is corroborated by any contemporary usages. Fortunately for us such contemporary testimony has been forthcoming from Vopadeva and his father Keśava. Vopadeva was a protégé of Hemādri and was the author of several works[1]. The following verse[2] found at the end of the *Muktāphala* shows us the versatile productivity of Vopadeva:—

"यस्य व्याकरणे वरेण्यघटनाः स्फीताः प्रबन्धा दश। प्रख्याता नववैद्यकेऽपि तिथिनिर्धारार्थमेकोऽद्भुतः। साहित्ये त्रय एव भागवततत्त्वोक्तौत्रयस्तस्य च भूगीर्वाणशिरोमणेरिह गुणाः के के न लोकोत्तराः ॥"

Farquhar[3] assigns Vopadeva[4] to 'c. 1300 A. D.' or 'End of the 13th century'. Our Vopadeva should not be confounded with a late writer of the same name[5] who wrote a commentary on the *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānudatta in A. D. 1572.

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1. Vide Aufrecht, CC I, 616*a* —Vopadeva was son of Keśava and pupil of Dhaneśa. He was Pandit to Mahādeva, King of Devagiri. He is quoted in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*. He composed the following works :—(1) *Kavi-Kalpadruma*, (2) *Kāvya-Kāmadhenu*, (3) *Triṁśat-ślokī Āśaucasaṁgraha*, (4) *Dhātukośa* and *Dhātupāṭha*, (5) *Paramahaṁsapriyā*, (6) *Paraśurāmapratāpaṭīkā* (*Śrāddha Kāṇḍa*), (7) *Bhāgavata-purāṇa-dvādaśaskandhānukrama*, (8) *Mahimnastavaṭīkā*, (9) *Mugdhabodha*, (10) *Rāmavyākaraṇa* (perhaps the same as *Mugdhabodha*), (11) *Sataślokī* and its comm. *Sataślokī-Candrakalā*, (12) *Śārṅgadharasaṁhitā-gūḍhārthadīpikā* (med.), (13) *Siddhamantra-prakāśa* (med.), sometimes attributed to his father, (14) *Harilīlā*, (15) *Hṛdayadīpanighaṇṭu* (med.), (16) some anonymous work on *dharma* sometimes quoted in *Nirṇayasindhu*, in *Ācāramayūkha* and once in *Srāddhamayūkha*, (17) *Muktāphala*.

2. Vide P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, 358.

3. *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 234, 374.

4. Vide pp. 44-45 of *Life of Hemāḍpant* by K. H. Padhye, Bombay, February 1931.

5. Vide S. K. De : *Sanskrit Poetics*, I (1923), p. 251—Gopāla Ācārya alias *Vopadeva* of the Kauṇḍinya-gotra, son of Nṛsiṁha and grandson of Gopāla of Jābālagrāma in the Mahārāṣṭra country. The date of this Commentary is A. D. 1572 and not A. D. 1428 (vide my note in the *Annals* of the B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XVI (1934-35) pp. 145-147.

In view of the close personal contact of Hemādri and his learned protégé Vopadeva, it is possible to suggest that the treatise of 'खारणादि' used by the one is exactly identical with that used by the other and mentioned as 'खारणादि' as the following quotations in Vopadeva's *Siddhamantraprakāśa*[1] will amply prove:—

Folio 5 —Keśava refers to खारणादि in the following verse:—

"वातलं चरको ब्रूते वातघ्नं वक्ति षु(सु)श्रुतः ।
खारणादिर्वदत्यन्यदित्युक्तेरत्र निर्णयः ॥ ५ ॥"

Vopadeva comments :—"चरकसुश्रुतयोश्चरकखारणाद्योः etc. " ॥ "चरकसुश्रुतखारणादीनां च परस्परविरुद्धानां द्रव्यशक्तिविषयानामुक्तीनामत्रग्रंथे निर्णयो निर्णीतार्थकथनं." This comment makes it clear that the treatise of खारणादि had assumed so much importance in the 13th century that Keśava wrote the work *Siddhamantra* to determine the mutually conflicting texts of *Caraka*, *Suśruta* and *Khāraṇādi* as stated by Keśava in the verse quoted above. It is also clear that Keśava, a contemporary of Aruṇadatta (about 1220 A. D.) uses the name खारणादि and not खरनाद used by the latter as we have seen already. This evidence shows that in the 13th century the names खरनाद and खारणादि were current in Bengal[2] and Mahārāṣtra[3] respectively and

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1. My references to this work are from MS No. 1101 of 1886–92 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. Aufrecht records the following MSS of the text and commentary :—

CC I, 717 *a* —"सिद्धमन्त्र med. by Keśava K. 222. Kh. 91. Kaśīn. 34 comm. सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश by his son Vopadeva. K. 222. Kh. 91. Benn. 63. Oudh XIX, 128. Kāśīn. 34.

CC II, 171 *b* —"सिद्धमन्त्र" med. by Keśava. Peters. 41. comm.— Prakāśa Devipr. 79, 54. Stein 192 (inc.)."

CC III, 148 *a*—"सिद्धमन्त्र med. by Keśava AK 955, Peters 5. 553. See also MS No. 13379 (Madras MSS Cata. Vol. XXIII, p. 9006)."

2. Vide Mr. N. N. Das Gupta's article on "*Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal in the early Mediaeval Period*", *Indian Culture* (III, pp. 159–160) in which he appears to include Aruṇdaatta among Bengali writers on medicine.

3. In the *Siddhamantraprakāśa* Vopadeva gives the genealogy of his father (fol. 45) as follows :—

(*Continued on next page*)

perhaps owing to the love of '*taddhita*' formations ascribed to the *dākṣiṇātyas* by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* the form खारणादि became current in the Mahārāṣtra as proved by the usages of the name in the works of Keśava, his son Vopadeva and Hemādri, the friend and patron of Vopadeva. As the treatise of खारणादि has been lost it is advisable to collect all quotations from it wherever found. I shall, therefore, record here the following quotations in Vopadeva's *Siddhamantraprakāśa* (B. O. R. I. MS):—

Folio 6—"अत एव खारणादिनापि वातघ्नं न प्रोक्तं तद्वाक्यं—
"कषायात्तु रसं रूक्षं शीतं स्वादु गुणादिकं ।
लेखनं भग्नसंधातृछेदनं विशदं गुरु ॥" इति"

Folio 7—"किं तु माक्षिकाख्यस्य मधुविशेषस्य खारणादिना स्पष्टीकृतत्वात्"

(*Continued from previous page*)

महादेव who is styled as "महाराष्ट्रनिवासी विप्र"
केशव (learnt आयुर्वेद from भास्कर who is described as "वेदपुराख्यश्रीमद्राजधानीनिवासी विप्र"
वोपदेव.

Keśava states that he was honoured by सिंहराज (सिंहराजात्सन्मानं लेभे). His son explains :—"सिंहराजात्सन्मानं सम्यक्पूजां लेभे लब्धवान्......... सिंहराजो दंडक महाराजाधिपो राजविशेष: — सिंहराज the patron of Vopadeva's father is identical with सिंघण or सिंहण (II) (of the Later Yādavas of Devagiri) who ruled from *1210 to 1247* A. D. (Vide p. 189 of Padhye's *Life of Hemādpant* and Duff's *Chronology*, p. 310.) The date of सिद्धमन्त्र of Keśava may be between *1210* and *1247* A. D. It appears that the capital of सिंहराज was वेदपुर as stated by Vopadeva and that केशव was a resident of Vedapura.

Singhaṇa had in his employ an astronomer called Cangadeva the grand-son of the celebrated Bhāskarācārya. Cangadeva was contemporary of Keśava, Vopadeva's father. This Cangadeva founded a *maṭha* at Pātaṇ (10 miles from Chalisgaon in Khandesh) for the study of the works of his grandfather and others (Vide *Epi. Ind.* I, 340 ff.). The inscription by Cangadeva at this *maṭha* appears to have been written some years after Śaka 1128 (= A. D. 1206) and it describes Cangadeo as "सिंघणचक्रवर्तिदैवज्ञवर्य:." In another inscription [of Śaka 1144 (= A. D. 1222)-*Epi. Ind.*, III, p. 112] we find the name of one Anantadeva, who is called *Daivajñāgraṇī* at Singhaṇa's Court (Vide *History of Indian Astronomy* by S. B. Dikshit, Poona, 1896, p. 248).

—"खारणादिना त्रिदोषघ्नेषु पठितं ।
"चंचुर्मसूरिका पाठ वित्राग्रं सुनिषण्णकं ।
पत्रशाकं च संग्राहि दोषत्रय हितं लघु" इति " [1]

Folio 8—"खारणादिना तु वातघ्नमुक्तं —
"सस्नेहोष्णं लघु स्वादु पाको दोषानुलोमनं ।
ऊष्णं तिक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नं शाकं निंबपटोलयोः ॥" [2] इति"

—"खारणादयोप्याहुः —
"पनसं नारिकेलं च ताल सस्यं च तर्प्पणं ।
स्वादु शीतं गुरु स्निग्धं बृंहणं कफ शुक्रलं ॥" इति"

Folio 34—"खारणादि वर्णपक्षः लटाको ललटूपके । इति"

From the above quotations from खारणादि I have been able to identify 2 verses in the quotations from खारणादि recorded by Hemādri in *Āyurvedarasāyana*. This identity, inspite of the slight variations of readings, proves beyond doubt that the treatise of *Khāraṇādi* known to both the writers viz. Hemādri and Vopadeva, who were not only contemporaries but friends, is identical.

With the data recorded above we are in a position to sum up the results of our discussion as follows:—

(1) Aruṇadatta (about 1220 A. D.) quotes from a medical writer of the name खरनाद.

(2) Aruṇadatta appears to have been a contemporary of Keśava, whose patron was King Singhaṇa of Devagiri (A. D. 1210-1247).

(3) Hemādri in his *Āyurvedarasāyana* (after 1270 A. D.) quotes extensively from a treatise mentioned as that of खारणादि.

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1. Hemādri quotes this verse as from खारणादि. It reads as follows:—

"चञ्चुर्मर्मरिका पाठा वेत्राग्रं सुनिषण्णकम् ।
शठी शाकं च सङ्ग्राही दोषत्रयहितं लघु ॥ "

(P. 104 of N. S. P. edition).

2. Hemādri quotes this verse as from खारणादि :—

"सस्नेहोष्णं लघु स्वादु पाके दोषानुलोमनं ।
उक्तं तिक्तं त्रिदोषघ्नं शाकं निंबपटोलयोः ॥ "

(P. 102 of N. S. P. edition).

(4) Keśava's medical work *Siddhamantra* mentions the name of खारणादि and attaches some importance to his views even though they were at variance with those of *Caraka* and *Suśruta.*

(5) The identity of a quotation of three lines found in Aruṇadatta's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* as from *Kharanāda* and in Hemādri's commentary on the same work as from *Khāraṇādi* makes it highly probable that *Kharanāda* and *Khāraṇādi* are identical medical writers.

(6) Vopadeva, the son of Keśava and friend of Hemādri quotes from *Khāraṇādi's* treatise.

(7) The identity of two stanzas of *Khāraṇādi* quoted by Vopadeva with two stanzas of *Khāraṇādi* mentioned as such by Hemādri in his *Āyurvedarasāyana* proves that both these commentators are referring to an identical work of *Khāraṇādi.*

(8) *Khāraṇādi's* treatise, judging by the quotations, appears to have been in verse. It must have been composed before say A. D. 1150 as it is quoted largely by Aruṇadatta and Keśava about A. D. 1220 and by Vopadeva and Hemādri about 1275 A. D. It would really be an achievement if this treatise of Khāraṇādi, the subject of this paper is discovered hereafter by any one interested in the history of the Aryan medical science. With a view to helping such discovery I note below a reference to खारनादः in the commentary of Niścalakara[1] on Cakrapāṇidatta's *Dravyaguṇa-Saṁgraha* (MS No. 620 of 1895-1902).

1. Aufrecht records the following MSS of the *Dravyaguṇa-Saṁgraha* and its commentaries :—

CC I, 264—"W. p. 294, L 2931, Ben. 64, Bik. 634"
—Comm. by *Niścalakara* Bik. 634
—Comm. by *Sivadāsa*, L 2932."

CC III, 57—"Bd. 889
—Comm. by *Nīścalakara* Bd. 889 (No. 889 of 1887-91).
—Comm. by *Sivadāsa*, son of Anantasena, Hpr. 1189."

Hence we have 3 MSS of Niścalakara's commentary viz. (1) at Bikaner and (2) and (3) in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, one of which viz. No. 889 of 1887-91 is mentioned by Aufrecht. The other MS viz. No. 620 of 1895-1902 was acquired subsequent to Aufrecht's Catalogue.

Cakrapāṇidatta's father was Nārāyaṇa of the *Lodhravati* family and was a minister as also the Superintendent of the culinary depart-

(*Continued on nextpage*)

Folio 11 b— "यदाह खारनादः—

'बहुद्रव्यो घनः क्वाथः स्वच्छाल्पद्रवकं जलम्' इति"

The above quotation appears to be from the work of खारणादि but I am unable to say if it is taken first-hand from the treatise in question or is a second-hand one taken from Aruṇadatta or Hemādri. This quotation gives us another variation of this author's name viz. 'खारनाद'. Hence we have the following variations of the name of one and the same medical author :—

(1) खरनाद, (2) खारनाद, (3) खरणादि, (4) खारणादि.

The MSS of Niścalakara's commentary appear to be rare. The date of Cakrapāṇidatta[1] is about 1060 A.D. The date of Niścalakara has not been fixed but he is earlier than Śivadāsa who professes that he has based his commentary on the *Ratnaprabhā* (of Niścalakara). Mr. N. N. Das Gupta says that Śivadāsa's date is '16th Century' because he was court physician of Bārbek Shāh of Bengal. Mr. Lane Poole[2] gives A. D. 1459 or A. H. 864 as the date of Bārbek Shāh of Bengal (House of Ilyās) and if this king is identical with the patron of Śivadāsa, the date of Śivadāsa's commentary would be the middle of the 15th century and consequently the *Ratnaprabhā* commentary of Niścalakara can be assigned to the period commencing about A. D. 1150 and ending with about 1400 A. D[3]. These limits can be further

(*Continued from previous page*)

ment of Nayapāla. Cakrapāṇi's elder brother was Bhānu styled as *Antaraṅga*. The commentator Śivadāsa-sena of Mālañci in Pabna was the court physician of Barbek Shah (16th Century) of Bengal. His commentary was based upon an older commentary called रत्नप्रभा (vide N. N. Das Gupta's article in *Indian Culture*, III, p. 157.) Śivadāsa's commentary has been edited by Devendra Nath Sen (1st edn.). Evidently the commentary रत्नप्रभा mentioned by Śivadāsa is identical with Niścalakara's commentary of the same name, two MSS of which are at the B. O. R. Institute as stated above.

1. Hoernle, *Osteology*, p. 16.

2. *Muhammedan Dynasties*, London, 1925, p. 307.

3. The two MSS of *Ratnaprabhā* at the B. O. R. Institute are dated as follows :—

(*Continued on next page*)

narrowed down to 1250 A. D. and 1400 A. D. as our commentator refers to Vijaya Rakṣita[1] who is assigned to about 1240 A. D.

(*Continued from previous page*)

No. 889 of 1887-91—"संवत् १७८४" (= A.D. 1728) month of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, *Śuklapakṣa*, 7th tithi, *Guruvāra*—copied at Bikaner.

No. 620 of 1895-1902—" संवत् १८१४ " (= A. D. 1758) month of *Caitra*, *Śukla*, 2nd tithi.

The *Ratnaprabhā* mentions among others the following works and authors :—वैद्यप्रदीपसंग्रह of भव्यदत्त (fol. 3), जातूकर्ण (5), भेड (5), चरक (5), जेज्जट (6), सुश्रुत (1), भट्टारः (9), भालुकि (10), चक्र (10), वाग्भट (11), ईशानदेव (11), खारनाद (11), वृन्द (21), हरिश्चन्द्र (22), कलहदास (24), रविगुप्त (25), हारीत (25), आयुर्वेदसार (27), चंद्रट (31), बिंदुसार (35), पुष्कलावर्त (22), क्षारपाणि (168), विदेह (64), वराहमिहिर (70), नागार्जुनपादाः (262), नागभर्तृतंत्र (394), धरणीधर (163), रत्नसार (123), भोज (117), गोवर्द्धन (116), शालक्यतंत्र (159), दृढबल (185), वर्षागणैः (291), शब्दार्णव (237), पृथ्वीसिंह (235), सूदशास्त्र (255), रूपरत्नाकर (449), अमितप्रभ (28).

The colophon on folio 240 reads as follows :— "इत्यंतःपुरवैद्यमहामहोपाध्यायश्रीनिश्चलकरकृतौ चक्रसंग्रहतात्पर्यटीकायां रत्नप्रभायां वातव्याधिचिकित्सा समाप्ता॥"

1. Vijaya Rakṣita is referred to in verse 5 of the following introductory verses of the *Ratnaprabhā* :—

"पंचभूतप्रपंचेन पंचगोचरचारिणे ।
पंचात्मपंचवक्त्राय निष्प्रपंचात्मने नमः ॥ १ ॥

सर्वमंगलसंगीतं कुर्वन्तु ज्ञानदेवताः ।
व्यसनार्णवतारिण्यः कारुण्यैकरसायनाः ॥ २ ॥

लक्ष्मी लक्ष्मीमिव स्तौमि जनंती जननीश्रियः ।
सदा(नं)दकरं तातं सदानंदकरं ततः ॥ ३ ॥

भवंतु दुर्जना मूका वाचमूकाश्च सज्जनाः ।
सर्वदा कुमुदश्रेणी वाग्देवी नः प्रसीदतु ॥ ४ ॥

आयुर्वेदगुरौ स्वर्गं गते विजयरक्षिते ।
चक्रसंग्रहरत्नस्य कुबोधमलिनद्विषः ॥ ५ ॥

तत्रांतरगुणाकर्षगुरूक्तीनां च घर्षणात् ।
श्रीनिश्चलकरेणाथ प्रभा तस्य प्रकाश्यते ॥ ६ ॥

अपि रत्नप्रभे पुत्री सदाकरगुणान्वये ।
निःशंकमकलंकेन भजस्व भिषजां वरम् ॥ ७ ॥

योगव्याख्याप्रशं(संगेन)लेख्य योगान्तरं मया ।
सुदृष्टं च प्रसिद्धं च युक्तिसिद्धं च नाम च ॥ ८ ॥"

by Dr. Hoernle.[1] Niścalakara tells us that his father was **Sadānandakara** (v.3) and that he wrote this commentary रत्नप्रभा (which he calls पुत्री) to give a polish to the gem viz. the चक्रसंग्रह which was darkened on account of bad commentaries[2] prevailing on the demise of Vijaya Rakṣita, who is called आयुर्वेदगुरु.

The line 'आयुर्वेदगुरौ स्वर्गं गते विजयरक्षिते' if interpreted to contain a reference to the death of Vijaya Rakṣita as an occurrence within the memory of the commentator Niścalakara, would enable us to fix the date of the *Ratnaprabhā* to about 1300 A. D. In this case we have to imagine that the death of Vijaya Rakṣita (about 1240 A. D.) was looked upon in contemporary medical circles as a great loss to the science of *Āyurveda*. Our commentator being perhaps a junior contemporary of Vijaya Rakṣita and a great admirer of this *Āyurveda-guru* deplores the demise of this *guru* and himself undertakes the work of giving proper interpretation of Cakrapāṇidatta's work by way of his tribute to the departed guru. He, therefore, asks his daughter रत्नप्रभा to serve the pre-eminent physician (भजस्व भिषजां वरम्).

If the above hypothesis gets corroborated by further internal evidence or by external evidence, the reference to खारणाद by Niścalakara becomes almost contemporaneous with Hemādri's references to खारणादि reproduced in detail in this paper.

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1. *Osteology*, p. 17.

2. Compare the following analogous metaphor used by Indu in his commentary *Śaśilekhā on the Aṣṭāṅga-Saṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I :—

"दुर्व्याख्या विषसुप्तस्य वाहटस्यास्मदुक्तयः ।
संतु संवित्तदायिन्यः सदागमपरिष्कृताः ॥ ६ ॥"

Vide edition of the *A. Saṁgraha* by R. D. Kinjavadekar, 1938 — ***Sūtrasthāna*** — (Introductory verses).

21. Antiquity of the Lost Medical Treatise by Khāraṇādi in the Light of the Leaf of the Khāraṇāda-Nyāsa Newly Discovered at Gilgit ‡

In my recent article[1] on the "*Nature and Contents of a Lost Medical Treatise by Kharaṇāda or Khāraṇādi*" I tried to record some useful data[2] regarding this lost medical treatise from references to it by Aruṇadatta (about 1220 A.D.), by Hemādri (between A. D. 1270 and 1300), by Keśava (the father of Vopadeva) who was patronized by King Singhaṇa of Devagiri (A. D. 1210-1247) and by Vopadeva himself, the protégé and friend of Hemādri. It was also pointed out that Niścalakara in his commentary on Cakrapāṇidatta's *Dravya-guṇa-Saṁgraha*[3] refers to this author as "*Khāranāda.*"

‡ *Annals* (B. R. O. Institute), Vol. XX, pp. 97–102.

1. Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IV, pp. 49-62.

2. I have to add the following quotations from *Khāraṇādi* given by Śrīkaṇṭhadatta in his commentary called *Vyākhyākusumāvali* or *Siddhayoga* (Anandashram Series, Poona, 1894) :—

Page 38—" तथा च खारणादिः —

पिप्पली पिप्पलीमूलचव्यचित्रकनागरम् ।
कोलमात्रोपयोगित्वात्पञ्चकोलकसंज्ञितम् ॥ इति "

Page 112—" यदाह खारणादिः :—

रसशेषे हितः स्वप्नो घर्माम्बु लघुभोजनम । इति"

Śrīkaṇṭhadatta mentions अरुणदत्त, हेमाद्रि (pp. 111, 165, 17, 4). Dr. Hoernle (*Osteology*, p. 17) states that on the Pathology (निदान) of Mādhava there exists a commentary called मधुकोश which is a joint-work of विजयरक्षित (C. 1240 A. D.) and his pupil श्रीकण्ठदत्त.

There is a Ms of *Vyākhyākusumāvali* at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 375 of 1882–83) The ख Ms used for the Anandashram Edition of this work was dated Śaka 1558 = A. D. 1636.

3. Vide folio 11^b of Ms. No. 620 of 1895–1902 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

There is a possibility of Niścalakara being contemporaneous with Hemādri as suggested by me in my article on Khāraṇādi referred to above. At any rate he can be assigned to a period between A. D. 1250 and 1400.[1]

As regards the limit for the date of Khāranādi I suggested that he must be earlier than A. D. 1150. Since I sent the above paper to the press I received the issue of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*.[2] Bangalore, containing the "Report on the Gilgit Excavation in 1938" by Pt. M. S. Kaul, M. A., M. O. L., of Srinagar (Kashmir). This report contains a leaf from the MS of *Khāraṇādanyāsa* (Plate 1442 A and its Devanāgarī transliteration on pp. 9–10). Pt. Kaul states that this is a "Commentary on a work of Kharanāda on Medicine giving portion of a chapter relating to pregnancy. Both the text and commenatry are known at present in and through quotations only, though the former seems to have been as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of *Vāgbhaṭa*. The text is quoted by Arunadatta in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* at page 249 and by Vācaspati[3] in his commentary on the *Mādhavanidāna* at page 50."

1. Vide p. 61 of *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IV.

2. Vol XXX, No. 1 (July 1939) pp. 1–12. Pt. Kaul took his Excavation Party to Nawapura in Gilgit (228 miles from Srinagar) on 4th August 1938 ; some mounds excavated at this place brought to light *stūpas* of clay, birch-bark Mss, ivory rings, brass rings, one ear-pendant, some pieces of gold, red and white pearl beads, birch-bark amulets, coral beads, a gold coin, iron and brass pieces, a gold-plated amulet with the image of the Lion-head on both sides.—The **Mss** excavated include (1) a work called *Saṅghātasūtra* in Buddhist Sanskrit (about 80 leaves), containing on the inside of the top-cover paintings of Purīśa or Lord of Gilgit and his minister. There are two ladies seated in front of them, (2) Mss in fragments not yet deciphered and (3) Torn leaves from the Ms of *Khāraṇādanyāsa*, a leaf from a collection of fables, a leaf from the Buddhist Sanskrit Grammar and leaves of a prose composition in Sanskrit recording an incantation to protect the king of Gilgit (whose full name is "*Ṣāhānusāhi Navasurendra* Vikramāditya Nandideva") and his queen *Anaṅgadevī*. According to Pt. Kaul this Manuscript hoard is ***"not later than the ninth century A. D."***, ***"nor can it be earlier than the seventh century A. D."***. One of the Mss records the year of copying in the "Newari Era which starts with 878 A. D."

2. Vide p. 17 of *Osteology* by Dr. Hoernle, Oxford, 1907. Dr. Hoernle assigns Vācaspati to "*about 1260 A. D.*" Vācaspati states (v. 5 of Intro.) that his father Pramoda was chief physician of the court of Mahamada Hammira that is of Muhamad Ghori who reigned in Delhi from 1195 to 1205 A. D.

The reference to Kharanāda by Vacaspati (about 1260 A. D.) pointed out by Pt. Kaul is contemporaneous with that by Hemādri and does not help us in deciding the exact antiquity of this author. Pt. Kaul remarks that the text of Kharanāda is "as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa." As the "*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*" is assigned by scholars[1] to "*eighth or ninth century*" the limit for Kharanāda's date would not be earlier than say A. D. 700. Let us, however, see the effect of Pt. Kaul's discovery of the leaf of *Kharanādanyāsa* on the date of Kharanāda's text itself.

Pt. Kaul states that the Manuscript hoard found by him at Gilgit *cannot be later than 9th century* A. D. and at the same time *cannot be earlier than 7th century* A. D. If these chronological limits are based on correct data we can represent the relative chronology of the *text* and *commentary* on Kharanāda's work as follows :—

Text	As old as Astāṅgahṛdaya (Pt. Kaul's view)	8th or 9th century A. D. i.e. between 700 and 900 A. D.
Ms of Nyāsa commentary	Not later than 9th century and not earlier than the 7th century	Between 600 and 900 A.D.
Date of composition of Nyāsa	Earlier than the above Ms	Earlier than or contemporaneous with the period A. D. 600 to 900

I am not aware of the evidence, which leads Pt. Kaul to think that Kharanāda's treatise "seems to have been as old as the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*" but presuming that his statement is substantiated by reliable evidence it is likely to conflict with the date of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* given by Dr. Hoernle if we accept the date of MS of the *Kharanāda Nyāsa* (represented only by one discovered leaf) as suggested by Pt. Kaul[2].

1. Ibid, p. 16.

2. *Jour. Mythic Soc.* (July 1939) p. 8 — Pt. Kaul's arguments regarding the age of the Mss. discovered by him are :—

(1) The script of the Mss has a close affinity with the Śāradā script as used in the Avantivarman's inscription at the Mārtaṇḍa temple. Hence the Mss are *not later than the ninth century A. D.*

(Continued on next page)

In the present stage of the data gathered so far I am inclined to fix A. D. 650 as the terminus before which Kharanāda may have composed his work and about 850 A. D. as the terminus before which the Nyāsa was composed.

As regards the exact name of Kharanāda we have already recorded the following forms:—

(1) खरनाद्	according	to	Aruṇadatta
(2) खारनाद्	,,	,,	Niścalakara
(3) खरणादि	,,	,,	Aruṇadatta (in one place)
(4) खारणादि	,,	,,	Hemādri
(5) Do	,,	,,	Keśava
(6) Do	,,	,,	Vopadeva
(7) Do	,,	,,	Śrīkaṇṭhadatta

This testimony divided between the forms खरनाद् and खारणादि has not much determinative force as almost all the above authors belong to the 13th century. The Gilgit fragment of खारणादन्यास furnishes a better and decisive testimony on this point as the text of this commentary uses the form खारणाद् in the following 1st line of Plate 1442-A :—

"खारणादन्यासे खुण्डिकागर्भावक्रान्ति शारीरं समाप्तम् ॥"

The form खारणाद् used by the commentator is more akin to खारनाद् used by Niścalakara and supports the uniform use of the form खारणादि adopted by Keśava, Vopadeva and Hemādri.

It is a happy coincidence that by the time my article on Khāraṇādi is prepared and published in Poona, Pt. Kaul should bring forth a leaf of a commentary on Khāraṇādi's work buried for centuries several feet under ground at Gilgit. I look forward to the day when both the text of Khāraṇādi's treatise which was extant, say between 600 and 1300 A. D. as also the newly discover-

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(*Continued from previous page*)

(2) The Mss are *not earlier than 7th century A. D.* during which *Strong than-blsam-Sgam-po* is said to have been converted through the influence of his two wives, one Nepalese and the other Chinese, to Buddhism and to have sent his minister Thonmi to India who after studying the current Indian alphabet prepared the Tibetan character on the model of the Śāradā alphabet and introduced the same in Tibet, etc.

ed *Nyāsa* commentary represented by a single leaf would see the light of the day. For the convenience of scholars interested in this problem, I am reproducing in the appendix the contents of Plate No. 1442-A containing the portion of the *Khāraṇādanyāsa*.

APPENDIX

(Contents of torn birch-bark leaf of *Khāraṇādanyāsa* transliterated in Devanāgarī characters by Pt. M. S. Kaul).

1st line.........न्धन्ति तन्निमित्त आत्मनो मुख्यजात्यादिलम्भ इति ॥ ॥ खारणादन्यासे खुण्डिकागर्भावक्रान्तिं शारीरं समाप्तम्[1] ॥ खुण्डिकापद्दति गर्भावक्रान्त्योरेक एव सम्बधः द्वयो

2nd line रपि गर्भाक्रान्त्याख्यस्यैकस्यैवार्थस्याभिधानात् ॥ उत वा पूर्वेध्याये मात्रादिसंभवो गर्भ इत्येतावदुक्तं न तु युक्तिर्दर्शिता कया युक्त्येत्यत इह सा युक्तिरुच्यते.........नां हि समुदयद्युगपद्गर्भसंभवः

3rd line तस्य युक्तिं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्राक् च तां भाषितामर्पति ॥ तस्य गर्भे अनुप्रवेशो गर्भावक्रान्तिः महत्त्वं चास्य गर्भावक्रान्त्यस्य विस्तरनिर्देशात् ऽयहं रजस्वला भूत्वा पुराणरुधिरे स्रुत इत्यादि अनिस्रुते हि पुराणे रुधिरे न[2] भवति ग

4th line र्भापत्तिः स्रुतेपि चाशुद्धस्नाता स्त्रीपुंसा युक्ता भूता प्रसवबद्गर्भं न विन्दति विकृतं वा जनयत्यत उभयमुक्तम् मनस्विनी सौमनस्याद्गर्भमादत्ते स्त्रीग्रहणं वन्ध्या निषेधकं एकान्तरनिर्देशः शुक्रस्य

5th Line......यार्थं आप्यायितं हि शुक्रं गर्भाय भवति निरन्तरगमणेन तु अल्पशुक्रत्वान्नोत्पद्यते गर्भो विकृतो वा जायते ॥ नवाहं गर्भभागिनी यस्मान्नवाहानि ऋतुः तस्मात्तेषु गर्भं भजते तत्रायुग्मे

6th Line ष्वहस्सु स्त्री. युग्मेषु तु पुमान् भवेत् युग्मायुग्मत्वं चतुर्थदिवसात् प्रभृति चतुर्थषष्ठाष्टमा युग्मा दिवसाः पञ्चमसप्तमनवमा अयुग्माः इदानीं यया युक्त्या पुंसा युक्ता स्त्री गर्भं विन्दति सा यु •

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1. The *Carakasaṁhitā* (*Śārīrasthāna*) has two chapters on गर्भावक्रान्ति viz. Chap. III (खुड्डिका ग०) and Chap. IV (महती ग०) (vide N. S. Press Edn. Bombay, 1922 pp. 305 and 313) Cakrapāṇidatta explains the term ' खुड्डिका ' as 'अल्पा' in contrast with महती (p. 305).

2. Cf. *Carakasaṁhitā* (p. 313) —"गते पुराणे रजसि नवे चावस्थिते शुद्धस्नातां स्त्रियमव्यापन्नयोनिशोणितगर्भाशयामृतुमतीमाचक्ष्महे"

7th Line क्तिरभिधीयते शुद्धे स्थिते बीजभूते रक्त इत्यादि स्त्रिया रक्ते शुद्धे अदोषदुष्टे बीजभूते बीजावस्थे गर्भजनन........समये गर्भाशये योना-धाशये वा दुष्टे । आशये गर्भस्थानम् तस्मिन्नित्थंभूते रक्ते

8th Line योन्याशये च यदा स्त्रीयोगात् पुंसा हर्षच्युतं हर्षेणोद्दीरितं शुक्रमदुष्ट-शुद्धं युज्यते संसृज्यते हर्षः प्रतीति वि...च्छुक्रशोनितसंयोगे बद्धं संयुज्यते'..

9th Line योग्यानुरूपया कृत्योपेतैः समन्वितं युक्तम् सुकर्मफलेन .... तम् ॥ तदुक्तं मातुः सम्बन्धात् च पितुः सम्बन्धात् च शुक्रं सत्वं चात्मा चेतना धातुः

N. B.— Chapter II of the *Śārīrasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I is devoted to गर्भावक्रान्ति and it begins :—

"अथातो गर्भावक्रान्ति शारीरं व्याख्यास्यामः । इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः"

Chap. I of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II begins in an identical manner. [Vide pp. 12 and 98 of the Poona Edn. of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* edited by Pt. R. D. Kinjavadekar (1938) with Indu's Comm. *Śaśilekhā*]. Regarding "*Pregnancy*" vide pp. 47, 48, 96 and 152 of *History of Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Saheb of Gondal, London, 1896.

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1. Cf. *Carakasaṁhitā* (p. 313)—"तया सह तथा भूतया यदा पुमानव्यापन्नबीजो मिश्रीभावं गच्छति, तदा तस्य हर्षादुदीरितः परः शरीरधात्वात्मा शुक्रभूतोऽङ्गादङ्गात् सम्भवति,'' etc.

Works and Authors Mentioned By Candraṭa in his Medical Compendium Yogaratna-Samuccaya (c. A. D. 1000) ‡

The योगरत्नसमुच्चय by Candraṭa, son of Tīsaṭa, is represented by very few MSS in our MSS Libraries. The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, contains the following MSS :—

(1) *No 147* of *A. 1882-83* dated Saṁvat 1815 = A.D. 1759, folios about 229, of which some are unidentified.

(2) *No.1072 of 1886*-92–folios 26 forming only the 3rd chapter of the work called the चूर्णाधिकार. Both these MSS are described by Dr. H. D. Sharma in his *Des. Catalogue* of Vaidyaka MSS. (B. O. R. I. Vol. XVI Part I (pp. 213-217), 1939, but he has not recorded the citations found in this work, which are important for the history of Indian works on medicine. I, therefore, note below the works and authors mentioned by Candraṭa according to the MSS noted above.

MS No. 147 of A. 1882-83 — *Part I* (Chapters I–V) — folios 1 to 128.

"भिषग्वरं तीसटं पितरं"—1; योगरत्नकसमुच्चये—1; भेडात्—2, 6, 11, 12, 13 15, 19, 28, 31, 35, 37, 43, 44, 51, etc.; हारीतात्—2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 19, 28, 29, 32, etc.; चरकात्—4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 21, 27, 33, 34, etc.

मामनीतकात्—(1) अग्निघृतं—5; (2) महातिक्तकं घृतं 11; (3) कंटकारी घृतं-13; (4) शतावरीघृतं—23; (5) त्रिफलाद्यं घृतं—24; (6) ब्राह्मीघृतं— 25; (7) पंचतिक्तकं घृतं—26; (8) लघुकासीसाद्यं तैलं—36; (9) प्रसारणीतैलं—46; (10) अरिमेदाद्यं तैलं—53; (11) भृंगराजाद्यं तैलं—56; (12) षड्बिंदुतैलं—56; (13) गुंजाद्यं तैलं-59 ; (14) लवंगादिचूर्णं—67 ; (15) अभयागुटिका—104 ; (26) चित्रकहरीतक्यवलेह—25 ; (17) कुटजाप्रलेह—26.

सुश्रुतात्—5, 6, 13, 21, 22, 27, 31, 40, 42, 54, 60.

सिद्धसारात्—8, 46, 80, 101.

‡ *Prācyavāṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 151–155.

वाग्भटात्— (1) कुष्ट वज्रकं घृतं—9 ; (2) तिमिरे जीवंत्याद्यं घृतं—17 ; (3) कुष्ठे महावज्रकं तैलं—33 ; (4) गंडमालायां काकादनितैलं and भद्रश्रीतैलं—38; (5) हिंग्वाद्यं चूर्णं, त्रिकटुकाद्यं चूर्णं, शार्दूलं चूर्णं, नाराचं चूर्णं, पूर्तीकाद्यं चूर्णं—63 ; (6) त्रिलवणाद्यं चूर्णं—65; (7) कटुत्रिकं चूर्णं—83; (8) भूनिंबाद्यं चूर्णं—84; (9) बिल्वमूलाद्यं चूर्णं—84.

जातूकर्णात्—9, 38. कृष्णात्रेयात्—12, 18, 23, 25, 57,64,68,82,107,108. क्षारपाणेः—13,17,31,43,71,75,77. तंत्रांतरात्—16,17,19,20,27,35,36,39,41, 47,53,etc. अमितप्रभात्—17,20. पारासरात्—18,24. चक्षुषेणात्—19, (चक्षुष्येणात्) 24,29,52,55,66,68,76,77,etc. खरनादात्—21, 26, 35, 36, 46, 67, 68, 96, 106, :108, 111, 27. अश्विनीसंहितायाः—22, 41, 24. विदेहात—23, 45. चिकित्साकलिका—25, 26, 57, 81. बिंदुसारात्—30, 34, 103. द्रव्यावल्यां—39. वृद्धविदेहात्—56. भिषग्मुष्टेः—57. वैतरणात्—60. शैवसिद्धांतात्—61, 90. अग्निवेशात्—69, 70, 76, 77, 78, 79, 98. आर्यसमुच्चयात्—73. (See folio 13 of Ms *No. 1072 of 1886-92*, where this work is mentioned). भद्रसेनकात् —81. भारद्वाजोक्त—106.

Part II (Chapters *VI-VII*)

जातूकर्णात्—15. बिंदुसारात्—15, 17, 21, 27, 28, 33, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45 etc. शिवसिद्धांतात्—17. वाग्भटात्—17, 25, 29, 33, 34, 38, 42, 46, 54, 57, 72, etc. सुश्रुतात्—17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 34, 39, 44, 45. भद्रवर्स्मनः— 17, 18, 36, 39, 41, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54. सिद्धसा(रा)त्—18, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40, 45, 46, 55, 64. अमितप्रभात्—18, 22, 33, 40, 49, 61, 72. हारीतात्— 21, 48, 52, 74. भेडात्—22, 32, 41, 69. चक्षुष्येणात्—23, 37, 39, 40, 42, 69, 67. तीसटात्—24, 32, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71. तंत्रांतरात्—29, 33. खरनादात्— 29, 75, 76. शौनकात्— 30. चिकित्साकलिकातः — 32. वृद्धविदेहात्— 34. भिषग्मुष्टेः—35, 38, 41. चरकात्—37, 39, 45, 69. अमृतकुंभात्—38. अश्विन-संहितायां—86. अश्विनीकुमार—99. अगस्त्य—100.

Part III — 7 unidentified folios

Folio 1 — चरकात्, खरनादात्, बिंदुसारात्, भेडात्, क्षारपाणेः, हारीतात्। सुश्रुतात्। Folio 2 — भद्रवर्स्मनः, सुश्रुतात्, चरकात्, बिंदुसारात्, वाग्भटात्। Folio 3 — सुश्रुतात्, भेडात्, अमृतप्रभात्, चरकात्, बिंदुसारात्। Folio 4 — अमृतमालतः (?), चक्षुष्येणात्, चरकात्, सुश्रुतात्, बिंदुसारात्। Folio 5—हारीतात्, सुश्रुतात्, चक्षुष्येणात्, चरकात्, जातुकर्णात्, भद्रवर्स्मनः। Folio 6 — भेडात्, सिद्ध-सारात्, चर+त्, कुत्राचित्। Folio 7 — भेडात्, वाग्भ(टा)त्, बिंदुसारात्, चरकात्, सुश्रुतात्।

Part IV — 5 unidentified folios :—

Folio 1—No author or work mentioned. This folio is white in appearance. Folio 2— भेडात, हारीतात्, चरकात्, सिद्धसारात्, सुश्रुतात्, क्षारपाणेः, भद्रवर्स्मनः,—This folio bears No. 7 in the margin. Folio 3— चरकात्, भद्रवर्स्मनः, बिंदुसारात्, सिद्धसारात्। Folio 4—चरकात्, सुश्रुतात्, हारीतात्, बिंदुसारात्, अमृतमालतः, योगयुक्तेः, तंत्रात्। Folio 5—सुश्रुतात्, भेडात्, चरकात्, सिद्धसारात्, हारीतात्, चक्षुष्येणात्।

Part V—*Fragments of folios*—चरकात् , अमृतमालतः, भेडात् , क्षारपाणेः, हारीतात् , भद्रवर्मनः, सुश्रुतात् , सिद्धसारात् , तंत्रान्तरात् ।

Part VI—2 Folios. Folio 1—भेडात् , अग्निवेशात् । Folio 2—अग्निवेशात् , हारीतात् ॥

MS No. 1072 of 1187-92 is also a fragment of the *Yogaratna-Samuccaya* and contains about 26 folios comprising चूर्णाधिकार (Chapter III).

चरकात्—1, 4. योगयुक्ते(:)—2, 25. वृद्धवाडवात्—2. कृष्णात्रेयात्— 3, 7, 21. तंत्रांतरात् — 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, etc. वाहडात्—4. चक्षुष्येणात्— 4, 5, 16. नामर्नातकात (लवंगाद्यं चर्ण)— 4. (See folio 67 of MS *No. 147 of A. 1882-83*, where "नामर्नातकात् लवंगादि चूर्ण" is mentioned). हारीतात्— 5, 7, 10, 22. वाग्भटात्—6, 15, 23, 24. कुत्रचित्—7, 14, 20, 25, 26, 27. खरनादात्—7, 8. अग्निवेशात्—9, 10, 16, 18, 19. भेडात्— 11, 14, 15. कांकायनात्—11. आर्यसमुच्चयात्—13. (Vide folio 73 of MS *No. 147 of A. 1882-83* where this work is mentioned) क्षारपाणेः—15, चिकित्साकलिकात्—20. द्रव्यावल्यां—26.

Candraṭa the author of the *Yogaratna-Samuccaya* flourished about 1000 A. D. according to Hoernle.[1] In view of this chrono-

1. Vide p. 100 of *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907—"The date of Candraṭa may be referred to about 1000 A. D."

Notes on works and authors mentioned in the *Yogaratna-Sammuccaya* (vide list on pp. 135-136) :—

No. 11—See the following papers on this author published by me:- (1) Nature and Contents of a Lost Medical Treatise by Kharanāda or Khāraṇādi (*Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IV, pp. 49—62). (2) The Antiquity of the Lost Medical Treatise by Khāraṇādi in the light of the Khāraṇāda-Nyāsa newly discovered at Gilgit [*Annals* (B. O. R. I.) XX, 97-102].

The references to खरनाद by चंद्रट (*c. A. D. 1000*) are about 200 years earlier than those by अरुणदत्त (*c. A.D. 1220*) and by हेमाद्रि (*c.A.D. 1260*) and hence important. The date of खरनाद or खारणादि is evidently earlier than the date of the Gilgit leaf of खारणाद-न्यास discovered by Pandit M. S. Kaul in 1938. According to Pandit Kaul the date of the MS lies somewhere between A. D. 600 and 900. खरनाद is also mentioned in the शार्ङ्गधरसंहिता ("कथितं खरनादेन तैलसर्वविनाशनम्— See Khaṇḍa II, Chap. 9, verse 719, p. 121 of the शा. संहिता with Marathi translation by Y. G. Dikshit, Poona, 1917).

No. 18—इन्दु refers to "निघण्टुज्ञान" (AS, p. 57), "कौटिल्ये" (AS, p. 80).

(*Continued on next page*)

logy for Candraṭa the references to earlier medical authors and works found in his *Yogaratna-Samuccaya* are very important for the history of medical authors prior to A. D. 1000. I, therefore, give below an alphabetical list of the references to these works and authors as found by me in the fragments of the *Yogaratna--Samuccaya* analysed above:—

(1) अगस्त्य — अगस्त्यरसायन is mentioned in AH. चिकित्सितस्थान, chap. III, 132 and VI, 55 mentions आमलकलेह which is called अगस्त्य-निर्मित । (2) अग्निवेश—Mentioned in AH. अरुणदत्त mentions him (AH, pp, 4, 5,); mentioned by हेमाद्रि (AH, p.5); mentioned by इन्दु (AS, p. 2); mentioned by चरक (CS, p. 7) । (3) अमितप्रभ (Cf. Aufrecht CCI, 28—अमितप्रभ—योगशतभाष्य IO 2357. NP IX, 64) । (4) अमृतमाल(तः) । (5) अश्विनीकुमार । (6) अश्विनीयसंहिता or अश्विनसंहिता । (7) आर्यसमुच्चय । (8)

(*Continued from previous page*)

No. 19—I shall examine in a separate paper the possible identity of this work नामनीतक with नावनीतक a medical treatise forming part of the *Bower Manuscript*.

No. 21—इन्दु quotes अष्टांगहृदय (AS, p. 54—"उक्तं च हृदये 'परस्परोपसं-स्तम्भाद्धातुस्नेहपरंपरा' शा. अ. ३. ६९"). Possibly इन्दु was a pupil of वाहट or वाहड, the author of the अष्टांगहृदय, as will be seen from the following reference (AS, p. 95) :—

"एतच्चास्मद्गुरवो यथाप्रक्रान्तशब्दार्थपरतन्त्रास्तैरेवेति च तद्विरुद्धानि परामृशन्तो वमनादिवत् पूर्वं देहस्याभिसंस्कृतेऽपि वैद्यविधेयतामभिमन्यमानाश्चरकस्य बोद्धारो व्याख्यान-मभिमन्यन्ते । भट्टारकेण तु 'तथाविधैर्वा द्रव्यैः पूर्वमभिसंस्कारः शरीरस्य' इति अस्य वाक्यस्य व्याप्त्युत्पत्ति-अनैकान्तिक-प्रदर्शनपरत्वमङ्गीकृत्य तथाविधैरिति च विरुद्धसमानि विरुद्धैरेव पूर्वसंस्कारो व्याध्यनुत्पत्तिहेतुरिति सात्म्याहारप्रागतया द्वितीयोऽपि पक्षो य उद्भासितः सोऽस्माभिरुपेक्षित एव ।"

In his Commentary on निदानस्थान (AS—नि. स्थान, 1940) p. 5, इन्दु quotes from अष्टांगहृदय as follows :—"येन हृदये पठति—"तदेव व्यक्ततां याति रूपमित्यभिधीयते" इति" एवं च "स्थिते गपूर्वरूपाः कफपित्तमेहाः" इति 'यदा हृदयग्रंथे व्याख्यायते तत्रैव चोदयिष्यामः.' Pt. Kinjavadekar has already identified the two lines quoted by इन्दु from हृदय with निदानस्थान I, 5 and X, 41 of the अष्टांगहृदय. The statement of इन्दु "हृदयग्रन्थे व्याख्यायते तत्रैव चोदयिष्यामः" leads us to infer that he composed a commentary on the अष्टांगहृदय as well.

No. 25 — On p. 84 of the भेलसंहिता (1921 Edn.) the views of early authors on medicine are mentioned. These authors are :— (1) शौनक, (2) खण्डकाप्य, (3) पराशर, (4) भरद्वाज, (5) काश्यप, (6) पुनर्वसु आत्रेय.

कांकायन—mentioned by चरक (CS, p.5) । (9) कृष्णात्रेय— अरुणदत्त mentions him (AH, pp. 63, 85, 88, 111, 417); mentioned in भेलसंहिता, Chap. VI (p. 26 of Calcutta Edition by Asutosh Mookerjee, 1921); mentioned by इन्दु (AS, p.3); mentioned by चक्रपाणिदत्त (CS, p. 413) । (10) क्षारपाणि —mentioned by अरुणदत्त (AH, pp. 4,223); mentioned by चरक (CS, p. 7); mentioned by चक्रपाणिदत्त (CS, p. 112) । (11) खरनाद mentioned by चक्रपाणिदत्त (A. D. 1060) CS, pp. 402, 405, 409; mentioned by अरुणदत्त (AH, pp. 62, 69, 70, 74, 110, 113, 117, 156, 157, 159, 208, 265, 272, 273, 284, 458, 510, 525, 547, 559, 706, 933, 934); हेमाद्रि mentions खारणादि many times (AH, pp. 8, 38, 40 etc.); खरनाद and खरनादसंहिता are mentioned by इन्दु (AS. pp. 3) । (12) चक्षुष्येण—mentioned by चक्रपाणिदत्त (CS, p. 447) । (13) चरक—mentioned by इन्दु (AS, p.3); mentioned by हेमाद्रि many times (AH, pp. 2, 12, 13 etc.); mentioned in AH (Sūtra, IX, 13; Uttara. Chap. 40, St. 84, 88); mentioned by अरुणदत्त many times (AH, pp. 1, 2, 12, 50 etc.) । (14) चिकित्साकलिका mentioned by हेमाद्रि (AH, pp. 119, 243) । (15) जातूकर्ण—mentioned by अरुणदत्त (AH, p. 4); mentioned by चरक (CS, p. 7) । (16) तंत्रात्, तंत्रान्तरात् । (17) तीसट (Son of Vāgbhaṭa, father of Candraṭa. See Aufrecht CCI, 232) । (18) द्रव्यावली । (19) नामनीतक—most probably identical with नावनीतक represented in the *Bower* MS. । (20) पाराशर — अरुणदत्त mentions पराशर (AH, pp. 4, 85, 400, 570); —हेमाद्रि mentions पराशर (AH, 169, 214); mentioned in भेलसंहिता (p. 84); इन्दु mentions पराशर (AS, p. 3); mentioned by चरक (CS, p. 7) । (21) बाहड—इन्दु mentions बाहड (AS, p. 5) । (22) बिंदुसार । (23) भद्रवर्म्मन् । (24) भद्रसेनक । (25) भारद्वाज —The भेलसंहिता mentions भरद्वाज (p. 85); भरद्वाज is mentioned in चरकसंहिता (CS, p. 5) । (26) भिषग्मुष्टि । (27) भेड—mentioned in AH (चि, ch. 21, 72; उ, ch, 40, 59 and 88); mentioned by अरुणदत्त (AH, pp. 141, 143, 144, 154); भेल is mentioned by चरक (CS, p. 7) । (28) योगयुक्ति । (29) योगरत्नसमुच्चय—हेमाद्रि (c. A. D. 1260) quotes from a work called योगरत्न (AH, pp. 588, 591, 592, 593, 600, 601, 603, 612, 617, 624, 629, 630, 642) । (30) वाग्भट—mentioned by अरुणदत्त (AH, p. 935); हेमाद्रि mentions वाग्भटाचार्य (AH, pp. 2, 38, 85, 102); mentioned by चक्रपाणिदत्त (CS, p. 414) । (31) विदेह—विदेहपति is mentioned in AH (उत्तरस्थान, Chap. 13, 27 and विदेहाधिपति in उत्तरस्थान, Chap. 22, 83); हेमाद्रि mentions विदेहाधिप (AH, p. 131) । (32) वृद्धवाडव । (33) वृद्धविदेह । (34) वैतरण । (35) शिवसिद्धांत । (36) शैवसिद्धांत । (37) शौनक—mentioned in भेलसंहिता (p.34); mentioned by हेमाद्रि (AH, p. 446); mentioned in AH (कल्पस्थान, Ch, 6,15) mentioned by चरक (CS p. 689) । (38) सिद्धसार—mentioned by अरुणदत्त (AH, pp. 5, 69, 94, 137) । (39) सुश्रुत—mentioned in AH (उ, 30, 31; उ, 40, 84 and 88); mentioned by अरुणदत्त (AH, pp. 5,24,45 etc); mentioned by हेमाद्रि many times (AH, pp. 2, 8, 9, 13 etc.); mentioned by इन्दु (AS, p. 3) । (40) हारीत—mentioned in AH (नि. 2,62); mentioned

by अरुणदत्त (AH, pp. 4, 98, 465) ; mentioned by हेमाद्रि (AH, pp. 2, 98, 102) ; mentioned by चरक (CS, p. 7)

I have given the foregoing citations in Candraṭa's Compendium of c. A. D. 1000 as they have a direct bearing on the history of medical literature in India prior to A. D. 1000, which is still shrouded in mystery. Authors and works mentioned by Candraṭa cannot all be traced as some of them are not known even by citation. It is hoped, however, that the above list would enable scholars to trace these authors and works in sources earlier than A. D. 1000. I have added to this list only a few notes which I could pick up during the course of my study of ancient medical texts, which is still not very deep. I trust, however, that expert students of this subject will easily exploit the material laid bare in this paper and oblige me by throwing some new light on the works and authors mentioned by Candraṭa.

Abbreviations :—

AH = Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, ed. by Paradkar Shastri, N. S. Press Bombay, 1939.

AS = Aṣṭāṅga-saṁgraha with Indu's commentary, ed. by Pt R. D. Kinjavadekar, Poona, 1940—सूत्रस्थान.

CS = Caraka-Saṁhitā with Cakrapāṇidatta's Commentary ed. by V. K. Datar, N. S. Press, Bombay 1922.



22. Jayadeva, a writer on Prosody referred to by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī, Commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra ‡

Aufrecht[1] refers to only one MS of a छंदःशास्त्र by जयदेव in the following entries:—

(1) "Kh. 87," commentary " by हर्षट Kh. 87".

(2) "Quoted by Nami, 1, 18".

(3) ,, by जनार्दन. Oxf. 198 a.

The only MS represented by the entry "Kh. 87" was acquired by Prof. Kielhorn[2] and is deposited in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, under No. 72 of 1873-74. Nami or Namisādhu wrote his commentary on Rudraṭa in 1069 A. D.[3] जनार्दन विबुध quotes जयदेव in his commentary called भावार्थदीपिका on the वृत्तरत्नाकर. नारायणभट्ट composed his commentary on the वृत्तरत्नाकर in 1545 A. D.[4]

Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhārati* commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* refers to जयदेव as follows:—

p. 244—"सर्वेषां वृत्तानामित्यादावर्थः समासेन जयदेवोऽभ्यधात्—"सर्वादिमध्यान्त ग्लौ त्रिकौ न्तौ म्नौ ज्रौ स्तौ" इति (अ. १-२)"

Evidently M. R. Kavi has identified[5] this quotation as the bracketed reference " अ १-२ " shows. I have also identified this

‡ *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, pp. 33-38.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, pp. 190, 191.

2. Kielhorn ; *Report for 1880-81.*

3. S. K. De: *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 98.

4. *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, 597 a.

5. M. R. Kavi's Edition of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vol II, p. 244, (G. O. S., Vol. LXVIII—1934, Baroda).

reference in the MS of जयदेव's छंदःशास्त्र referred to above *viz*. No. 72 of 1873-74, where it occurs on folio 1 at the commencement of the work. This identification shows that जयदेव's छंदःशास्त्र was written much earlier than Abhinava's commentary.

Since writing the above note I received from my friend Mr. V. Raghavan of Madras off-prints of his articles[1] on "*Writers Quoted in Abhinavabhāratī*". Mr. Raghavan observes with reference to our जयदेव as under :—

p. 222. "जयदेव is quoted on p. 370, Vol. II.[2]

सर्वेषां वृत्तानाम् इत्यादौ अर्थसमासेन जयदेवोऽभ्यधात् ।

Who this Jayadeva is, is not known. He is twice mentioned as a writer on Prosody by Namisādhu in his Ṭīkā on Rudraṭa. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara quotes Jayadeva and his definition of the Upacitrā metre. Jayadeva is twice quoted in Rāmacandra Budhendra's commentary, Pañcikā, on the *Vṛttaratnākara*."

We have shown above that this जयदेव is the author of छंदःशास्त्र, a manuscript of which, with हर्षट's commentary, *viz*. No. 72 of 1873-74, is available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. Presumbly this work on prosody must have attained authoritative character since a polymath like Abhinavagupta quotes this work as authority.

As Abhinavagupta flourished about 1000 A. D.[3] and as he refers to the छंदःशास्त्र of जयदेव as authority, जयदेव *must have flourished before 910 A. D.* which may, therefore, be looked upon as one terminus to जयदेव's date. Our जयदेव, the author of छंदःशास्त्र, is of course distinct from जयदेव, the author of the *Gītagovinda* who flourished in the 13th century.[4]

1. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 149-170, and Vol. VI, pp. 199-223.

2. This reference is to the MS of *Abhinavabhāratī* in the Govt. Ori. MSS Library, Madras. Our reference to जयदेव is taken from p. 244 of Vol. II of Nāṭyaśāstra, while Mr. Raghavan refers to the Madras MS of *Abhinavabhāratī*. Both these references to जयदेव are, however, identical.

3. S. K. De. : *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 119 —Abhinava flourished "at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century."

4. Ibid, p. 219.

I shall now give a brief description of MS of the छंद:शास्त्र of जयदेव *viz.* No. 72 of 1873-74 as Kielhorn has not apparently studied this MS. This MS consists of two parts with different numbering of folios as under:—

(1) Folios 1- 5 — जयदेव's छंदःशास्त्र or छंदस्.

(2) Folios 1- 33 — हर्षट's commentary on the above, called जयदेव-छंदोविवृत्ति.

जयदेव's छंदस् consists of eight small chapters or sections. The colophons of these chapters appear as under :—

Folio 1—इति जयदेवछंदासि प्रथमोऽध्यायः
,, ,,—द्वितीयोऽध्याय
,, ,,—तृतीयोऽध्यायः
,, 2—इति जयदेवछंदासि चतुर्थोऽध्यायः
,, 3— ,, ,, पंचमोऽध्यायः
,, 4— ,, ,, षष्ठोऽध्यायः
,, 5— ,, ,, सप्तमोऽध्यायः
,, ,,— ,, ,, अष्टमोऽध्यायः

" सं. ११९० मार्ग शुदि १४ सामादने श्री सीसर्वादेवाचार्याय शिष्यस्य देवचंद्रस्यथय श्रीधरेण जयदेवछंदमूलसूत्रमलिखि "

This MS appears to be a copy made in 1873 for Kielhorn from an old original bearing the date of copying *viz.* Saṁvat 1190 (= A. D. 1133). As this is comparatively a very old date I have tried to verify it, as the colophon fortunately furnishes all particulars necessary for verification in the *Ephemeris viz.*

(1) सं. ११९० = Vikram Saṁvat 1190.
(2) मार्ग = Mārgaśīrṣa month.
(3) शुदि = Śuklapakṣa.
(4) १४ = 14th Tithi.
(5) सामादने = सोमदिने (I take this to be the correct reading).

Looking to the *Ephemeris*[1] I find that the above particulars of the date of copying exactly correspond to *Monday, 13th November 1133.* The reading 'सामादने' of the MS has been taken by me to be

1. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 269.

wrongly copied for the correct reading 'सोमदिने' and my guess has been corroborated by the *Ephemeris* as in Saṁvat 1190, the 14th *tithi* of the Śuklapakṣa in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa was सोमवार or सोमदिन only. This date of the copy of Jayadeva's Chandaḥśāstra harmonizes with our conclusion *viz.* that he must have flourished before about 950 A. D. in view of Abhinava's reference to this work in his Abhinavabhāratī as pointed out above.

The other MS in No. 72 of 1873-74 is a commentary by हर्षट on जयदेव's छंदःशास्त्र described above. The colophon of this MS does not record the date of the original MS as in the case of the MS of Jayadeva's work and hence I am unable to say whether the text of Jayadeva and that of the commentary were copied in the same year *viz.* A. D. 1133. Perhaps these two separate MSS were put together and kept in one bundle when Kielhorn got them copied and stitched together under No. 72 of 1873-74, as they were allied to each other.

The MS of the commentary by हर्षट or हर्षट्, as some of the colophons record, consists of 33 sheets written on one side of the sheet only. It begins as follows:—

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

संकरं सास्वतं सौरिं प्रणम्य विवृणोम्यहं ।
जयदेवानि सूत्राणि स्वरूपविधिना स्फुटं ॥ १ ॥
गायत्रिं छंदसां पूर्वां वर्द्धमानाक्षरं परं ।
विश्र(?)णू नकरं नौमि चित्रवृत्तप्रसिद्धये ॥ २ ॥"

The colophons of the different chapters appear as under:—

Folio 3—"भट्टमुकुलकात्मजविरचितायां जयदेवछंदोविवृत्तौ प्रथमोध्यायः"

Folio 4—"भट्टमुकुलकात्मजहर्षटविरचितायां जयदेवछंदोविवृत्तौ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः"

Folio 10—"भट्टमुकुलकात्मज हर्षटविरचितायां जयदेवछंदोविवृत्तौ तृतीयोध्यायः"

Folio 16—"भट्टमुकुलात्मजविरचितायां जयदेवछंदोविवृत्तौ चतुर्थोध्यायः"

Folio 23—"भट्टमुकलकात्मजहर्षटविरचतायां जयदेवछंदोविवृत्तौ पञ्चमोध्यायः"

Folio 30—"सप्तमोऽध्यायः"

Folio 32—"भट्टमुकुलकात्मजहर्षटविरचितायां जयदेवछंदोविवृत्तौ अष्टमो-ऽध्यायः" । समाप्तं जयदेवछंदविवरणं ॥"

In the body of the text of the Commentary, I do not find any references to earlier works or authors with the exception of the following:—

Folio 1—"जयदेवस्य या अचलधृत्यनंगक्रीडातिरचितास्तायथाक्रम महिपतेः भगवतः पिंगलस्य गीत्यार्याशिखामूलिकामता-प्रस्तारः"

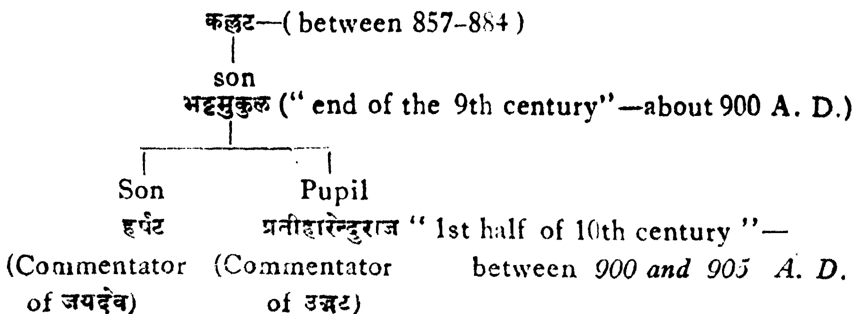
Folio 8—"तथा च उक्तं भगवता पिंगलेन"

Folio 17—"भगवतः पिंगलस्य"

It appears from the colophons quoted above that हर्षट was the son of भट्टमुकुल. If this भट्टमुकुल is identical with the भट्टमुकुल, the *guru* of Pratīhārendurāja, Udbhaṭa's commentator, we can gather some information about him and his age. In this connection we quote from Dr. S. K. De's *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 77:—

"Pratīhārendurāja, Udbhaṭa's Commentator was, as he himself tells us, a native of Koṅkaṇa and a pupil of *Mukula*. Mukula is known to us, as the author of Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā, a work on the grammatico-rhetorical question of *abhidhā*......*Mukula* should be placed towards *the end of the 9th century* and the beginning of the 10th. His pupil *Pratīhārendurāja*, therefore, belongs approximately to the 1st half of the 10th century."

If the identity of हर्षट's father भट्टमुकुल with मुकुल the guru of Pratīhārendurāja as presumed by us is correct the chronological relation of these three persons can be represented as follows on the strength of Dr. De's remarks quoted above:—



It would, therefore, be possible to regard हर्षट as contemporaneous with प्रतीहारेन्दुराज, the commentator of उद्भट or we may roughly say that हर्षट flourished about the middle of the 10th country *i.e. about 950 A. D.* As we have put जयदेव's छन्दःशास्त्र prior to 950 A. D. our assigning of हर्षट his commentator to about 950 A. D. agrees with any date prior to 950 A. D. that may be assigned to जयदेव's छंदःशास्त्र.

Mukula in the last Kārikā of *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* mentions कल्लट as the name of his father. Mr. Banhatti identifies this कल्लट with कल्लट mentioned by Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī as living in the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 857 to 884) and fixes the beginning of the 10th Century as the date of Mukula.

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1. Intro. p. XXI to *Kāvyālaṁkāra-Sārasaṁgraha*, B. S. S. No. LXXIX.

23. Manuscripts of Commentaries on the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra ‡

In the recently published Catalogue[1] of Mss in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan I find the following entries regarding Mss of the celebrated *Kauṭalīya Arthaśātra* :—

> "**Polity**—*Kauṭalīya-Arthaśāstra* : (on palm-leaf) only a fragment containing the first Adhikaraṇa and the second incomplete with some portion of Yogghama's commentary *Nīti-Nirṇaya*."[2]

The MSS of the text and commentary of the *Arthaśāṣtra* are described in the above catalogue as follows:—[3]

"२९२ (१) **कौटलीय अर्थशास्त्र** (अधि. १-२ अपूर्ण) प० ६४; १३″×२¼″* damaged (*५५-६३ पत्राणि विनष्टानि) End :—

शिरीषपुष्पकं गोमूत्रकं गोमेदकं शुद्धस्फटिकं etc.

(2) **कौटलीय टीका** (अधि. २ अपूर्ण) by योग्घम. प. १८ End :—

इति मुग्धविलासांकयोग्घमविरचितनीतिनिर्णीत्यभिधानायां कौटलीयराज-सिद्धांतटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचारे प्रथमोध्यायः ॥·"

The merit of the discovery, publication and translation of the *Arthaśāstra* goes to Dr. Shama Sastri[4] of Mysore. Dr. Shama Sastri

‡ *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. III, pp. 176–182.

1. *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss* in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan, Compiled from the Notes of the late Mr. C. D. Dalal with Introduction, Indices and Appendices by L. B. Gandhi, Jain Pandit, Oriental Institute, Baroda, (in two vols.) Vol. I—Palm-leaf Ms. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1937.

2. Ibid. *Report on the Search for Mss*. p. 54.

3. Ibid, pp. 172-178—Mss in Saṅghavī Pāḍā Bhandar at Pattan. This Collection belongs to the Lāghupośālika branch of the Tapāgaccha. It contains many Sanskrit and Prākṛt Works both Jain and Brahmanical and an enormous bulk of works on Apabhraṁśa literature.

4. Vide p. 5 of Dr. Jolly's Introduction to the Edition of the *Arthaśāstra* (Punjab Sans. Series No. IV), Lahore, 1923.

first useda Ms of the text of the *Arthaśāstra* together with the fragment of a commentary by Bhaṭṭa Svāmin.[1] In the second edition of the *Arthaśāstra* Dr. Shama Sastri utilised two more commentaries of the work called the *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan[2] and the other, a translation or rather paraphrase by an unknown author in a mixture of Tāmil and Malayālam languages. Dr. Shama Sastri states that both of these commentaries are incomplete as Bhaṭṭa Svāmi's commentary.[3]

M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri who has composed and published his own commentary[4] on the *Arthaśāstra* deals in his Introduction with the necessity of adding a commentary to the text and also describes the fragments of ancient commentaries secured by him. He obtained Mss of *two* commentaries from the Madras Government Oriental Library. One of these was a fragmentary copy of a learned Sanskrit commentary called *Pratipadapañcikā* by Bhaṭṭa-Svāmin. The other contained a portion of a commentary known as *Nayacandrikā* by Mādhavayajvan. The source of these Mss was apparently a palm-leaf Ms belonging to the Kerala country. These fragments were "full of errors and gaps." Ganapati Sastri also made use of a palm-leaf Ms of an ancient Malayālam version

1. Vide p. vi of J. F. Fleet's Introductory Note to the Second Edition of the *Arthaśāstra* by Dr. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1923.

2. Ibid, Preface to the Second Edition (10th July 1923), p. xxv.

3. *Arthaśāstra* (Second Edition, 1923), Preface, p. xxv – Dr. Shama Sastri's estimate of the commentaries used by him is as follows :—"The first extends from the seventh chapter of the Seventh Book to the end of the third chapter of the Twelfth Book. It is neither a word-by-word commentary like Bhaṭṭasvāmi's nor a paraphrase like the Tāmil-Malayālam commentary. Mādhava Yajvan, its author, satisfies himself by supplying some connecting links between successive chapters and successive paragraphs in each chapter. The Tāmil–Malayālam paraphrase is, on the other hand, very copious, but omits to notice obscure passages here and there. It extends from the beginning to the end of the seventh Book. Written as it is in a mixture of dialects it is not very easy to understand it. It seems to be quite recent and is not free from misinterpretation of a few words."

4. *Arthaśāstra* (*Trivendrum Sans. Series* No. LXXIX) 1923, English Introduction (dated 4th June 1923), pp. 2–3.

of the *Arthaśāstra* on the line of Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary. This version was found in the Palace Library at Trivandrum. A similar copy of this version was found in the Madras Government Oriental Mss Library. But both these copies were defective. "Since no ancient commentary in its publishable shape is available" states M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri, "I thought of writing one of my own." [1]

In the foregoing paragraphs I have tried to record the available commentarial material regarding the *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra* as known to and utilised by the two great scholars viz. Dr. Shama Sastri and M. M. Ganapati Sastri. In view of the fragmentary and unsatisfactory nature of the Mss material of the extant commentaries on the *Arthaśāstra* every newly discovered fragment of the known commentaries or the discovery of an entirely new commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* must be looked upon as a gain to this important branch of scholarship viz., the improvement of the text of the *Arthaśāstra* and its final stabilising in a strictly critical manner. For this purpose the Pattan Ms of Yogghama's commentary as described by Mr. Dalal should be examined by scholars interested in this branch of research. Though the Pattan Bhandars were inaccessible to Dr. Bühler and Peterson when they carried out their search for Mss in Gujarat more than sixty years ago, it is now possible for responsible Jain scholars trained on modern lines to get access to these Bhandars by persuading the authorities in charge of them to allow at least their co-religionists to make proper use of the valuable Mss material locked up for centuries in these rich treasures of ancient learning.

It will thus be seen that the total number of commentaries so far brought to light, are four only, viz.:—

(1) Bhaṭṭasvāmin: *Pratipadapañcikā*.

(2) Mādhavayajvan : *Nayacandrikā*.

(3) Yogghama : *Nītinirṇīti*.

(4) Anonymous : *Tāmil-Ma'ayālam version* on the line of Bhaṭṭa Svāmin's commentary.

1. About Ganapati Sastri's self-composed commentary, Dr. Shama Sastri remarks:—"It will be a great boon to the readers of the *Arthaśāstra* if Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Ganapati Sāstri, Curator of the Oriental Library in Trivandram publishes the long-advertised Sanskrit Commentary which he is said to have been writing with the aid of the three Commentaries." (P. XXV of Preface to the Second Edition, dated 10th July 1923).

We know nothing about the chronology of the above commentaries or the personal history of their authors.

The source of the Mss of the commentaries of Bhaṭṭasvāmin and Mādhavayajvan was the Kerala country as we are informed by M. M. Ganapati Sastri (Preface, 1923). There is a Ms[1] of a commentary on the *Setubandha*,[2] a Prākṛta poem ascribed to Pravarasena dealing with the destruction of Rāvaṇa by Rāma. This commentary is ascribed to a commentator called Mādhavayajvamiśra.[3] Is it possible to identify this commentator Mādhavayajvan with his namesake, the author of the commentary *Nayacandrikā*[4] on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya ? The Madras Ms of the *Setubandha vyākhyā* was transcribed in 1918-19 from the original Ms belonging to an owner of Nareri in Malabar District. The Ms of the *Nayacandrikā* on which Jolly's edition of this commentary was based was transcribed in 1917-18 from the original in the possession of an owner, resident of Chelapuram (Calicut).[5] There is, therefore, some possibility of the two commentators of the same name "Mādhavayajvan" styled in the colophons of their respective works by identical titles viz.

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1. *Triennial Cata. of Madras Mss* (1916–1919) Vol. III, Part 1, 1932, R. No. 2772, pp. 3976–78).

2. Ed. in *Kāvyamālā Series*, – the text as printed in this edition consists of 15 *Āśvāsas*.

3. The colophon of the Madras Ms reads as follows :—

"इति वैदिकचूडामणिमहोपाध्यायमाधवयज्वमिश्रविराचितायां सेतुनाम्नि सेतुतात्पर्य-टीकायां षोडश आश्वासः."

The text of the *Setubandha* in the Kāvyamālā edition has 15 *āśvāsas* only but in the Madras Ms the 16th *āśvāsa* is also found though the 12th *āśvāsa* is missing.

Colophon of the *1st āśvāsa* :—

"वादिकविचूडामणिमहोपाध्याय etc."

4. Vide edition of *Arthaśāstra* by J. Jolly and R. Schmidt (Punjab Sans. Series, Lahore, 1923,1924) Vol.II — Notes with Comm. of Mādhavayajvan.

5. *Triennial Catalogue of Madras Mss* Vol. III, Part I — Sanskrit B, 1922, p. 3320.

"*Vādikavi-Cūḍāmaṇi*" and "*Mahopādhyāya.*"[1] Pt. Udayavīraśāstri is of opinion that Mādhavayajvan may have been a *dākṣiṇātya* (i.e. Southerner).[2] He also thinks that he is an ancient commentator born in the South about 500 years after the demolition of the Mauryan Empire[3] but the grounds put forward in support of this belief are not convincing.[4] Perhaps a comparison of the *Naya-candrikā* and the *Setubandhavyākhyā* referred to above may give us a few more facts bearing on the chronology of Mādhavayajvan. In the Madras Ms of the *Śetubandhavyākhyā* (extract) we find a definition of the figure विभावना[5] quoted by its author as follows :—

"यथोक्तम्—

प्रसिद्धहेतुव्यावृत्या यत्किञ्चित्कारणान्तरम् ।
यत्र स्वाभाविकत्वं वा विभाव्यं सा विभावना"

This definition of विभावना is exactly identical with Daṇḍin's definition as quoted by Prof. Kane.[6] It is clear, therefore, from this identification that Mādhavayajvan, the author of the *Setu-bandhavyākhyā* is later than Daṇḍin, the author of the *Kāvyādarśa*. According to Dr. S. K. De[7] Daṇḍin flourished "probably in the

1. Vide Sanskrit Intro. (p. 6) of Jolly's Edition of the *Arthaśāstra*, Vol. II, by Pt. Udayavīra Śāstri :—

" कदाचिदुभयोरप्यनयोर्व्याख्याग्रन्थयोर्निर्माता अयमेक एव माधवयज्वा स्यात् । "

2. Ibid, p. 3 — " परं माधवयज्वेति नामविधया वयमनुमीमहे - कदाचिदयं दाक्षिणात्य एव स्यादिति "

3. Ibid, p. 5 — " मौर्ये राजनि दिवंगते सति तदनुसम्भवत:
पञ्चशतवर्षेष्वतीतेषु अयं दक्षिणेषु जनिं लेभे इति । "

4. Ibid, p. 4 — Cf. " एवञ्चास्य भरतवाक्यस्येव वाक्यान्तराण्यपि प्राचीनतम-ग्रन्थान्तरनिर्दिष्टान्येव स्युरिति, तानि समुद्धरन् अयं माधवयज्वा कश्चन सुतरां प्राचीन एवाचार्य इति संभावयाम: "

This argument has no value historically as even a modern commentator can mention and quote from very ancient works.

5. Vide P. V. Kane : Edition of *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Bombay, 1923, Notes, pp. 20, 235–237.

6. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Notes, p. 236.—"Daṇḍin's definition of विभावना is very clear ' प्रसिद्धहेतुव्यावृत्त्या यत्किञ्चित्कारणान्तरम् । यत्र स्वाभाविकत्वं वा विभाव्यं सा विभावना ॥ ' (K. D. II, 199:)."

7. *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 70.

beginning of the *first half of the 18th century.*" According to Prof. Kane the date of Daṇḍin is "*6th century.*"[1] Prof. Keith[2] regards the date of Daṇḍin as "open to dispute" and states "if... we place the *Kāvyādarśa* definitely before Bhāmaha (c. A. D. 700) there is no reason to assert that he wrote much earlier." His date may be "anterior to the empire of Harṣavardhana and also anterior to the work of Subandhu and Bāṇa." Inspite of the disputable character of Daṇḍin's exact date we shall not be wrong if we state that Mādhavayajvan, the author of the *Setubandha-vyākhyā* is later than at least the 6th century and if his identity[3] with his namesake, the author of *Nayacandrikā* on the *Arthaśāstra* could be proved on valid evidence we would be in a position to put a definite limit to the date of *Nayacandrikā*. As, however, the Ms of the *Setubanbhavyākhyā* is not before me at present the question must await investigation at some future time.

As regards the commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin reference has already been made above to the Mss of this commentary availed of by Dr. Shama Sāstri and T. Ganapati Sastri. The available

1. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Index of Works, No. 274, p. CLXVII. Prof. Kane observes :—"The 6th century has been accepted by many scholars as the date of Daṇḍin. Vide Max Muller (*India ; what can it teach us ?* 1st edition, p. 332, Weber (H. S. L.p. 232n.) Prof. Macdonell (H. S. L. p. 434) and Col. Jacob (JRAS 1897, p. 284)."

2. H. S. L. 1928, p. 296–97.

3. With a view to deciding the question of this identity I may mention here a Brahmin of the name माधव सोमयाजी, the father of Viddamayya to whom Cālukya Bhīma (II) — A.D. 934–945 — granted a field at the village of Ākulamannaṇḍu (Vide *Epi. Indica*, Vol. V, 135). Mādhava was devoted to Janārdana (Viṣṇu). Viddamayya was a student of the *Kramapāṭha* and was eminent in religious learning. His sons and grandsons were youths eloquent at Committee Assemblies and were honoured by people. He engaged himself in holy performances, followed Manu's guidance and was not weary of repeating the Vedas and the syllable *om*. The father of Mādhava Somayāji was also a student of *Kramapāṭha* and belonged to *Gautama* lineage. Viddamayya's sons and grandsons are styled as "वारगोष्ठिषु वाग्मिनः" an expression which reminds us of the title 'वादिकविचूडामणि' applied to माधवयज्वन्. I am unable at present to establish any connection of this माधव सोमयाजी with माधवयज्वन् (later than 6th cent.) author of सेतुबंधव्याख्या or his namesake the author of नयचंद्रिका.

fragments of this commentary have also been published by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*[1]

The object of the present paper being to attract the attention of the scholars to the Pattan Bhandar Ms of Gogghama's commentary on the *Arthaśāstra,* I have tried in the foregoing lines to indicate the importance of this yet unexploited Ms of a rare commentary from North India on the *Arthaśāstra.* It is hoped that interested scholars will not fail to exploit this material by persuading the authorities of the Sanghavī Pāḍā Jain Bhandar to make this Ms accessible to them for editing purposes so that we shall have before long in print the available fragments of Commentaries of (1) Bhaṭṭasvāmin, (2) Mādhavayajvan and (3) Gogghama. In the absence of any one commentary on the entire text of the *Arthaśāstra* the value of these fragments for the exposition of this important text of antiquity must be very great. It is still possible to discover other commentaries on the Arthaśāstra, because their existence is indicated by Mādhavayajvan himself in his occasional references to earlier commentators.[2]

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1. *Prātipadapañcikā,* ed. by K. P. Jayaswal and A. Banerji Sastri J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XI, Part 1-*March 1925* — Pp. 1 to 24, *June 1925*-Pp.25-54, *Sept.* and *Dec.1925*—Pp. 55-92; Vol. XII,Part 1—*March 1926* —Pp. 93-130, *June* 1926—Pp. 131-168, *September 1926*—Pp. 169-214 ("समाप्तेयं जायस्वाल-वन्द्योपाध्याययोः संस्करणशोधिका पादटीका"). This edition has made use of the following publications :—*Arthaśāstra* ed. by Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1909, (2) *Notes* on the *Adhyakṣa-Pracāra* Book of the Arthaśāstra, Allahabad, 1914, (3) *Arthaśāstra* ed. by Jolly, Lahore, 1923, (Vol. 1), and (4) *Ārthaśāstra* ed. by Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1924.

2. Vide p. 6 of Udayavīra Sāstri's Sanskrit Introduction to the *Arthaśāstra,* Lahore, 1924 — "माधवयज्वा स्वव्याख्यायां केचिदित्याहुः, अपरे तु इत्याहुः, केचिदेवं व्याख्याकर्त्तारस्तु इत्येवं रूपेणान्यानपि बहून् पूर्वाचार्यान् कौटलीयार्थशास्त्रव्याख्यातॄन् निर्दिशन् स्वप्राङ्निर्मितान् बहून् व्याख्याग्रन्थानयं ददर्शेति स्पष्टयत्येव" — These remarks were made in 1924 but they are borne out by the discovery of Gogghama's commentary mentioned in the Baroda Catalogue of Pattan Mss published in 1938. It remains to be seen if Gogghama refers to any commentators on the *Arthaśāstra* by name.

Chronological Limits for the Commentary of Indu on the Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha of Vāgbhaṭa I —Between A. D. 750 and 1050 ‡

In the edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha*[1] with a commentary of Indu called *Śaśilekhā* published 31 years ago we are told that "*Śaśilekhā* is a commentary of *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* by Indu one of the renowned and learned pupils of Vāhaṭa."[2] Evidently this statement is based on the following verse[3] quoted by the editor in his Sanskrit Introduction to the edition:—

"लंबश्मश्रुकलापमंबुजनिभच्छायाद्युतिं वैद्यका-
मन्तेवास्मिन इन्दुजज्झटमुखानध्यापयन्तं सदा ।
आगुल्फामलकञ्चुकाञ्चितदरालक्ष्योपवीतोज्वलत्
कण्ठस्थागरुसारमञ्जितदृशं ध्यायेद्दृढं वाग्भटम् ॥"

The Editor in making his observation about the versatile intellect of the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* remarks:—

‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXV, pp. 225-238.

1. Ed. by T. Rudrapāraśava, Trichur, 1913. H. H. Sir Rama Varma, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E. of Cochin in his letter of 20th July 1914 published as a foreword to this edition observes :—

"A copy of the commentary (*Śaśilekhā*) could not be had in full anywhere. He (Editor) had to go to different places and hunt in several old manuscript libraries, and to collect lists from here and there. Several of such lists were worn out by old age and full of mistakes. It took several years for him to get a clear and complete copy and the labour and the trouble (with which) he had to compare and correct it were not ordinary. Even now it is doubtful whether the copy now prepared is quite free from errors. But I have no hesitation in saying that it is difficult to get a more correct copy of the book anywhere. But for the pains and troubles he has taken in publishing it this important work would have been completely lost."

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. *Upodghāta*, p. IV — The editor calls this verse as "ध्यान-श्लोक" and states that it is "लोकप्रसिद्ध". He does not say anything about its authorship and chronology.

"द्वादशसाहस्र्यपरपर्यायः श्रीमदष्टांगसंग्रहः, ततोऽपि सारतरोऽष्टांगहृदयाल्पग्रन्थः। रसशास्त्रसर्वस्वभूतो रसरत्नसमुच्चयश्च यदीयधिषणाविलासे परं साक्षिणः॥"

Evidently in making the above observation the Editor is attributing common authorship to the three works viz.

(1) the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I

(2) the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II

and (3) *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of Vāgbhaṭa, who according to Sir P. C. Ray was a contemporary of Roger Bacon (died A.D. 1294)—Vide *History of Hindu Chemistry*, p. lvi of Vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1902).

I have already recorded elsewhere[1] the correct views about the authorship[2] of the three works, by three different authors of the same name Vāgbhaṭa and hence need not deal with the question in this paper.

Our Editor on the basis of the common authorship of the three works further states:—

"श्रीमदष्टांगसंग्रहार्थस्तु कामपि समीचीनां दीपिकामन्तरा परिज्ञातुं दुःशक्त इति स्थिते अथामिन्दोः उदयः परमप्रमोद एव निखिलप्रपञ्चस्य ॥"

We agree that as the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I was difficult to be understood a commentator has come into being in the form of Indu, the author of the *Śaśilekhā* but it is difficult to make Indu, a contemporary of Vāgbhaṭa I as the Editor does in the following remarks on no solid evidence except the proverbial ध्यानश्लोक already quoted by him and reproduced above:—

1. Vide p. 4 of my Introduction to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, edited by Vaidya Harishastri Paradkar of Akola (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938).

2. The identity of authorship for the *A. saṁgraha* and *A. hṛdaya* has been taken for granted by many responsible writers on the history of Indian medicine. H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Gondal (pp. 34–35 of his *Aryan Medical Science*, London, 1896) states :—"In his work called "*Ashtāngahridaya*" he (Vāgbhaṭa) acknowledges the assistance derived from the writings of Charaka, Sushruta, Agnivesha, Bhela and others who had gone before him. He also wrote another work called "*Ashtangasangraha*," on which Pandit Arunadatta wrote a commentary."

"इन्दुः अथमाचार्यवाग्भटशिष्येषु प्रधानः तदुक्तम् ध्यानश्लोके । "इन्दुजज्जट-मुखानध्यापयन्त" मिति। अनेन अष्टांगसंग्रहस्य हृदयस्य च शशिलेखेति व्याख्यातन्यत इन्दुनाम्नापि सा व्यपदिश्यते ॥"

This is confusion worse confounded as the editor makes Vāgbhaṭa I, Indu and Jajjaṭa[1] contemporaries without any historical evidence and secondly he states that *Śaśilekhā* is a commentary on the अष्टांगसंग्रह as also on the (अष्टांग) हृदय,[2] a statement which is clearly refuted by Indu's own statement at the beginning of his own commentary on the *Sūtrasthāna* that *Śaśilekhā* is a commentary on the *Saṁgraha* and not on the *Hṛdaya*.[3]

1. Aufrecht makes the following entry about जैज्जट :—

CC I, p. 209— " जैज्जट wrote a commentary on सुश्रुत. Quoted by Hemādri in *Āyurvedarasāyana* B. P. 373, in *Bhāvaprakāśa* Oxf. 311b, in *Ātaṅkadarpaṇa* Oxf. 314b, by Candraṭa Oxf. 357b, in *Ṭoḍarānanda* W. p. 289."

If Candraṭa (about A. D. 1000 according to Hoernle) quotes जैज्जट, he is earlier than 1000 A. D. but I have no evidence to prove that इन्दु and जैज्जट were contemporaries.

Vopadeva, contemporary of Hemādri, quotes जैज्जट many times in his commentary प्रकाश on his father's सिद्धमन्त्र (see Ms of सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, folios 11, 12, 17 etc.). Vopadeva also quotes खारणादि, हरिश्चन्द्र (fol. 8) and बाष्पचन्द्र (fol. 8 and 34). खारणादि is quoted many times by Hemādri in *Āyurvedarasāyana*. Possibly खारणादि mentioned and quoted by हेमाद्रि and वोपदेव may be identical with खारनाद but this possibility needs to be examined separately.

2. Vide p. 188 of *Aryan Medical Science*, London, 1896 :—

"Some are of opinion that Vāgbhaṭa, the celebrated author of "*Ashtanga-hridaya*" flourished in the time of the Mahabharata and that he was the family physician of the Pandavas."

3. Vide verse 2 in the following 6 introductory verses of Indu's commentary on the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅga-saṁgraha* which I reproduce from the Edition of the work by Pandit R. D. Kinjavadekar (Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1938) :—

"प्रोद्भासिस्वच्छशंखस्फुटशशिकलोद्दामवैशद्यहृद्य-
प्रोद्यत्सौंदर्यवर्यप्रकाटितवपुषं नौमि वागीश्वरीं ताम् ।

(*Continued on next page*)

This lotus in the form of *Saṁgraha* blooms at the sight of the moon's digit viz. the *Śaśilekhā vyākhyā* or commentary composed by Indu.

(*Continued from previous page*)

कल्लोलोल्लासशान्तिप्रततसिततरक्षीरसिन्ध्वन्तराल-
श्लिष्यत्पीयूषरेखां स्मरयति विबुधान्ध्यायतो या दयाङ्कः ॥ १ ॥

सरसि सुविपुलायुर्वेदरूपे कृतास्थं
मुनिवरवचनौघे दीर्घनाले निबद्धम् ।
रचितदलमिवाङ्गैः संग्रहाख्यं सरोजं
विकसति शशिलेखा व्याख्ययेन्दोर्यथावत् ॥ २ ॥

अनालोचिततन्त्रार्थः पदादावकृतश्रमः ।
यत्रावभाषते मूर्खस्तत्रावाच्या विपश्चितः ॥ ३ ॥

बन्धच्छायाविशेषज्ञः सूक्ष्ममप्यधिगच्छति ।
सुकवेरपि या वाचः कुण्ठास्ता जल[ड]संसदि ॥ ४ ॥

कियद्वा कथयिष्यामि यत्सतत्वैर्न बुध्यते ।
प्रमाणं च तदेवात्र यदस्माभिर्निरूप्यते ॥ ५ ॥

दुर्व्याख्याविषसुप्तस्य वाहटस्यास्मदुक्तयः ।
सन्तु संवित्तदायिन्यः सदागमपरिष्कृताः ॥ ६ ॥"

Pt. Kinjavadekar's edition of the *Aṣṭāṅga-saṁgraha* with Indu's commentary is based on the following printed editions and Mss :—

(1) *Text only* — Ms procured by me from Rajavaidya Jagtap of Kolhapur through the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

(2) *Text only* — Ms in the possession of Vaidya Gopalshastri Godbole of Bombay.

(3) *Text only* — Printed edition of Śaka 1810 = A. D. 1888 by Ganesh Sakharam Tarte of Nasik and Vaidya Krishna-shastri Devadhar.

4. *Text with Indu's commentary* — Edited at Trichur in 1913.

On 6th January 1939 I brought to the notice of Pt. Kinjavadekar a Ms of Indu's commentary in the Adyar Library described in their *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Part II (1928) p. 69 as follows :—

"अष्टांगहृदयव्याख्या (शशिलेखा) इन्दुकृता 39 B 19 दे 657 "

If this Ms turns out on examination to be Indu's commentary it should prove very useful to Pt. Kinjavadekar as he has failed to

(*Continued on next page*)

The date of Vāgbhaṭa I is "*early seventh century*" according to Dr. Hoernle[1] and as Indu commented on the *A. Saṁgraha*[2] of Vāgbhaṭa I, his date must be posterior to early seventh century. We may, therefore, safely fix about 625 A. D. as one terminus to the date of Indu. Let us now see if we can push forward this limit on the strength of evidence from Indu's commentary.

In chapter VI of the *Sūtrasthāna*, Indu makes the following comment:— ['गुणशब्दश्च भागपर्यायः' । ' संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने ' इत्यादिना] (पा. सू ५-२-४७) The Editor has identified the above quotation in the *Kāsikā*[3] commentary of the Sūtras of Pāṇini, which was composed

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procure any Ms of this important commentary for his edition. The catalogue statement " अष्टांगहृदयव्याख्या" is again misleading because "शशिलेखा is Indu's commentary on अष्टांगसंग्रह and not on अष्टांगहृदय. Indu describes वाहट as " दुर्व्याख्याविषसुप्त " i.e. lying in a state of unconsciousness produced by the effects of the poison of bad commentaries. This statement leads us to suppose that there were some commentaries on the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* preceding the *Śaśilekhā* of Indu.

1. *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, Intro. p. 11.

2. Aufrecht makes the following entries about Vāghbhaṭa I and his work :—

CC I, 35 — "अष्टांगसंग्रह med. quoted by Aruṇadatta."

CC III, 8—" अष्टांगसंग्रह med. by Vṛddha-Vāgbhaṭa RL 222-227

Do, 125 " वृद्ध वाग्भट med. BL. 2, 222–227 " (BL = Bhandarkar's lists of private libraries in the Bombay Presidency, Part I, Bombay 1893).

The *Des. Cat. of Madras Mss* Vol. XXIII (Medicine) contains the following Mss :— *No. 13070–Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* in Canarese characters on palm-leaf, pp. 122, contains 15 stanzas of the 4th *adhyāya*, some stanzas of the 4th *adhyāya*, some stanzas of the first *adhyāya* and from the 4th to the 37th *adhyāya*, excepting *adhyāyas* 6 and 7. Breaks off in 38th adhyāya of the *Sūtrasthāna*. *No. 13071–Aṣṭāṅga-Saṁgrahavyākhyā* in Canarese characters on palm-leaf pp. 158. Reference is herein made to Hariścandra's commentary on the *Caraka-Saṁhitā* :— " हरिश्चन्द्रकृतां व्याख्यां विनाचरकसंमतम् यस्तृणोत्यकृतप्रज्ञः वातुमीहति सोऽम्बुधिम् ॥ " ......" सोयं वाहटनामा शास्त्रकारश्च "......तस्मादष्टांगसंग्रहे......"It is difficult to identify the portion contained in this work."

about 650 A. D. This reference would push forward the limit of Indu's date to about 700 A. D. if the Editor's identification is correct.

Another quotation, which, if identified in the extant late lexicons would enable us to push forward the date of Indu is found in his comment on verse 17 of chapter II of the *Sūtrasthāna*. It reads as follows;—

["आमिषं भोग्यवस्तुनि" इति कोषः]

The *Medinī* lexicon assigned to about the 13th century[1] has a similar quotation which reads as follows:—

"आमिषं पुंनपुंसकम्। भोग्यवस्तुनि संभोगे"

It is difficult, however, to say if this quotation has a direct relation with Indu's quotation because it has often been found that some of the late lexicons have drawn freely on the earlier lexicons and at times we find two different lexicons borrowing from a common source.

A better criterion for pushing forward the date of Indu after 700 A. D. is the following quotation from the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II, who has been assigned to 8th or 9th century A. D. by Prof. Jolly (vide p. 16 of *Osteology*).

Sūtrasthāna comm. on verse 108 of chap. VII (p. 54 of Kinjavadekar's edition) —

": उक्तं च हृदये—'परस्परोपसंस्तम्भाधातुस्नेहपरंपरा" (शा. अ. ३-१५)

As Pandit Kinjavadekar has identified the above quotation in the *A. hṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II we have no doubt that Indu was acquainted with the *A. hṛdaya* and it is possible to find more references[2]

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1. Vide *Kalpadrukośa*, Baroda, 1928, Introduction. p. xl, " Padmanābhadatta who wrote his *Pṛṣodarādivṛtti* in A. C. 1375 quotes *Medinī* in his *Bhūriprayoga* (CC I, 467a"). "The *Mankhaṭīkā* in Zacharie's edition contains also a quotation from *Medinī*, which if genuine would push back Medinī's date to the 12th century for that commentary was most probably written before the last quarter of the 12th century."

2. In chapter I of *Nidānasthāna* (p. 5 of Kinjavdekar's Edition) we find the following reference :—

(*Continued on next page*)

to the *A. hṛadya* in his commentary. This reference, therefore, would justify us in concluding that Indu flourished after Vāgbhaṭa II, say after about 900 A. D. and consequently it is absurd to make him a pupil of Vāgbhaṭa I as the ध्यानश्लोक does according to to the statement of the Editor of the Trichur Edition of Indu's commentary.

In dealing with the properties of the different vegetables (p. 61 of *Sūtrasthāna*) Indu observes:—

" अग्रशाकानां हरितकानां च येषां नामानि नोक्तानि तेषां देशभाषाविद्विद्भ्योऽधिगम्यापभ्रंशसंस्कारादुपयोगविशेषाश्च ज्ञातव्यानि "

(*Continued from previous page*)

" ग्रेन हृदये पठति — "तदेव व्यक्ततां यातं रूपमित्यभिधीयते" इति । एवं च 'स्थिते सं पूर्वरूपाः कफपित्तमेहाः' इति यदा हृदयग्रन्थे व्याख्यायते तत्रैव चोदयिष्यामः"

On p. 25 (chap. V of *Sūtrasthāna*) Indu observes :—

" क्रमश्च ' पादेनापथ्यमभ्यस्तम् ' इत्यादिना वक्ष्यते " The Editor points out that the line "क्रमश्च......अभ्यस्तम् " is only a part of the following whole stanza of the अष्टांगहृदय (*Sūtrasthāna*, VII, 48)—

" पादेनापथ्यमभ्यस्तं पादपादेन वा त्यजेत् ।
निषेवेत हितं तद्वदेकद्वित्र्यन्तरीकृतम् ॥ "

These references leave no doubt that Indu was conversant with the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता of Vāgbhaṭa II and perhaps he wrote a commentary on it ("यदा हृदयग्रन्थे व्याख्यायते तत्रैव चोदयिष्यामः "). We shall have to investigate if any Mss of Indu's commentary on the हृदयग्रंथ can be traced anywhere in India. The *Triennial Catalogue* of Madras Mss, Vol. IV, Part I, Sanskrit B, describes a Ms of अष्टांगहृदयव्याख्या called शशिलेखा. It is No. R 3447 (p. 5142) and consists of folios 176 in Malayalam characters. It was transcribed in 1920-21 from a Ms in the possession of Mr. M. N. Nambiar, Kaimur village, Trichur, Cochin State. The Ms begins in 141st stanza of the *Sūtrasthāna* and contains the *Śārīrasthāna* and the *Nidānasthāna* complete. Judging by the colophons the Ms appears to be Indu's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. These colophons as recorded in the catalogue read as follows :—

" इति इन्दुविरचितायामष्टांगहृदयव्याख्यायां शशिलेखायां त्रिंशोध्यायः ॥ इति सूत्रस्थानं समाप्तम् ॥ "

" इतीन्दुविरचितायामष्टाङ्गहृदयव्याख्यायां (शशिलेखायाम्) निदानस्थाने षोडशोऽध्यायः"

In accordance with this statement we find him recording terms current in Kashmir for particular plants:—

p. 56 — "काश्मीरेषु महोयकः"

p. 57 — "काश्मीरेषु केबुकमन्यत्र कनाविकम्"

— "काश्मीरेषु शिलः"

— "काश्मीरेषु लोनारा"

— "पर्यायाः निघण्टु[1] ज्ञानात् देशभाषासंस्करणाच्च किञ्चित् ज्ञायन्ते"

p. 58 — "काश्मीरेषु कोणीकः"

p. 60 — "काश्मीरेषु तुम्बुरुः"

p. 63 — "काश्मीरेषु वृक्षबदरी"

p. 66 — "अत्रापि फलानामप्रसिद्धानां च येषां नामानि नोक्तानि तानि नानादेशकुलेभ्योऽपभ्रंशसंस्कारादिनाधिगन्तव्यानि"

As Indu has taken the trouble of noting the terms current in Kashmir for particular plants etc., I am inclined to believe that he either hailed from Kashmir[2] or was acquainted with a physician in Kashmir through whom he may have obtained the terminology recorded above.

Indu in chapter VIII (*Śārīrasthāna*, p. 61) gives the following definition of *gāmbhīrya* guṇa:—

"यस्य प्रसादादाकारात् क्रोधशोकभयादयः ।
भावस्था नोपलक्ष्यन्ते तद् गाम्भीर्यमिति स्मृतम् ॥"

1. Vide Introduction, p. xlix of *Kalpadru-Kośa*, Vol. I (Baroda, 1928). The oldest of medical and botanical glossaries or Nighaṇṭus is *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu*, which according to Kṣīrasvāmin is earlier than Amara. Other nighaṇṭus are :— *Paryāyaratnamālā* or Ratnamālā of Mādhavakara, author of *Rugviniścaya* - 8th or 9th cent. A. C. (Winternitz III, 550). *Paryāya-Muktāvalī* or *Muktāvalī* is based on the above work.—*Nighaṇṭuśeṣa* of Hemacandra, *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, *Madanavinoda* (1374 A. D.). *Rājanighaṇṭu*, *Śivakośa* of Śivadatta (A. D. 1677), *Śabdacandrikā* of Cakrapāṇidatta, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-nighaṇṭu*, *Dravyamuktāvalī* and *Paryāyārṇava*.

2. In the शारीरस्थान (chap. XIII, p. 87) under evil dreams reference is made to "द्राविडान्ध्रस्त्रीचण्डालाद्यैः." Indu explains :— "आन्ध्रद्रविडौ दाक्षिणात्यजनपदनामनी" i. e. the terms 'आन्ध्र' and 'द्रविड' are the names of Southern people or kingdoms. Can this explanation confirm our suggestion that Indu was a Northerner ?

I have not been able to trace this definition in this form though the definitions of the *gāmbhīrya* guṇa are found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[1] of Bharata, the *Daśarūpaka*[2], the *Agnipurāṇa*[3] and other works. Indu gives the definition of the word स्थूललक्ष[4] as follows:— (p. 61)

"योल्पं दातुं न शक्नोति स्थूललक्षः स उच्यते"

These definitions show the critical nature of his commentary and justify to a certain extent the boastful statement of verse 6 in the beginning of the *Sūtrasthāna* viz. "अस्मदुक्तयः सदागमपरिष्कृताः दुर्व्याख्याविषसुप्तस्य वाहटस्य संवित्तिदायिन्यः सन्तु"

We have pointed out above that in commenting on the contents of the शाकवर्ग of the *Sūtrasthāna* (p. 57) Indu states that *paryāyas* or synonyms of the names of different plants may be found in the *Nighaṇṭus* (पर्यायाः निघण्टुज्ञानात्...ज्ञायन्ते). This statement shows that he was conversant with some medical glossaries containing the names of the different plants and their synonyms. The question now arises whether Indu compiled any *Nighaṇṭu* himself. We try to record the following evidence for the consideration of scholars according to which it seems possible that Indu, the author of the *Śaśilekhā* commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* and Indu, the author of a medical *Nighaṇṭu* frequently quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin[5] in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* may be identical:—

1. Benares Edn. by Batuknath Sharma, 1929, chapter 24, p. 272 --

" यस्य प्रभावादाकारा रोमहर्षभयादिषु ।
भावस्था नोपलभ्यन्ते गाम्भीर्यमिति शंसितम् ॥ "

2. Ed. by Haas. p. 47.

" गाम्भीर्यं यत्प्रभावेन विकारो नोपलक्ष्यते । "

3. Ed. in *Bib. Indica*, Calcutta, 1878, p. 230

" विशिष्टलक्षणोल्लेखलेख्यमुत्तानशब्दकम् ।
गाम्भीर्यं कथयन्त्यार्यास्तदेवान्येषु शब्दताम् ॥ "

4. Mr. Apte in his Dictionary explains स्थूललक्ष as "Munificent, liberal, generous; Wise, learned; Inclined to recollect both benefits and injuries; Taking careless aim".

5. Vide Introduction, p. 4 of *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (Amarakośa) with Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary ed. by K. G. Oka, Poona, 1913.

(*Continued on next page*)

(1) Both the authors have the same name **Indu**.

(2) While **Indu** quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin is the author of a Medical Nighaṇṭu , our Indu is the author of the commentary on a medical work viz the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* and appears to be conversant with medical Nighaṇṭus, which he says contain the ***paryāyas*** or synonyms of the names of plants.

(3) Indu quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin is evidently earlier than about 1050 A. D. as Kṣīrasvāmin is assigned to the 2nd half of the 11th century. Our Indu is also likely to be earlier than A. D. 1050 as we propose to indicate below.

In chapter II of *Nidānasthāna* (p. 9 of Kinjavadekar's edition Indu refers to *Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra* as follows:—

(*Continued from previous page*)

Kṣīrasvāmin belongs to the 2nd half of the 11th century (*Between 1050 and 1100 A. D.*) as he quotes Bhoja and is quoted by Vardhamāna in the *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi*. Medical authorities quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin are (1) *Suśruta* and *Sauśrutāḥ*, **(2)** Vaidyāḥ (chiefly *Caraka*), (3) *Dhanvantari* and his Nighaṇṭu (medical), (4) *Vāhaṭa* or *Vāgbhaṭa*, (5) *Candra*, (6) *Indu*, (7) *Candranandana*, (8) ***Dhātuvidaḥ***, (9) *Nimiḥ*, (10) *Haramekhalam*. *Indu* and *Candranandana* are very frequently quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin especially in his comments on the वनौषधिवर्ग. *Indu* is quoted on pp. 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81 etc. (Pages 53 to 84 contain 170 verses of the वनौषधिवर्ग of the *Amarakośa*). The following quotations will show the nature and contents of Indu's *Nighaṇṭu* :—

P. 56 — "आहेन्दु :—उदुम्बरस्तु यज्ञाङ्गः सुचक्षुः श्वेतवल्कलः ।
हेमदुग्धः कृमिफलः क्षीरवृक्षः स काञ्चनः ॥ "

P. 57 — " आहेन्दु :— तुङ्गः पुष्पकसंज्ञः स्यात् पुंनामा रक्तकेसरः ।
पुंनागः पुरुषाह्वश्च केषांचित्पद्मकेसरः ॥ "

P. 59 — "इन्दुश्च :—रौध्रः कषायकृद्व्रश्चिल्लको मधुपुष्पकः ।
व्रणौषधं कालहीनो हिमपुष्पोऽक्षिभेषजम् ॥
उत्सादनो घनस्त्वक्कस्तरःशबरपादपः ।
रोध्रः शाबरकः श्वेतत्वगती सारभेषजम् ॥
द्वितीयः पट्टिकारोध्रो बृहत्पत्रस्तिरीटकः ।
उत्तालक स्तिल्वकश्च पट्टी लाक्षा प्रसादनः ॥ "

" एतदेव हृदि कृत्वा भट्टारहरिचन्द्रेण वा शब्दस्य निर्दिष्टस्याप्राधान्यं छङ्घनस्याप्राधान्यं व्याख्यातम् तच्च भिषक्शास्त्रनिष्णाता नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति...भट्टारकेण तु पूर्वरूपेषु सकलदोषसाधारणत्वाल्लङ्घनस्य प्राधान्यमुक्तम् "

(p. 95) — भट्टारकेण तु ' तथाविधैर्द्रव्यैः पूर्वमभिसंस्कारः शरीरस्य ' इत्यस्य वाक्यस्य" etc.

भट्टार हरिचन्द्र (or हरिश्चन्द्र)[1] referred to in the above extract by Indu is the author of चरकसंहिताभाष्य. He is quoted by महेश्वर in his lexicon विश्वप्रकाश composed in A. D. 1111, by चन्द्रट (about 1000 A. D.) and by हेमाद्रि in his commentary on the अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa II. He is also quoted by अरुणदत्त in his commentary on the अष्टांगहृदय[2] composed about 1220 A. D.[3]. It appears, therefore, that भट्टार हरिचन्द्र is earlier than A.D. 1000 and hence Indu's reference to him does not conflict with our suggestion that Indu, the author of *Śaśilekhā* may be earlier than 1050 A. D. like his namesake, the author of a medical Nighaṇṭu[4] quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin about 1050 A. D.

The references to Bhaṭṭāraka Haricandra made by Indu show that he had not much respect for the views of Haricandra. This inference is warranted as Indu observes (p. 95 – *Sūtrasthāna.*) — " भट्टारकेण......द्वितीयोऽपि पक्षो य उद्भासितः सोऽस्माभिरुपेक्षित एव " and " भट्टारहरिचन्द्रेण........व्याख्यातं........भिषक्शास्त्रनिष्णाता नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति." This criticism of Haricandra by Indu is likely to lead one to suppose that Indu and Haricandra might have been contemporaries, but we have at present no evidence either to prove or disprove this suggestion.

In the Madras MSS Library Ms No. 13071 is a commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* but the description of this MS given in the catalogue[5] this commentary has not been identified. Judging by the verse[6]

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1. *Catalogus Cata.* of Aufrecht, I, 756[b].
2. Do. I, 761.
3. Hoernle : *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 17, 100.
4. Vide *Catalogue of Nepal Mss* by Haraprasad Shastri and Bendall, Calcutta, 1905, Preface p. xxiii—A Ms of *Sārottara* Nighaṇṭu, a work on synonyms in medical science, bears the date of copy viz. N. S. 200 = A. D. 1080.
5. *Madras Mss*, Vol. xxiii.
6. — " हरिश्चन्द्रकृतां व्याख्यां विना चरकसंमतम् ।
यस्तृणोत्यकृतप्रज्ञःपातुमीहति सोऽम्बुधिम् ॥ "

which appears in the extract from this commentary given in the catalogue and which contains a contemptuous criticism of Haricandra[1] (vide Indu's criticism of Haricandra noted above) it appears that this unidentified commentary may be Indu's *Śaśilekhā* itself. As, however, the Madras Ms is not before me I am unable to say anything definitely about this identity, for the question needs to be settled by a comparison of the Madras Ms with the published text of the *Śaśilekhā* commentary.

In the following passage Indu appears to refer to his Guru ("अस्मद्गुरवः") :—

Page 95 (*Sūtrasthāna*, Chap. IX) —

" एतच्चास्मद्गुरवो यथा प्रक्रान्तशब्दार्थपरतन्त्रास्तैरेवेति च तद्विरुद्धानि परामृशन्तौ वमनादिवत् पूर्वं देहस्याभिसंस्कृतेरपि वैद्यविधेयतामभिमन्यमानाश्चरकस्य बोद्धारो व्याख्यानभिमन्यन्ते । भट्टारकेण तु 'तथाविधैर्वा द्रव्यैः पूर्वमभिसंस्कारः शरीरस्य' इत्यस्य वाक्यस्य व्याध्युत्पत्त्यनैकान्तिकप्रदर्शनपरत्वमङ्गीकृत्य तथाविधैरिति च विरुद्धसमानि परामृश्य विरुद्धैरेव पूर्वसंस्कारो व्याध्यनुत्पत्तिहेतुरिति सात्म्याहारप्रायतया द्वितीयोऽपि पक्षो य उद्भासितः सोऽस्माभिरुपेक्षित एव "

The expression "अस्मद्गुरवः" contains possibly a reference to Vāgbhaṭa II, the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* but we must await more decisive evidence on this possibility.[2]

1. There is a Ms No. 13092 of *Carakasaṁhitāvyākhyā* by Hariścandra in the Govt. Ori. Mss Library, Madras, (Vide Catalogue Vol. XXIII, 1918, p. 8801). It consists of 151 pages and contains the 3rd *adhyāya* of the *Sūtrasthāna*. It begins :—

" स्वयम्भुवे प्राणभृदन्तरात्मने जगत्प्रदीपाय महद्धितैषिणे ।
विवस्वते दीप्तसहस्त्ररश्मये सुरोत्तमायामिततेजसे नमः ॥ "

Colophon of Chap. I —

" इति आचार्यहरिश्चन्द्रकृतौ प(प्र)शिष्योपाध्यायकीयन्यासे भेषजचतुष्के दीर्घजीवितीयः प्रथमोऽध्यायः"

2. Pt. Kinjavadekar has drawn my attention to the following passage in Indu's comment on *Śārīrasthāna*, Chapter III, (p. 24a) of his Edition :—

"तथा च आचार्य एव हृदये केवलं महत्याः प्रतिषेधं करोति ।
यतः साहोरात्रेण जार्यते । न तु मात्रान्तरस्य विधानम् ।

(*Continued on next page*)

References to Indu by subsequent medical writers[1] have not

(*Continued from previous page*)

'सूतिका क्षुद्वती तैलाद् घृताद्वा महतीं पिबेत्'
इति स्नेहे काय वा पीते यमकाभ्यक्तदेहाया वस्त्रेणोदरं वेष्टयेत्"

This passage connects आचार्य and अष्टांगहृदय because the line "सूतिका क्षुद्वती......पिबेत्" quoted by Indu is found in the following verse of the अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa II (शारीरस्थान, chapter I) (p. 100 of Kinjavdekar's Edition, where the text of शारीरस्थान of the अ. हृदय is reproduced for reference) :—

"सूतिका क्षुद्वती तैलाद्घृताद्वा महतीं पिबेत् ।
पञ्चकोलकिनीं मात्रां मनु चोष्णं गुडोदकम् ॥ ९४ ॥"

This identification appears to indicate that Indu claimed Vāgbhaṭa II, the author of अष्टांगहृदय, as his " आचार्य " and hence by the expression " अस्मद्गुरवः " mentioned above he refers possibly to Vāgbhaṭa II.

If our interpretation of the above passages is correct Indu becomes a direct pupil of Vāgbhaṭa II and hence a junior contemporary of his आचार्य or " गुरवः " as he respectfully refers to him.

In addition to the references made by Indu to Vāgbhaṭa II in the words आचार्य and गुरवः the following reference to वाहटग्रन्थ appears to refer to अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa II (P. 1023 of *Sūtrasthāna*, chap. IX) :—

Vāgbhaṭa I —*A. Saṁgraha* —

" ध्यहाद्वसन्ते तस्यान्ते पक्षात्तद्वद्घनोदये ।
सेवेत कामतः कामं हेमन्ते शिशिरे बली ॥ ९७ ॥"

Indu's comment :— " वसन्ते ध्यहान्नारीं व्रजेत् । तस्य वसन्तस्यान्ते ग्रीष्मे पश्चात्तद्वत् घनोदये वर्षासु हेमन्ते शिशिरे च, बली बलवान् , कामतो यथेच्छं सेवेत । शरदि त्वनुक्तावपि वसन्तसदृशबलादिमत्त्वाद्ध्यहादेव नारीं व्रजेत् । तथा च श्रीवाहटग्रन्थ एव 'ध्यहा'द्वसन्तशरदोः इति "

Vagbhaṭa I has omitted शरद् or autumn in his list of seasons mentioned in verse 97 quoted above. Indu suggests that the omission is not intentional and quotes in his support the line " ध्यहाद्वसन्तशरदो " from वाहटग्रन्थ which appears to be identical with हृदयग्रन्थ or अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa II who has included the शरद् in his list of seasons congenial for sexual intercourse. By वाहट in the above comment Indu possibly means Vāgbhaṭa II and not Vāgbhaṭa I. The two वाहटs are here distinguished as one is quoted in support of another.

1. One इन्दु is quoted in the केरलव्याख्या on the अष्टांगहृदय in the following:—

(*Continued on next page.*)

yet been recorded and consequently it is difficult to fix the lower limit for Indu's date in a definite manner. That Indu flourished after Vāgbhaṭa II (8th or 9th century) is amply proved by his references to हृदयग्रंथ in the *Śaśilekhā*. If, however, his identity with Indu, the author of the medical Nighaṇṭu quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin (1050 A. D.) as suggested tentatively by me[1] in the present paper is proved conclusively we may be able to assign him to a period say between A. D. 750 and 1050.

(*Continued from previous page*)

"अलजा अलजसिंज्ञः क्षुद्ररोगः । वृत्तादिकच्छपोन्नतान्तं कच्छपा विशेषणम् इति इन्दुः" Vide p. 403 of the Edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with the *Kairalī-vyākhyā* which is being published in the journal *Vaidya Sārathi* (Kottayani, South India) August 1938, III, 5. This commentary quotes (p. 402) from वैजयन्ती lexicon (middle of 11th century) "क्षुद्रः स्वल्पेऽधमे क्रूरे" इति वैजयन्ती । and from भोज (p. 403), "कर्णयोरुपरिष्टाच्च कर्णयोश्च समन्ततः । पिटकां कुरुते राजन् शालूकसदृशां स्थिराम् ।" and hence is later than about 1100 A. D. This commentary also quotes from श्रेष्ठदत्त (p. 402 — "आयुर्वेदस्य तस्याष्टौ प्राहुरङ्गानि तद्विदः । सर्वेभ्यः प्रायशस्तेभ्यः क्षुद्ररोगाः समुच्छ्रिताः" इति श्रेष्ठदत्तोऽपि), from जातूकर्ण (p. 405), धन्वन्तरि (p. 407), सुश्रुत, सौश्रुत (p. 407), मञ्जरी (pp. 413, 401), केशव (p. 416).

1. I am happy to find that my friend Mr. Nalininath Das Gupta (*Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 434) has already suggested this identity :—"An author of a medical Nighaṇṭu or glossary, Indu by name is quoted not a few times by Kṣīrasvāmi attributed to the 2nd half of the 11th century in his reputed commentary on the *Amarakośa*. The *Nighaṇṭu* appears to have been lost but the name Indu is found to have been borne by a commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II. A Ms of Indu's commentary entitled *Śaśilekhā*, and perhaps the only one preserved, is in the Madras Government Collection (*Triennial Catalogue*, Madras, Vol. IV, Part I, Sanskrit B, p. 5142). That both the books are medical and that Indu is not a commonplace name amongst the Vaidyaka writers of ancient and early mediæval India tend to suggest that Indu, the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* is the same as the Commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. But Indu is after all, a familiar name to us as being that of the father of *Mādhavakara*, the celebrated author of the *Nidānasaṁgraha* and it may not improbably be that the writer of the above two works was but Indu, the father of Mādhava-Kara". As Mr. Das Gupta assigns Māhava-Kara to the "*Seventh Century*" his father

(*Continued on next page*)

Prof. Keith[1] regards the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṁhitā* of Vāgbhaṭa II as probably the work of a Buddhist. We have suggested earlier in this paper that Indu was most probably the disciple of Vāgbhaṭa II as he refers to him as "आचार्य" and "गुरवः ." If this position is accepted it is easy to understand the following passage in Indu's commentary:—

Vāgbhaṭa I in the *Sūtrasthāna* (chap. IV, p. 20) gives the following salutary advice:—

" सत्वाद्यवस्था विविधाश्च तास्ताः
सम्यक् समीक्ष्यात्महितं विदध्यात् ।
अन्योऽपि यः कश्चिदिहास्ति मार्गः
हितोपदेशेषु भजेत तं च ॥ "

Indu explains the above verse as follows :—

"सत्वरजस्तमसां नानाविधानवस्थाविशेषान् परीक्ष्यात्महितं करणीयम् । दुस्तरा हि धर्मप्रतिबन्धका रजस्तमोविकाराः । तथा **मनुबुद्धादिप्रणीतेषु हितोपदेशशास्त्रेषु** यो मार्गोऽस्ति तमपि सेवेत "

It will be seen from the above text and its explanation by Indu that though in the text there is no suggestion of Buddhist philosophy or religion Indu specifies the text reference to अन्य मार्ग by explaining it to refer to मनुप्रणीतशास्त्र or बुद्धप्रणीतशास्त्र. This specification can be properly explained if we regard Indu as the pupil of a Buddhist, though himself embracing the Hindu faith. This tolerance to Buddhism engendered by his reverence towards a Buddhist guru looks quite natural. Vāgbhaṭa I, however, includes धर्मशास्त्राणि among 108 auspicious things[2] which have nothing to do with Buddhist religion.

(*Continued from previous page*)

Indu, (as suggested by Mr. Das Gupta above) will have to be assigned to the *7th Century*. As against *8th or 9th Century* for Vāgbhaṭa II suggested by Dr. Hoernle Mr. Das Gupta suggests *7th Century at the latest* for Vāgbhaṭa II [Vide Vol. III (1929) p. 795 of *History of Indian Medicine* by Girindranath Mukharjee]. This line of argument will make ***Indu***, his son *Mādhava-Kara* and *Vāgbhaṭa II* as contemporary writers of the *7th Century*. Further as Indu criticizes ***Bhaṭṭāraka Haricandra*** in his *Śaśilekhā* Haricandra also may be a contemporary of Indu or some-what earlier than Indu. All these are, however, probabilities, which need to be verified by specialists in the field.

1. Vide p. 510 of *Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928.

2. Vide p. 84 of *Śārīrasthāna*, Chapt. XII — " ज्योतिषं, धर्मशास्त्राणि, तीर्थानि, काव्यं, धर्मार्थकामामृतं वालखिल्यादयः वेदवाक्यं......ॐकार पुण्याहधर्मक्रियाश्वेत-दष्टोत्तरं मङ्गलानां शतं दर्शनात् स्पर्शनात् कीर्तनाच्चाशुभानि व्यपोह्यार्थसिद्धिं दिशन्त्युत्तमाम् "

25. Date of Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara— Before A. D. 1297 ‡

Dr. Keith states in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* that Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* which describes 136 metres was written before the 15th century[1] and that Mallinātha uses this work.[2] Aufrecht states[3] that a commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was composed in A. D. 1545.

The date of Mallinātha, according to Prof. Handiqui is " the 15th century or the latter portion of the 14th as he wrote a commentary on Vidyādhara's *Ekāvali* in the first quarter of the 14th century."[4]

As Mallinātha uses the *Vṛttaratnākara* we shall have to put the date of *Vṛttaratnākara* earlier than the " latter portion of the 14th century " i. e. earlier than A. D. 1375.

It is proposed in the present note to push the date of the *Vṛttaratnākara* as far back as the 1st half of the 13th century i.e. by about 125 years or so on the basis of the following evidence:—

Caṇḍūpaṇḍita, one of the earliest commentators on the *Naiṣadhacarita* mentions *Vṛttaratnākara* in commenting on verse 76 of Canto X. His comment reads —

" वृत्तरत्नाकरे च द्वितीयाध्यायोक्तया जात्या तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमोक्तेन वृत्तेन भिद्यमानं द्विधाऽभवत् । "[5]

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‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XVI, pp. 143-144.

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928), p. 417.

2. Ibid, footnote 2. See also Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 124 b.

3. *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, p. 597a.

4. *Naiṣadha* (Punjab Ori. Series No. XXIII) 1934 — Intro. page XVIII.

5. Ibid, extract on p. 410.

Caṇḍūpaṇḍita gives his own date viz. Saṁvat 1353 or *A. D. 1297.*[1] This reference enables us to push back the date of *Vṛttaratnākara* as far back as A. D. 1250 or roughly the 1st half of the 13th century. The popularity of this work will be apparent from the fact that not less than 20 commentaries have been written on it[2] and that numerous copies of the work are extant in a manuscript form in different Manuscript libraries of the world.

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1. See my note in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* (April 1928) where I have corrected Bühler's error as he gave A. D. 1456-7 as the date of composition of Caṇḍū's commentary.

2. Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 495.

26. Date of Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara — Before A. D. 1000 ‡

In my note on the Date of Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara*,[1] a popular work on Sanskrit prosody, I tried to prove that the work was composed before A. D. 1250 in view of its being mentioned in Caṇḍūpaṇḍita's commentary on the *Naiṣadhacarita* (A. D. 1297). Subsequent to the publication of my note I have come across the following quotation from the work in Aruṇadatta's commentary called *Sarvāṅgasundarā* [2] on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II :-

Page 235 — " मात्रासमकं नवमोल्गान्तम् (मो लगोन्त्यः) "[3] (वृत्तरत्नाकरे अ. २।३२) ।

Page 236 -- " द्रुति विलम्बितमाह नभौ भरौ " (वृत्तरत्नाकरे [4] अ. ३।४९).

If the identification of these references as given by the learned Shastri is correct, we can push back the date of Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* to 1200 A. D., if not earlier.

According to Dr. Hoernle[5] Aruṇadatta flourished *about 1220 A. D.* and if we presume his reference to the *Vṛttaratnākara* as identified by the editor of the *Sarvāṅgasundarā* commentary as

‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XVII, pp. 397-399.

1. *Annals*, Vol. XVI, pp. 143-144.

2. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with the commentaries of Aruṇadatta and Hemādri, ed. by Paradkar Shastri of Akola, N. S. Press, Bombay (forms kindly supplied by the Editor) — pages 235, 236.

3. The bracketed variant is found in the Calcutta edition (1915) of the *Vṛttaratnākara*, p. 8.

4. Ibid, p. 14 — line 6 is exactly identical with the line quoted by Aruṇadatta.

5. Hoernle : *Osteology*, p. 17 of *Introduction*—The dates of Aruṇadatta and two of his successors as fixed by Dr. Hoernle are :—

(1) Aruṇadatta — about 1220 A. D.
(2) Vijayarakṣita — „ 1240 A. D.
(3) Vācaspati — „ 1260 A. D.

correct we may safely conclude that this work on prosody was composed earlier than 1150 A. D. Prof. Keith[1] states that the *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedārabhaṭṭa was composed *before 15th century*, while according to the evidence recorded in the present and earlier notes of mine it appears that the work must have been composed *before 12th century*, if not earlier. This work deals with 136 metres and is commented on by not less than 20 commentators as pointed out by me in my previous note on the subject.

Further evidence on the date of the *Vṛttaratnākara* is furnished by the commentary of Somacandra, which was composed in Saṁvat 1329 (= A. D. 1273)[2] as recorded by the author in a verse at the close of his commentary. The Govt. Mss Library at B. O. R. Institute, Poona, possesses a Ms of this commentary (No. 349 of 1884-86) but it does not contain the date of composition found recorded in the Ulwar Ms described by Peterson. Somacandra mentions Hemacandra on folio 17 of the B. O. R. I. Ms referred to above:—

" श्रुतिसुखकृदियमपि जगति
निजशिरउपगतवतिसति भवति खजा ।

शिखालक्षणे व्यत्ययरचिते खजा नाम छंदो भवतीति समासार्थः ॥

श्री हेमसूरयस्त्विदं छंदोद्वयं पादचतुष्ककलितं वदति । यथा प्रसृमरमरितरपतिवल-तिमिर निकरमतनुमपिगुरुणि . . . . .किरणततयइव विदधति चिरतरमवनिपति-तिलकतववरत्रिशिखाः ॥ १ ॥ etc."

It appears from the above extract that Hemasūri or Hemacandra has in one of his works dealt with the two lines of the *Vṛttaratnākara* viz. "श्रुतिसुख etc. " and "निजशिर etc." as stated by

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928), p. 417.

2. Vide *Extract 245* in Peterson's *Catalogue of* Ulwar *Mss*, p. 89. Somacandra records the date of his work in the following verse :—
" श्रीविक्रमनृपकाले नन्दकरकृपीटयोनिभूसंख्ये संवत् १३२९ समजनिरजोत्सवदिने वृत्तिरियंमुग्धबोधकरा ॥ ५ ॥ "

The above date of Somacandra's commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* has been included in the *Chronology of Indian Authors* by Nilamani Chakravarti published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III (1907), pp. 204-220. This is a supplement to M. Duff's *Chronology of India* and will be found very useful to students interested in Indian Chronology.

Somacandra. If this statement proves true on identification we may be in a position to push back the date of the *Vṛttaratnākara* before 1000 A. D., for the reason that Hemacandra[1] flourished between 1088 and 1172 A. D.

Later references to the *Vṛttaratnākara* especially in works, the chronology of which has been settled, will be found useful as they will show the authoritative character of the work. Hemādri, the author of a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, who is different from his namesake the author of *Āyurvedarasāyana* and *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, quotes the *Vṛttartanākara*[2] while commenting upon *Raghuvaṁśa* VI, 6. I have proved elsewhere[3] that Hemādri, the author of the *Raghuvaṁśadarpaṇa*, flourished in the 1st half of the 15th century. Mr. Nilamani Chakravarti in this *Chronology of Indian Authors*[4] records the following information about Rāmacandra Bhāratī's commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* composed in A. D. 1455 :—

"A. D. 1455 — One thousand ninehundred and ninety-nine years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha (according to Ceylonese calculation) Rāmacandra Bhāratī composed a commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara*. The author, who was a Bengal Brāhmaṇa, went to Ceylon ; converted by Parākrama Vāhu VI (A. D. 1410-1462) and was surnamed Bauddhāgama Cakravartin. He was an adept to the Mahāyāna School, a form of Buddhism, says Prof. Bendal, almost unknown in Ceylon, B. M. C. No. 429."



1. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 464.
2. Vide List I, p. 17 of S. P. Pandit's Edn. of the *Raghuvaṁśa*.
3. *Annals*, Vol. XIV, p. 126.
4. *Journ. A. S. B.* Vol. III, (1907) p. 208.

27. Vāgbhaṭa, the author of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya and his Commentators ‡

In response to the request of the learned editor (Vaidya Hari Shastri Paradkar Bhiṣagācārya of Akola) of the present edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṁhitā* I have collected in this short introduction some information about Vāgbhaṭa the author of this popular work on medicine. Incidentally I have recorded all possible information in a brief manner about the commentators of this work to enable the reader to understand the work of this author in its proper historical perspective. In the preparation of this introduction my outlook has been mainly historical rather than technical as I don't claim any knowledge of the practical side of Indian Medicine as represented in the present work. Further, my introduction is intended to indicate the present stage of research connected with the authorship, history and chronology of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and its commentators and consequently I have consistently refused to be dogmatic on these matters, some of which are still in an unsettled state. With these preliminary remarks about the method adopted by me in the following study I proceed with the subject proper.

I — AṢṬĀṄGAHṚDAYA AND ITS AUTHOR VĀGBHAṬA

The name **वाग्भट** is very commonly met with in the history of of Sanskrit literature.[1] We are here concerned with **वाग्भट** the

‡ Introduction to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938, pp. 1–12.

1. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* records the following names :—

Part I, p. 559 -- (1) वाग्भट father of तीमट (author of चिकित्साकलिका);

(2) वाग्भट minister of मालवेन्द्र, father of देवेश्वर (author of **कविकल्पलता**).

(3) वाग्भट author of a glossary of medical words called **बाहटनिघण्टु**.

(*Continued on next page*)

author of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता, which Dr. Hoernle[1] calls the "compendium of the Essence of the Octopartite science" and which may be distinguished[2] from the अष्टांगसंग्रह or the *summary*,

(*Continued from previous page*)

(4) वाग्भट, son of नेमिकुमार, the Jain author of works अलंकारतिलक, छंदोनुशासन and its commentary, वाग्भटालंकार, शृंगारतिलककाव्य;

(5) वाग्भट, son of सिंहगुप्त, grandson of वाग्भट, author of अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता, वमनकल्प, वाग्भटीय (on medicine).

(6) The following works are ascribed to वाग्भट but they may not be by the same author :— पदार्थचंद्रिका, भावप्रकाश, रसरत्नसमुच्चय (Ed. by Bapat, Anandashram Press, Poona, 1890 — 2nd edition, 1905) and शास्त्रदर्पण.

वृद्धवाग्भट is quoted in टोडरानंद and भावप्रकाश. A lexicon called वाग्भटकोश is quoted in मेदिनीकर.

(7) वाग्भट, author of वाग्भटालंकार.

There is also a work called वाग्भट्टमंडन (on न्याय) by नरहरिभट्ट, son of सहदेवभट्ट.

Part II, p. 132 - a work called वाग्भटस्मृतिसंग्रह is quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञवल्क्य.

Duff's *Chronology of India* (p. 136) has the following remarks about a वाग्भट who flourished in A. D. 1100 :— " The author वाग्भट, जैयमंगल, author of the कविशिक्षा and श्रीपाल author of वैरोचनपराजय flourished under Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, श्रीपाल being poet-laureate to him and his successor कुमारपाल "—Peterson *Report*, i, 68 ; Bhandarkar's *Report 1883–84*, 155-6 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, i, 295.

Further on page 201 *Vāgbhaṭa* is mentioned in the following entry :—

"*1260 A. D.* — The आयुर्वेदरसायन, a commentary on a medical work by वाग्भट and a commentary on बोपदेव's मुक्ताफल, a work on Vaishnava doctrines are also ascribed to him" i.e. हेमाद्रि, the author of the चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, who was श्रीकरणाधिप (chief secretary) to महादेव, the Yādava king of Devagiri.

1. *Osteology* (Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India, Part I) Oxford, 1907, p. 7.

2. Prof. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 510, accepts this distinction between the two writers of the same name वाग्भट.

author of which is another वाग्भट, sometimes called by the Indian commentators as "वृद्धवाग्भट" or वाग्भट, the elder. Dr. Hoernle names वृद्धवाग्भट as वाग्भट I, while the author of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता is styled by him as वाग्भट II. The अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता is based on the अष्टांगसंग्रह[1] and reproduces it copiously.

In the latter work वाग्भट I has tried to gather and amalgamate the more or less conflicting medical systems current in his time, especially those of चरक and सुश्रुत.[2]

1. अष्टांगहृदय, उत्तरस्थान, chapter 40, verse 82 (1st ed. vol. ii, p. 826) :--

" एतत्पठन् संग्रहबोधशक्तः स्वभ्यस्तकर्मा भिषगप्रकंप्यः ।
आकंपयत्यन्यविशालतंत्रकृताभियोगान् यदि तन्न चित्रम् ॥ ८२ ॥ "

2. Dr. P. C. Ray : *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I, Calcutta (1902), Introduction p. XIII--"Vāgbhaṭa, the epitomiser of Charaka and Suśruta mentions the works of Harita and Bhela, which were probably extant in his days." Burnell's *Tanjore Catalogue*, pt. I, pp. 63-65, contains a full analysis of *Bhelasaṁhitā*. Dr. Burnell remarks : "The most superficial comparison shows how much Vāgbhaṭa was indebted to this ancient work." *Page* xvi — "The Charaka, the Suśruta and the Bower MS and even the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa have more or less a common basis or substratum."

Page xviii —" Vāgbhaṭa in his *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* makes copious extracts both from the Charaka and the Suśruta. The latter must, therefore, have existed prior to the 9th century A. D. ....The Vāgbhaṭa and the Nidāna (of Mādhavakara) are simply summaries of Charaka and Suśruta and were written at a time when the latter had become very old and were, therefore, studied by few experts and their abstracts were likely to be prized by the general practitioners."

In the *Z. D. M. G.*, *Vol. 49*, *p. 184*, Roth observes— " Udoy Chand Dutt in his *Mate. Medica* describes the work as a methodical and orderly compilation from Charaka and Suśruta. I believe he is unjust to him ; Vāgbhaṭa, who, of course, draws upon Suśruta more is not so dependent " (trans. from German by my friend Dr. Hara Datta Sharma, M. A. Ph. D.).

Though वाग्भट II is known to all the medical men of India and his compendium of medicine and surgery (the अष्टांगहृदय) is widely studied by well-known medical practitioners, yet, not much information is available about his time, place and personality.

Some say that he is धन्वंतरि himself. He is identified by some with one of the fourteen gems obtained when the ocean was churned. In the आत्रेयसंहिता he is described as the great sage of the Kaliyuga.[1] Others regard him as the incarnation of गौतमबुद्ध. There is also a story current which describes him as a voluptuous Brahmin given to all sorts of revelries and lost in love with a low-caste woman. The medical writers like माधव, शार्ङ्गधर, चक्रदत्त and भावमिश्र look upon वाग्भट II as a great authority.[2]

Mr. Kunte records the following evidence to prove that वाग्भट II was not a Buddhist:—

(1). Though some of the opening salutations to the divisions of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता are addressed either to Buddha or some Buddhistic emblem we need not infer therefrom that वाग्भट II was of Buddhistic persuasion because three-fourths of these opening salutations are addressed to गजानन.

(2). In one place वाग्भट II shows his aversion to Buddhas and says—"न चैत्यं गच्छेत्", where the meaning of चैत्य is explained by the commentators as "Buddha temple" or the "place of worship of the Buddhas."

(3). In his precepts for the preservation of health वाग्भट II is a thorough Vedic Āryan and the मन्त्रs he recites are also Vedic.

For all the foregoing reasons Mr. Kunte thinks that वाग्भट II lived more under the *Vedic* than under *Buddhistic* or Brahmanical polity.

" Though a Vedic Ārya, Vāgbhaṭa was influenced considerably by the teachings of Gautama Buddha. He seems to have flourished when Buddhism had asserted its power while that of the Vedas had not totally declined."

1. " अत्रिः कृतयुगे चैव द्वापरे सुश्रुतो मतः।
कलौ वाग्भटनामा च etc."

2. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with Aruṇadatta's Comm., Ed. by A. M. Kunte, Bombay, 1880, Intro. pp. 5-6.

Mr. Ganesh Sharma in the उपोद्घात to his edition of the अष्टांगसंग्रह of वृद्धवाग्भट (p. 1) observes:—

" बुद्धाय तस्मै नमः'[1] इत्याद्युक्तत्वाद्वाग्भटो बौद्धमतानुयाय्यासीदिति केषांचिन्मतम् तत्तु न सम्यक् यतः " अर्च्चयेद्देवगोविप्रवृद्धवैद्यनृपातिथीन् ॥ अथर्वविहिता शांतिः प्रतिकूलग्रहार्चनम् ॥ मातरं पितरं देवान् वैद्यान्विप्रान् हरं हरिं । पूजयेच्छीलयेद्दानदमसत्यदयार्जवान् " ॥ इत्यादिवाग्भटवचनानुरोधात् बुद्धशब्दस्य ज्ञानवानिति अर्थपरत्वाच्च वाग्भटो वैदिकधर्मानुयायी ब्राह्मण आसीन्न बौद्धमतानुयायीत्यधिगम्यते ॥ "

As regards the parentage of वाग्भट II Mr. Kunte says it will be found in the last chapter of the उत्तरतंत्र of the अष्टांगसंग्रहसंहिता. The pertinent verse reads as under:—

" भिषग्वरो वाग्भट इत्यभून्मे
पितामहो नामधरोऽस्मि यस्य ।
सुतोऽभवत्तस्य च सिंहगुप्त-
स्तस्याप्यहं सिंधुषु जातजन्मा ॥ "[2]

"My grand-father's name was वाग्भट, I was given his name, my father was सिंहगुप्त, I was born in this country of the Sindhus."

Evidently in assigning the above parentage to the author of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता Mr. Kunte has presumed the identity of the author of the अष्टांगसंग्रह viz. वाग्भट I, and the author of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता viz. वाग्भट II. This identity may be wrong in view of the fact pointed out by Dr. Hoernle that वाग्भट II has based his work (अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता) on that of वाग्भट I or वृद्धवाग्भट (अष्टांगसंग्रह). Then again on p. 8 of his Introduction which contains Marathi translation of his remarks in English about वाग्भट's parentage he has wrongly substituted the words "अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता" instead of "अष्टांगसंग्रहसंहिता" the last chapter of which contains the verse "भिषग्वरो वाग्भट इत्यभूत्...... सिंधुषु जातजन्मा" as verified by us in the reference given by us in the foot-note from the edition of the अष्टांगसंग्रह of 1888. No edition of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता contains the verse in question.

1. Is this in अष्टांगसंग्रह or अष्टांगहृदय ? Mr. Kunte says it is in the अष्टांगहृदय. Perhaps Mr. Ganesh Sharma (1888) has based his remarks on Kunte's remarks of *1880*.

2. *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha*, Ed. by Ganesh Sharma, Bombay, 1888, p. 420.

Mr. Kunte also quotes the popular couplet describing Vāgbhaṭa's power and proficiency:—

" निदाने माधवः श्रेष्ठः सूत्रस्थाने तु वाग्भटः ।
शारीरे सुश्रुतः प्रोक्तः चरकस्तुचिकित्सिते ॥ "

As Mr. Kunte has presumed the identity of the two वाग्भटs he apparently makes the above verse applicable to वाग्भट, the author of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता. The couplet, however, is not clear on this point and it is doubtful whether by "वाग्भट" the couplet means वाग्भट I (or वृद्धवाग्भट) or वाग्भट II, who has based his treatise on that of वाग्भट I. This question can be solved if we can prove the antiquity of the couplet quoted by Mr. Kunte.

The colophons to the different chapters of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता of वाग्भट II are also misleading as regards the parentage of the author. For instance the colophon to the निदानस्थान on p. 850 of Vol. I of Kunte's edition of 1880 reads as under:—

" इति श्रीसिंहगुप्तसूनुवाग्भटविरचितायां अष्टांगहृदयसंहितायां तृतीयं निदानस्थानं समाप्तम् "

The " सिंहगुप्तसूनुवाग्भट " is evidently identical with वृद्धवाग्भट, the author of the अष्टांगसंग्रह and not of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता and the copyists in copying the MSS of the two works by authors of the name वाग्भट may have indiscriminately added the expression 'सिंहगुप्तसूनु' to the name of वाग्भट II, while in fact there is no verse in the body of the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता supporting this parentage[1] for वाग्भट II.

1 This parentage (सिंहगुप्तसूनु) is also found in the case of the author of the रसरत्नसमुच्चय which is also ascribed to वाग्भट in the Colophons of MSS of this work (cf. India Office MS. No. 2175 — *Des. Cata.* Part V, p. 967). In the indroductory verses of this work verse 9 clearly states that the author of the रसरत्नसमुच्चय is the son of Siṁhagupta (सिंहगुप्तसूनु) :—

" रसानामामयघ्नानां चिकित्सार्थोपयोगिनां ।
सूनुना सिंहगुप्तस्य रसरत्नसमुच्चयः ॥ ९ ॥ "

(Vide p. 967 of Part V *Ind. Office Cata.*).

If the above verse is a genuine part of the text we get three वाग्भटs with the same parentage (सिंहगुप्तसूनु) — a circumstance which

(*Continued on next page*)

Prof. Keith,[1] however, makes the following remarks about these two वाग्भटs :—

(1) "Both claim the same parentage in their works."

(2) "वृद्धवाग्भट is the son of सिंहगुप्त and grand-son of वाग्भट and his teacher was the Buddhist *Avalokita.*"

(3) The work of वृद्धवाग्भट was clearly used by the younger writer (author of अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता) whose *Metrical form* as contrasted with the prose mixed with verses of his predecessor (वृद्धवाग्भट) confirms his later date.

(4) वृद्धवाग्भट was clearly a Buddhist and he may reasonably be identified with a man referred to by I-tsing as the author of a compendium of the eight topics of medicine.

(5) वाहट is the Prākṛta form of वाग्भट and संघगुप्त is the Prākṛta form for सिंहगुप्त.

(6) The younger वाग्भट was very possibly a descendant of the older (वृद्धवाग्भट) though we have no proof for such a conjecture beyond the fact that it might explain their confusion.

(7) The अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता was probably the work of a Buddhist. It was translated into Tibetan and it could not be put more than a century after the अष्टांगसंग्रह.

(8) Both the वाग्भटs agree in citing चरक and सुश्रुत.

(*Continued from previous page*)

in itself is highly suspicious and raises doubts about the authenticity of this parentage ascribed to no less than three authors of the same name. According to Sir P. C. Ray the रसरत्नसमुच्चय is contemporaneous with Roger Bacon who died in A. D. 1294 (Vide p. lvi of *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1902). If this view is correct the author of the रसरत्नसमुच्चय cannot be identical with the author of the अष्टांगहृदय inspite of the alleged identity of name and parentage.

Mr. Durgashankar Kevalaram Shastri expresses the same view as above against the traditionally accepted view about the identity of the three Vāgbhaṭas (Vide foot-note 31 on p. 258 of *Prabandha Chintāmani*, Gujarati Trans. Bombay, 1934).

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 510.

Dr. P. C. Ray[1] regards Vāgbhaṭa, the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* as the highest medical authority next to Caraka and Suśruta. "In many parts of the Deccan the very names of Caraka and Suśruta were forgotten and Vāgbhaṭa is looked upon as a revealed author and this is one of the reasons which led Haas to conclude that the former succeeded and owed their inspiration to the latter."[2]

The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* contains little or nothing that is original. It is merely an epitome of the Caraka and the Suśruta with some gleanings from the works of Bhela and Hārita. In surgery alone the author introduces certain modifications and additions. Mineral and natural salts chiefly figure in the prescriptions along with vegetable drugs; mercury is incidentally mentioned but in such a perfunctory manner that it would not be safe to conclude that any compounds thereof are referred to. There are, however, a few metallic preparations recommended in it which would presuppose an advanced knowledge of chemical processes."

Regarding the religious faith of Vāgbhaṭa Dr. Ray observes :—"There is a tradition current among the learned Pandits of Southern India that Vāgbhaṭa, formerly a Brahmin, was persuaded by a Buddha priest to adopt his religion which he embraced in the latter part of his life.[3]

The internal evidence also fully supports our author's proclivities towards Buddhism."

Date of Vāgbhaṭa II

The Chinese pilgrim I'tsing speaks of a compiler of the eight divisions of the Āyurveda :—"These eight parts formerly existed in eight books, but lately a man epitomised them and made them into one bundle.".[4]

This reference may give us some idea about the date of

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1. *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I (1902), Intro. pp. xvi-xvii.

2. Z. D. M. G. Vol. 31, p. 649.

3. Preface to *Vaidyakaśabdasindhu*, p. 6.

4. I'Tsing : *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, Trans. by Takakusu, p. 128.

Vāgbhaṭa, the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, presuming that I'tsing alludes to Vāgbhaṭa II in the foregoing lines.

Dr. P. Cordier thinks that Vāgbhaṭa lived at the time of king Jayasiṁha (1196-1218 A. D.) on the authority of the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* but this view is untenable as observed by Dr. Ray because Kalhaṇa's dates are not always reliable.

"Cosma de koros was the first to announce that the Thibetan Tanjur contains among others, translations of the Charaka, the Suśruta and the Vāgbhaṭa." [1]

" George Huth who has critically examined the contents of the Tanjur concludes that the most recent date at which this Tanjur can be placed is *8th century A. D.*[2] This is in agreement with the fact that the Vāgbhaṭa was one of the medical works translated by order of the Caliphs. But no positive information as regards the most distant date is yet available.[3] Kunte from internal evidence is inclined to place him at least as early as the second century before Christ."

According to Dr. Hoernle[4] Vāgbhaṭa II or the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* belongs to 8th or 9th century A. D. At any rate he is not later than 1060 A. D., the date of Cakrapāṇidatta.

The grounds on which Dr. Hoernle bases his chronology for Vāgbhaṭa II may be briefly stated as under:—

(1) Vāgbhaṭa I, according to Dr. Hoernle may be assigned to early seventh century or *about 625 A. D.*[5]

(2) Mādhava, Dṛḍhabala and *Vāgbhaṭa* II are all of them posterior to Vāgbhaṭa I.

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, xxxvii, (1835).

2. Z. D. M. G , T. lxis, pp. 279-284.

3. Regarding the bibliography of Vāgbhaṭa see two short monographs by Dr. Palmyr Cordier ; also Julius Jolly ; Zur Quellenkunde der Indischen Medicin, I. 'Vāgbhaṭa,' Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges. LIV pp. 260-74.

4. *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, Intro. p. 16.

5. Ibid, Intro. p. 11.

(3) *Mādhava* cites *Vāgbhaṭa* by name[1] and also quotes from him anonymously. *Dṛḍhabala*, though he does not name Vāgbhaṭa I as his authority, quotes from him very frequently.[2]

(4) Mādhava, *Dṛḍhabala* and *Vāgbhaṭa* II are anterior to *Cakrapāṇidatta* whose date is about 1060 A. D.

Cakrapāṇidatta names Dṛḍhabala and[3] quotes him as the author of the last section (सिद्धिस्थान) of Caraka's compendium[4]. Vāgbhaṭa II is quoted many times by name in Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary on Caraka's compendium.[5]

Mādhava is anterior to Cakrapāṇidatta as he precedes[6] both Dṛḍhabala and Vāgbhaṭa II. These three authors, according to Dr. Hoernle, must be placed somewhere between the 7th and 11th centuries A. D.

(5) According to evidence collected by Prof. Jolly[7] the Arabic sources point to *7th or 8th century* for *Mādhava* and the Tibetan and other sources point to *8th or 9th century* for *Vāgbhaṭa* II.[8] Dṛḍhabala takes his place between Mādhava and Vāgbhaṭa II. In any case none of these authors (Mādhava, Dṛḍhabala and Vāgbhaṭa II) can be later than c. *1060 A. D.*, the date of Cakrapāṇidatta.

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1. By name in *Siddhayoga* i, 27. Cf. *Saṁgraha* vol. ii. p. 1, line 8. Quoted in *Nidāna* (ed. Jiv.) ii, 22, 23; cf. *Saṁgraha* vol. i p. 266, lines 2-5.

2. See *Osteology*, Intro. p. 12, foot-note 2.

3. See Cakrapāṇidatta's Comm. in Tubingen MS No. 463, fol. 534.b

4. See *Osteoloy*, Intro. p. 12, *foot-note 5.*

5. Ibid, *foot-note* 6.

6. See *Osteology*, p. 13.

7. Indian Medicine, § 5, 6, pp. 7-9.

8. *Osteology*, Intro. p. 16.

II — COMMENTARIES ON THE AṢṬĀṄGAHṚDAYA OF VĀGBHAṬA

The popularity of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* as a work of highest medical authority next to *Caraka* and *Suśruta* found for it many commentators of repute. Many MSS of their commentaries are now available in several public libraries in India and outside. It would, however, be useful to record here a complete list of these commentaries and the MS material available with regard to each of them in the different libraries :—

(1) *Aruṇadatta's Sarvāṅgasundarī* [1]

(2) *Hemādri's Āyurvedarasāyana.* [2]

(3) Commentary by *Āśādhara.* [3]

1. Aufrecht records the following MSS in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* :—

Part I, *35-36* — Comm. on *Sūtrasthāna* I. O. 985; on *Śārīrasthāna* B. 4, 218 ; on *Nidānasthāna* B. 4, 218 ; on *Cikitsāsthāna* B. 4. 218 ; on *Kalpasthāna*—B. 4. 218 and I. O. 2445; W. p, 280, 281 ; Oxf. , 303^b; K. 222 ; Bik 629 ; Rādh 32 ; Burnell 65^a; P. 15.; Taylor 1. 254 ; Oppert I, 2730, 8328, II, 6493 ; Peters 3, 399 ; I. O. 985.

Part II, *p. 7* — Stein 181 (adhyāyas 1-30, and *Uttarasthāna* 8-16).

Part III p. 8 — BC. 12 ; Tb. 150 (*Uttarasthāna*).

Aufrecht records the name of the commentary as *Sarvāṅgasundarī* while in the present edition Pt. Paradkar Shastri adopts the name *Sundarā*. Presumably this reading must have some MS basis.

2. Aufrecht in his *Cata. Catalogorum* records the following MSS :—

Part I, *p. 36* — W. p. 280 ; K. 210; Bik 632 ; Rādh. 32; and p. 773 NP. I, 14 ; Bhr'366 ; Oppert 2758 ; Peters 2, 196 ; BP. 86, 274, 373 ; Oppert 4092.

Part II, *p.* 7 — BL 245 (*Sūtrasthāna*) ; IO 927—(-Do-) Stein 181 (*Sūtrasthāna* 1-7).

Part III, *p. 9* — Hpr. 2, 266 ; Tb. 151 (*Sūtrasthāna*).

3. Aufrecht makes the following entry in his *Cata. Catalogorum* re. Āśādhara :—

(*Continued on next page*)

(4) *Candracandana's Padārthacandrikā.*[1]

(5) Commentary by *Rāmanātha*[2]

(6) Commentary by *Ṭoḍaramalla*[3]

(7) A Commentary called *Pathya.*[4]

(*Continued from previous page*)

Part I, p. 36 — Peters. 2, 86 — Peterson does not record any MS but only mentions that Āśādhara wrote a commentary called *Uddyota* on Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya.* This commentary is one of the eleven works of Āśādhara recorded by Peterson. Ā. was a Jain teacher who lived in A. D. 1240 (= Saṁvat 1296). His native country was *Sapādalakshaya.* Owing to this country being overrun by Mleccha King, Ā. ran for safety to Mālavā and took refuge in Dhārā, where he was received with enthusiasm by (the lord of poets) Bilhaṇa, the chief minister of Vijayavarma, the king of Mālavā. The foregoing information is recorded in a valuable praśasti to the *Dharmāmṛta* of Āśādhara, 2 MSS of which are available in the Govt. MSS library at the B. O. R. Institute. Peterson calls Āśādhara as "Jain admirable Crichton."

As Āśādhara was a very learned commentator and was apparently a senior contemporary of Hemādri (about 1260 A. D.) his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* must have been a valuable one. Aufrecht, however, records no MSS of this commentary. If any MSS are found they will prove a valuable addition to the commentarial literature on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya.*

1 See Aufrecht : *Cata Catalo.* Part III, p. 9. The correct name of this commentator is चंद्रनंदन (see Cordier in *Journ. Asia.* 1901, p. 185).

Aufrecht records the following MSS. in his *Cata. Catalogorum :—*

Part I, p. 36—K. 214; Peters. 1. 113.

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 36 – I, O. 985 ; N. W. 584.

3. Ṭodaramalla was the Hindu financier of Emperor Akbar (1556–1605)—See *Imp. Gaze.* (1928-New Edition) vol. II, p. 399.

Cata. Catalogorum, Part II, p. 7 — Nidānasthāna and comm. by Toḍaramalla, Peters. 3, 39.

4. See *Cata. Catalogorum.* Part III, p. 8 — BC. 395.

(8) A Commentary called *Hṛdayaprabodhikā*.[1]

(9) A Commentary by *Bhaṭṭa Narahari*[2] or Nṛsiṁhakavi.

(10) *Saṁketamañjarī* by Dāmodara.[3]

Of the ten commentaries mentioned above we are concerned at present with those of *Aruṇadatta* and *Hemādri* which have been printed in this edition along with the text of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. Several editions[4] of the text have been published but the commentaries on the same with the exception of that of Aruṇadatta have not been published so far. In the present edition Pt. Paradkar Shastri of Akola has included the unpublished commentary of *Hemādri* with different readings of the text and both the commentaries from 20/25 MSS procured from different places. The readings of the text (*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṁhitā*) have been carefully checked and verified by him with reference to the text of the *Carakasaṁhitā*, *Suśrutasaṁhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha*. The text of Hemādri's commentary on the *Nidānasthāna* and the *Cikitsāsthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* has been based only on a single rare MS procured with great difficulty by Pt. Paradkar Shastri. A close student of the present edition will also find in the elaborate footnotes, extracts

1. See *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part III, p. 8—BC. 279 (inc) Part I, p. 36—The *Bālaprabodhikā* and *Hṛdayaprabodhikā* commentaries are mentioned - *Burnell 65*^{a}.

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part III, p. 8—*Vāgbhaṭa Khaṇḍanamaṇḍana* by Bhaṭṭa Narahari or Nṛsiṁhakavi, son of Bhaṭṭa Śivadeva (Cordier in *Journal Asiatique*, 1901, p. 187).

3. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 773 - W. p. 281 (fr.).

4. The following editions of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* have been published so far :—

(i) By *Pandit Jīvānanda Vīdyāsāgara*, Calcutta, Sarasvati Press, 1882.

(ii) - Do - 2nd edition, 1890.

(iii) By *Ganesh Sakharam Śarma*, Bombay, 1889, (Ganpat Krishnaji Press).

(iv) By *Shankar Daji Shastri Pade*, N. S. Press 1900, Bombay.

(v) By *Anna Moreshwar Kunte* — text with comm. of Aruṇadatta - 2 vols. Ganpat Krishnaji Press, Bombay, 1880.

(vi) Fourth Edition, 1st vol. - Bombay, 1912, N. S. Press.

from the MSS of the unpublished commentaries of the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* like the *Padārthacandrikā* of Candranandana and the commentary by Ṭoḍarmalla etc.

Pt. Paradkar Shatri has tried his best to make the present edition as much scholarly as possible. All students of the history of Indian Medicine should, therefore, be grateful to him and the N. S. press for bringing out the present edition involving much scholarly labour and expense.

Aruṇadatta

Aruṇadatta was the son of Mṛgāṅkadatta.[1] Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta[2] includes this commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* among the *Vaidyaka* works of Bengal in the Early Mediaeval period and observes :— " Probably to the early part of the thirteenth century belonged Aruṇadatta, son of Mṛgāṅkadatta and the author of a learned commentary on the *Aśṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II. A commentary on the *Suśruta Saṁhitā* is also ascribed to him (*Cata. of Sans. MSS in the Private Libraries* of the N. W. Prov. part I, Benares, 1874, 586). An Aruṇadatta is found quoted, as a lexicographer and grammarian in Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on the *Amarakośa* (1431 A. D.) (*R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on Search of Sanskrit MSS*, 1883–84, p. 467) as also in the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* commentary on the same by Sarvānanda-Vandyaghaṭīya (1159 A.D.), but whether he is not different from the physician Aruṇadatta is very difficult to divine at present. One of the theories of the latter, however, regarding the structure of the eye is controverted by Vijaya-Rakṣita (c. 1240 A.D.) whence Dr. Hoernle assigns him to about 1220 A. D. (Hoernle: *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, Part I (*Osteology*), p. 17)."

Aufrecht[3] records the following namesakes of Aruṇadatta:—

1. The colophons of the different chapters of the commentary record the name मृगाङ्कदत्त (cf. श्रीमृगाङ्कदत्तपुत्रश्रीमदरुणदत्तविरचितायां अष्टांग-हृदयटीकायां) while in verse 3 of chapter I of his commentary he gives his father's name as मृगाङ्क :—

" श्रीमन्मृगाङ्कतनयष्टीकामष्टाङ्गहृदयस्य ।
श्रीमानरुणः कुरुते सम्यग्द्रष्टुः पदार्थबोधाय ॥ ३ ॥ "

2. See his article on "*The Vaidyaka Works of Bengal in the early Medieval Period*" (Indian Culture, Vol. II, No. 1, page 159).

3. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 30.

"अरुणदत्त — lexicographer and grammarian. Quoted by Ujjvaladatta and Rāyamukuṭa. See *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, p. 119.

अरुणदत्त — *Manuṣyālaya Candrikā*, archi. Oppert 2658, 2942, 6108."

As Ujjvaladatta's Vṛtti on the Uṇādisūtras of Pāṇini has been assigned by Aufrecht[1] to *circa 1250*, Aruṇadatta, the lexicographer and grammarian must have flourished before A. D. 1250.

The question of the identity of the namesakes of Aruṇadatta is still a matter for investigation and the only fact about which we are certain is that three persons of the same name viz. Aruṇadatta, wrote on four different subjects viz. Medicine, Lexicography, grammar and architecture.

The relative chronology of Arūṇadatta and two of his successors who were not far removed from him in point of time has been given by Dr. Hoernle[2] on evidence which is as follows:—

(1) *Vācaspati* wrote a commentary called *Ātaṅka Darpaṇa* (i.e. Mirror of Diseases) on the *Nidāna* (Pathology) of Mādhava.

(2) *Vijayarakṣita* and his pupil *Śrīkaṇṭhadatta* jointly wrote a commentary called *Madhukoṣa* (Receptacle of Honey) on the *Nidāna* of Mādhava.

(3) *Vācaspati* states in verse 4 of his Introduction to the *Ātaṅkadarpaṇa* that he consulted the *Madhukoṣa* for the purpose of writing his own commentary.

(4) *Vijayarakṣita* controverts a certain doctrine of Aruṇadatta regarding the structure of the eye (see *Ātaṅkadarpaṇa*, *Uttarasthāna*, chapter xii, verse 1 of 1st Ed. Vol. ii, p. 516).

(5) *Vācaspati* states in verse 5 of his Introduction that his father Pramoda was chief physician at the court of Muhammad Hammīra, who is identical with the celebrated Muhamad Ghori who reigned in Delhi from 1193 to 1205 A. D.

(6) *Vijayarakṣita* quotes Guṇākara[3] who wrote the *Yogaratnamālā* in 1239 A. D. (See verse 7 on page 68 of Jīvānanda's Ed.).

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1. Belvalkar : *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915, p. 54.
2. *Osteology*, Intro. p. 17.
3. *Peterson's Report 1886–92*, p. xxvi.

On the basis of the above evidence Dr. Hoernle concludes that—

(i) Aruṇadatta flourished about 1220 A. D.
(ii) Vijayarakṣita ,, ,, 1240 A. D.
(iii) Vācaspati ,, ,, 1260 A. D.

Hemādri

Hemādri's name is familiar to us on account of his ***magnum opus*** viz. the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* which Prof. Keith[1] describes as " written between 1260 and 1309 for Yādava princes." In this book Hemādri " sets out in enormous detail rules of vows and offerings, pilgrimages, the attainment of release, and offerings to the dead. This text is exceptionally rich in Smṛti citations in extenso..."

Aufrecht[2] makes the following entries about Hemādri and his works in his Catalogue:—

"हेमाद्रि - Son of Kāmadeva, son of Vāsudeva, son of Vāmana, lived under king Mahādeva (1260-71) of Devagīri, son of Caitrapāla and under his successor Rāmacandra (1271-1309). See *Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa*, 1, p. 4. He is quoted for the first time by Vopadeva, then in the *Kālamādhava* and *Madanapārijāta*."

His works :- (1) *Āyurvedarasāyana*.
(2) *Kaivalyadīpikā* (*Muktāphalaṭīkā*).
(3) *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*.
(4) Comm. on Śaunaka's *Praṇavakalpa*.
(5) *Śrāddhapaddhati*.
(6) *Hemādriprayoga*.
(7) *Nānāśāntayaḥ* (from *Śāntikhaṇḍa*).

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1. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 448.

2. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 768 and Part III, p. 52.

2 Mr. K. A. Padhye gives the following works as Hemādri's :—
(1) *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*.
(2) *Kālanirṇaya*.
(3) *Kālanirṇaya Saṅkṣepa*.

(*Continued on next page*)

This Hemādri is different from भट्टहेमाद्रि, son of ईश्वरसूरि, author of *Raghuvaṁśadarpaṇa* (commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*).[1]

A work called त्रिस्थलीविधि on *dharma* by Hemādri (AK. 437) has also been recorded by Aufrecht.

In the commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* viz. the *Āyurvedarasāyana*, Hemādri gives in the first nine verses some information[2] about himself. He calls himself Hemādri, the author of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (v. 2). For the proper performance of the vows etc. mentioned in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* good health is necessary and the commentary *Āyurvedarasāyana* has been written with a view to facilitate the attainment of such good health. This commentary

(*Continued from previous page*)

(4) *Tithinirṇaya.*
(5) *Kaivalyadīpikā.*
(6) *Āyurvedarasāyana.*
(7) *Dānavākyāvalī.*
(8) *Parjanyaprayoga.*
(9) *Pratiṣṭhā.*
(10) *Lakṣaṇasamuccaya.*
(11) *Hemādrinibandha.*
(12) *Tristhalavidhi.*
(13) *Arthakāṇḍa.*

Vide *Life of Hemādri* (Bombay 1931), p. 33.

1. See my note XV on the *Date of Hemādri's commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa* in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. XIV, pp. 126–28. Bhaṭṭa Hemādri in his commentary on Canto XIII, 52 and Canto VII, 37, 51 of the Raghuvaṁśa, mentions the चतुर्वर्गचिंतामणि. As Bhaṭṭa Hemādri quotes from the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra (between 1350 and 1400) his commentary has been assigned by me to the *first half of the 15th century.*

2. See also *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith (1924), p. 452 —" The celebrated Sanskrit writer Hemādri popularly known as Hemāḍapant flourished during the reigns of Rāmacandra and his predecessor Mahādeva. He devoted himself chiefly to the systematic redaction of Hindu religious practices and observances and with this object compiled important works upon Hindu sacred law. He is alleged although erroneously to have introduced a form of current script, the Moḍī, from Ceylon and has given a valuable historical sketch of his patron's dynasty in the introduction to one of his books."

follows the views of earlier medical writers viz. चरक, हारीत, सुश्रुत and others (v. 3). It does not repeat what has already been said by commentators like हरिचन्द्र and others on Caraka and जेज्जट and others on Suśruta (v 4). Hemādri also mentions his relation with his patron king Rāmacandra of Devagiri (verses 5 and 6).

It appears from the above account that Hemādri's *Āyurveda-rasāyana* is later than his work *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* as the latter is referred to in the former. This reference gives us the relative chronology of the two works. Prof. P. V. Kane[1] assigns the composition of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* to a period of ten years (1260 to 1270 A. D.) because in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* Hemādri is said to be the keeper of the state records of Mahādeva, who reigned from 1260-1271 A. D. Prof. Kane further observes:—"There are contemporary records available showing that Hemādri was in high favour not only with Mahādeva but also with his successor Rāmacandra."

These remarks receive additional corroboration from the following two verses in the beginning of the *Āyurvedarasāyana*:—

" देशभ्रंशभयाद्विचाल्य लयिनः स्नेहैः प्रतापैः परं
प्रद्राव्य प्रसृतान् प्रवेश्य परितो दुर्गोदरं द्राक्तः ।
ऊर्ध्वाधोगति निर्गमय्य मदनैर्दंन्त्यादिभिर्विद्विषो
दोषानद्रढि रामराज्यमगदङ्कारेण हेमाद्रिणा ॥ ५ ॥

हेमाद्रिर्नाम रामस्य राज्ञः श्रीकरणेष्वधि ।
ननूभौ भगवन्निष्ठषाड्गुण्यकरणेष्वधि ॥ ६ ॥ "

The above verses clearly refer to the eminent position Hemādri held under King Rāmacandra of Devagiri (1271-1309 A.D.). Evidently the *Āyurvedarasāyana* must have been composed between 1271-1309 A. D. when as a minister of Rāmacandra he strived for the solidarity of the kingdom. The exact date of composition of the *Āyurvedarasāyna* must, however, await further investigation, because no MSS of the complete commentary of Hemādri on all

1. *History of Dharmaśāstra Literature*, Vol. I, 1930, p. 357 — "The Thana plate of Rāmacandra (dated Śaka 1194 i.e. 1272 A. D.) ...describes Hemādri as one who had attained a pre-eminent position in the government through the favour of Rāmacandra and as one who was in charge of all state records and was the foremost minister" (समस्तकरणाधिपत्यमङ्गीकुर्वाणे च निर्जितझाडिमण्डले मन्त्रिचूडामणौ गुणरत्नरोहणाद्रौ हेमाद्रौ etc.")

the sthānas of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* have yet been made available to the editor of the present edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.

For more information about Hemādri and the Yādavas of Devagiri we have to invite the attention of our readers to section 87 of Prof. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (pp. 354-359) from which the following lines are noteworthy :—

"Hemādri also wrote a commentary called *Āyurvedarasāyana*. ...Altogether Hemādri was a towering personality. His name is associated throughout the Maratha country with the construction of numerous temples having a peculiar style of architecture. He is also credited with having invented the Moḍī script."

Mr. K. A. Padhye has also published a *Life of Hemādri*[1] (in Marathi) which is replete with information about Hemādri and his times and can, therefore, be read with profit. In particular chapter II, which deals with Hemādri's literary productions will be found interesting. In his remarks about *Āyurvedarasāyana* (1) Mr. Padhye refers to Mr. Kunte's statement that Hemādri wrote a commentary on the *Sūtrasthāna* and *Kalpasthāna* and then (2) throws out a suggestion that some contemporary learned physician patronized by Hemādri may have written the *Āyurvedarasāyana*. (3) Mr. Padhye also states that Aruṇadatta in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* does not refer to Hemādri. With regard to these remarks of Mr. Padhye we have to observe as follows:—

(1) The present editition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* contains Hemādri's commentary not only on the *Sūtrasthāna* and *Kalpasthāna* but on some portion of the *Cikitsāsthāna* and *Nidānasthāna* also, though it is difficult to find MSS of the commentary for other *sthānas*. Perhaps a thorough search for these MSS will have to be made before concluding that Hemādri did not complete his commentary on all the parts of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. Mr. Kunte's statement was obviously made in 1880 on a partial survey of MSS material for this commentary, when Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* (1891-1903) was not available to him.

(2) As Aruṇadatta has been assigned to about 1220 A. D. and as Hemādri flourished between 1260 and 1309 A. D. the absence of any reference to Hemādri in Aruṇadatta's commentary pointed out by Mr. Padhye is easily explained. On the contrary Hemādri men-

1. *Life of Hemādri*, February 1931 (Bombay).

tions Aruṇadatta (vide p. 136 — " मधु-क्षौद्रम् 'माद्वीकम्' इति अरुणदत्तः " and " मैरेयो...'खर्जुरासवः' इति अरुणदत्तः.").

(3) The hypothesis of a learned physician writing the *Āyurvedarasāyana* for his patron Hemādri is contradicted by Hemādri's own statement in the introductory verses of *Āyurvedarasāyana* published in the present edition (verses 2 and 8) wherein he clearly states that Hemādri, the author* of* the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* composed this commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and if Mr. Padhye does not doubt Hemādri's authorship of his work on Dharmaśāstra he cannot in fairness to the versatile intellect of Hemādri doubt his authorship of a work on Vaidyaka. In addition to the statement regarding authorship made in the introductory verses we find the following verse at the end of his commentary on verse 105 of chapter 6 of the *Sūtrasthāna* wherein two readings in the text are discussed quite in the style of a modern textual critic (page 108) :—

" बहुभिः पठ्यमानस्य पाठस्येयं समर्थना ।
हेमाद्रिणा कृता किन्तु तुण्डालुरिति पठ्यताम् ॥ "

Then again at the end of his commentary on different chapters of the text we find the following statement repeated:—

" इति हेमाद्रिटीकायामायुर्वेदरसायने etc."

Since this Introduction was written two publications pertaining to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* have been published. One of these is a German Translation of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṁhitā* by Luise Hilgenburg and Wilibald Kirfel, which is being published in fascicules by the firm of E. J. Brill of Leiden (Holland). Up to now four fascicules (pp. 1 to 256) have been published. The Translators have given at times some Text-Critical notes which may be useful for a subsequent Critical edition of the Saṁhitā.—The other work is The *Ashtanga Hridaya Kosha* by K. M. Vaidya of Valapad (South Malbar) 1936. This is a Dictionary of technical terms used in the text of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṁhitā*. (For a detailed notice of this Kośa vide The *Oriental Literary Digest*, Poona (May 1938 issue), Columns 5–7).

28. The Chronology of Brahmadeva's Commentary on the Siddhayoga of Vṛnda-Between c. A. D. 900 and 1100 ‡

Aufrecht makes the following entries about a *dharmaśāstra* author of the name Brahmadeva:—

CC I, 83 — ' कर्मविपाक *dh* by ब्रह्मदेव B. 3. 74.'

He also mentions a work on medicine called the कर्मविपाक in the following entry:—

CC I, 83 — ' कर्मविपाक *med* B. 4. 220. Radh 31.'

In the above entry the author of the कर्मविपाक is not indicated but it is possible that it may be the work of a medical author of the name ब्रह्मदेव about whom I want to record the following information:—

Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (*c. A. D. 1275-1300*) pupil of विजयरक्षित (*c. 1240 A. D.*)[1] refers to an author ब्रह्मदेव in his व्याख्याकुसुमावली[2] on वृन्दमाधव or सिद्धयोग in the following quotations:—

P. 9 — " अथ श्रीब्रह्मदेवव्याख्या — लङ्घनशब्द उपवासपर्यायो ननु वमनविरेचनानुवासनादिपर्यायः । "

P. 12 — " यः सामावस्थायां मारुतज्वरो यक्ष्मज्वरश्च स लङ्घनीय इति ब्रह्मदेवडल्हणौ ॥ ३२ ॥ "

P. 18 — " अत्र शुण्ठ्यतिक्ताऽप्यामाशयसमुत्थे ज्वरे पाचनत्वाद्धितेति श्री-ब्रह्मदेवः "

‡ *Indian Culture*, Vol. XI, pp. 36-39.

1. Vide p. 17 of Hoernle : *Osteology*, London, 1907.

2. Pub. Ānandāśrama Series No. 27, Poona, 1894. One नारायण भिषज् completed the व्याख्याकुसुमावली of Śrīkaṇṭhadatta as stated by him in the three verses at the end of the edition. I shall prove in a special paper that नारायण भिषज् flourished between *c*. A. D. 1350 and 1400. It is difficult to say whether the references to ब्रह्मदेव in the व्याख्याकुसुमावली are made by श्रीकण्ठदत्त or by नारायण भिषज् .

P. 30 — " यद्यप्येवं तथाऽपि वृद्धवैद्या गुडप्रक्षेपं न मन्यन्त इति ब्रह्मदेवव्याख्या "

P. 73 — " श्रीब्रह्मदेवस्तु व्याख्यानयति —

" संग्राहि स्तम्भनाद्भिन्नं यथा तदभिदध्महे ॥
आग्नेयगुणभूयिष्ठं तोयं संपरिशोषयेत् ॥
संगृह्णाति मलं तत्स्याद्ग्राहि शुण्ठ्यादयो यथा ॥
समीरगुणभूयिष्ठं शीतत्वाद्यन्नभस्वतः ॥
विधाय वृद्धिं स्तभ्नाति स्तम्भनं तद्यथा वटः ॥ २३ ॥"

P. 272 — " षडंशमिति पाठे षडंशा यस्मिन्घृते तत्षडंशं घृतं षट्पलमिति श्रीब्रह्मदेवः "

P. 309 — " उक्तं च —

' नवत्वात्सुरपुराणाश्च संख्याविभागयोजनैः ।
परिमाणाकृतिभ्यां च विशिष्टा शक्तिरिष्यते ॥ '

इति ब्रह्मदेवः "

P. 360 — " दुष्टव्रणविहितं तैलं राजवृक्षादि सुरसादिकषाये कृतं तैलमिति ब्रह्मदेवः"

P. 501 — " लता दूर्वा मञ्जिष्ठा वा । प्रियंगुरिति ब्रह्मदेवः । "

P. 516 — " अत्र श्रीब्रह्मदेवव्याख्यानम् — श्रेष्ठानां रसादीनां शुक्रान्तानां धातूनामयनमाप्यायनम् । अथवा भेषजाश्रितानां रसवीर्यविपाकप्रभावाणामायुर्वर्णवीर्यदार्ढ्यवयःस्थैर्यकराणामयनं लाभोपायो रसायनं वर्धकं स्थापकमप्राप्तप्रापकं चेति । "

P. 522 — " ब्रह्मदेवस्त्वेवं वक्ति — वाजीकरणं त्रिविधं जनकं प्रवर्तकं जनकप्रवर्तकं चेति । तत्र जनकं मांसघृतादिकं यद्रसादिधातुक्रमेण परिणतं प्रधानधातुपुष्टिं करोति । प्रवर्तकमुच्चटाचूर्णादिकं शुक्रविरेचनकम् । न च तस्य वैरेचनिकत्वेन शुक्रक्षयकारित्वं स्याद्यतो विरेचनं शुक्रस्य पातनायाभिमुखीभावमात्रकरणम् । जनकप्रवर्तकं तु गव्यघृतगोधूममाषकाकाण्डफलादिकम् । "

P. 566 — " अत्र श्रीब्रह्मदेवव्याख्या — दोषान्निर्हरति इति निरूहः । etc."

P. 573 — " अथ श्रीब्रह्मदेवव्याख्यानम् — दत्वाऽऽदौ सैन्धवस्याक्षं मधुनः प्रसृतद्वयमित्यादिके द्वादशप्रसृते बस्तौ सामान्येन भेषजमभिधाय तन्मान्तरार्थतो व्याख्याकारो विशेषमाह । etc."

P. 574 — " ब्रह्मदेवाचार्यस्तु एण्या हृदमैणेयं न पुनरेणस्येदं तत्रैणेयमिति प्रयोगो न स्यात् । "

P. 583 — " मान्द्यं ह्रस्वत्वमभिप्रेतं न पुनः श्लेष्मोपहतस्येव मान्द्यमिति । इति श्रीब्रह्मदेवः "

P. 599 — " तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठाग्रमात्रं ग्राह्यं चूर्णं मुच्चूटीमात्रमिति ब्रह्मदेवः "

It appears from the foregoing quotations that a commentary on the सिद्धयोग by a writer of the name ब्रह्मदेव was in existence, say, between A. D. 1250 and 1350 as it is mentioned and quoted from by either Śrīkaṇṭhadatta or Nārāyaṇabhiṣaj in the कुसुमावलीव्याख्या on सिद्धयोग. This commentary has not been mentioned by Aufrecht and hence it would be worth while tracing quotations from it in sources prior to Śrīkaṇṭhadatta's time.

Hemādri, the minister of King Rāmacandra of Devagiri (A. D. 1271-1309), composed a commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II called the *Āyurvedarasāyana*,[1] in which we find the following reference[2] to ब्रह्मदेव:—

" आसवस्य सुरायाश्च द्वयोरप्येकभाजने ।
सन्धानं तद्विजानीयान्मैरेयमुभयात्मकम् ॥

इति जेज्जटो ब्रह्मदेवश्च । "

Possibly the author of the name ब्रह्मदेव quoted from and mentioned by Hemādri is identical with his namesake, the author of a commentary on the सिद्धयोग mentioned by the authors of the *Kusumāvalī-vyākhyā*. If this suggestion is accepted we are warranted in concluding that ब्रह्मदेव[3] is earlier than A. D. 1200 or so.

Dallaṇa in his commentary on the *Suśrutasaṁhitā* refers to ब्रह्मदेव in the following extracts[4]:—

1. Edited by Hari Shastri Paradkar in his edition of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1939.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

3. An author of the name ब्रह्मदेव composed a work on astronomy called करणप्रकाश *c. A. D. 1092* (Śaka 1014) (vide p. 240 of *History of Indian Astronomy* by S. B. Dikshit, Poona, 1896). I cannot say if he is identical with the medical author ब्रह्मदेव, the subject of the present paper. Another author ब्रह्मदेव wrote a commentary on the द्रव्यसंग्रह of नेमिचन्द्र, tenth century (A. D). Vide H. D. Velankar's *Jinaratnakośa* (B. O. R. I.) under " द्रव्यसंग्रह. "

4. Vide p. 1 of *Suśrutasaṁhitā* with Dallaṇa's commentary ed. by A. C. Kabiratna and C. C. Goopta, Calcutta, 1885.

Page 1 — " . . . .श्री डल्लनः समभूत् । तेन श्रीजैज्झटं टीकाकारं श्रीगयदास-भास्करौ च पञ्जिकाकारौ श्रीमाधवब्रह्मदेवादीन् टीप्पनककारांश्चोपजीव्यायुर्वेदशास्त्रसुश्रुत-व्याख्यानाय निबन्धसंग्रहः क्रियते । "

Page 617 — " गर्भपातनादिभेदेन संख्यातिरेकात् श्रीब्रह्मदेवस्तु । "

Page 549 — " श्रीब्रह्मदेवस्तु चतुर्दलमाह "

The foregoing references make it clear that Brahmadeva is prior to Dallaṇa. Hoernle[1] assigns Dallaṇa to '*twelfth century*', i. e. to a period between 1100 and 1200 A. D. We may, therefore, assign *Brahmadeva* to a period *prior to A. D. 1100.* As Brahmadeva commented the *Siddhayoga* of Vṛnda he is later than Vṛnda, whom Sir P. C. Ray[2] assigns to *circa* 900 A. D. We may, therefore, assign Brahmadeva to a period *between c. A. D. 900 and 1100.*

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1. Vide p. 16 of *Osteology*, Part I, 1907 — डल्लण is quoted by Hemādri (*c.* 1260 A. D.) and quotes Cakrapāṇidatta (*c.* 1060 A. D.). He also quotes भोज.

2. Vide p. 32 of *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1902. Vide also p. xxiii of Introduction.

29. Date of Rākṣasa Kāvya or Kāvyarākṣasa — Before A. D. 1000 ‡

Prof. A. B. Keith[1], speaking of the poems *Nalodaya* and *Rākṣasa Kāvya*[2], observes as follows:—

" Still more ludicrous is the suggestion that *Nalodaya* is his (Kālidāsa's) ; that rimed poem of intolerable affectation is perhaps not the production of Ravideva author of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya* of equal demerit, *before the 17th century* but the work of Vāsudeva, protégé of Kulaśekhara and Rāma."

‡ *Journal of Indian History, Madras*, Vol.XIX, Pt.3, pp.312-319

1. Vide, pp. 97–98 of *Sanskrit Literature*, 1928.

2. Aufrecht records the following Mss of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya*, CC I, 498 — " राक्षसकाव्य or काव्यराक्षस a poem in 20 stanzas. Katm. 7 (and Comm.). Oudh XVI, 54. Burnell 161a. Peters 2. 189 (and Comm.), SB. 313 (and Comm.). This production has the honour of being attributed to three different authors :—

To Kālidāsa. K. 64. B. 2, 102 (and Comm.).
To Ravideva. W. p. 169 (and Comm.).
To Vararuci. L. 782 (and Comm.).
Comm. *Subodhinī* by Kavīrāja L. 2821.
Comm. by *Kṛṣṇacandra*, Oudh XIX, 28.
Comm. by *Premadhara*, L. 3151. B. 2. 102.
Comm. by *Vidyākaramiśra*, L. 2389.

CC II, 117 —" Rgb 399. "
— attributed to Kālidāsa. BL. 282 (and Comm.) Govt. Ori. Libr. Madras.
— attributed to Ravideva, Stein 72 (with his own and anonymous Comm.)
— Comm. by Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa, Stein 72.

CC III, 106 —" B. C. 487. Bel, 454. 455., 14, I. O. 2238 (and Comm.), Lz. (and Comm.)
— ascribed to a Kālidāsa. Ak. 556. C. Ak. 556. 557.
— attributed to Vararuci. As. p. 160.
— Comm. by Śambhubhāskara, Bd. 454.

I am concerned in the present paper with the chronology of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya*, irrespective of the question of its authorship and hence propose to record some data bearing on its chronology. As Prof. Keith observes that this work is "*before 17th century*" we must try to take back this limit as far back as we can take it on the strength of documentary evidence.

According to Mr. Krishnamachariar[1] "*Rākṣasa-Kāvya* is a short piece of 20 verses in an enigmatic and alliterative style, containing a description of sylvan scenery around, by a person roaming about the forest with his spouse. There are commentaries on it by Premadhara, by Śambhubhāskara, by Kavirāja, by Kṛṣṇa Candra, by Udayākaramiśra, and by Bālakṛṣṇa[2] Pāyaguṇḍa." A study of the commentaries on the *Rākṣasa-Kāvya* and their chronology would have given us some limits for the chronology of this Kāvya but unfortunately the Mss[3] of these commentaries are not available to me. Some Mss of these commentaries available at the B. O. R. Institute[4] have been examined by me but they have not

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1. *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 371. Section 330.

2. According to Dr. S. K. De (*Sans. Poetics* I, 199) Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa is "*later than the end of the 16th Century*", i.e., after A. D. 1600.

3. Vide p. 97 of *Indic Mss in U. S. A. and Canada* by Dr. H. Poleman, 1938 :—

No. 2117 — *Kāvyarākṣasa* (*Rākṣasakāvya*) with Commentary — Saṁvat 1654 = *A. D.* 1598.

No. 2118 — *Ibid.*, with Comm.

No. 2119 — *Ibid.* — Text and Comm. attributed by Colophon to Kālidāsa — Saṁvat 1882 = *A. D.* 1826. (Copied by Jagannātha).

4. The Govt. Mss Library (B. O. R. Institute) contains the following Mss of Rākṣasakāvya and Commentary :—

No. 455 *of* 1887-91 — Text and Commentary — looks very old.

No. 556 *of* 1891-95 — Text with Comm. — Dated Śaka 1679 = A. D. 1757.

— Reads " श्रीमत्कविचक्रवर्तिकालिदासविरचितस्य राक्षसकाव्यस्य टीका समाप्तिमगमत् "

(*Continued on next page*)

given me any useful data on strength of which any definite limits for the date of the *Rākṣasa-Kāvya* could be determined with confidence. We are, however, fortunate to have in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere a unique dated Ms of a commentary on the *Rākṣasa-Kāvya* copied in Saṁvat 1215 = A. D. 1159. This Ms has been described by Mr. C. D. Dalal in his *Catalogue of Jesalmere Mss*. The scribe who wrote the Ms was a pupil of Jinacandra Sūri of the name "*Jinamata* (*pati ?*). Mr. Dalal says that there is possibility of this scribe himself being the author of this commentary on the *Rākṣasa-Kāvya*.[1] Be that as it may, the fact that we have a copy made in A. D. 1159 of a commentry on this *Rākṣasa-Kāvya* argues in favour of an early date for this Kāvya and it would be worth while examining the Jesalmere Ms from the point of view of textual criticism. The *Praśasti* which contains the date[2] of the Ms reads as follows:—

(*Continued from previous page*)

No. 555 *of* 1891–95 — राक्षसकाव्यटिप्पण — Copied at Jaipur in Saṁvat 1823 = A. D. 1767 by Mukunda Lakṣmīrāma — quotes अमर, अनेकार्थमंजरी.

No. 86 *of A* 1883–84 —Text with Comm. — (The Comm. quotes विश्व lexicon composed in A. D. 1111.

No. 399 *of* 1884–87 — Text with Comm. (Quotes अमर).

No. 454 *of* 1887–91 — Text with Comm. of शंभुभास्कर.

No. 172 *of* 1902–07 — Text with some Notes in the margin. These Notes quote अमर, विश्व, त्रिकांड lexicons.

" इति श्रीकविराक्षसकाव्यं समाप्तिमगमत्."

1. *Cata of Jesalmere Mss*. (G. O. S., Baroda, Vol. XXI, 1923), p. 59 :—

" राक्षसकाव्यटीका क. ३४५ (४) — " कालिदासकृतित्वेन प्रसिद्धमेतन्मूलमात्रमं तु मुद्रितम् । टीकाकर्तुर्नाम नोपलभ्यते । शान्तिसूरिणा वृन्दावनकाव्य-मेघाभ्युदयकाव्य-शिवभद्रकाव्य-चन्द्रदूतकाव्यसंज्ञकानां पञ्चानां यमकमयकाव्यानां वृत्तयो विनिर्मितास्तेनैवयमपि टीका विहिता वाऽन्येन केनचिदिति स्पष्टं न विज्ञायते । एतत्पुस्तकविलखनं संवत् १२१५ वर्षे जिनदत्तसूरिशिष्यजिनचंद्रसूरेः शिष्यो जिनमत (? पति) यतिव्यधादिति प्रान्तप्रशस्तितोऽवगम्यते । लेखकोऽपि व्याख्याता सम्भाव्यते ॥ "

2. The copy was made *on Sunday*, *15th tithi* of the month of *Nabhas* (= Bhādrapada) of Vikrama Saṁvat 1215 [शर (5) चन्द्र (1) सूर्य (12)] which possibly corresponds to *Sunday, the 13th of September* 1159 (Vide p. 321 *of Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III).

" चरणकरणदक्षः क्षीणदोषो जिताक्षः
क्षपितविधिविपक्षः क्षान्तिमान् बद्धकक्षः ।
यतिपतिजिनदत्ताचार्यदत्तोपदेशा-
स्खलित महिमयोगात् कान्तकीर्तिर्मुनीन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥

समजनि जिनचन्द्रश्चन्द्रवच्चारुरोचि-
गणधरपदलाभाल्लब्धलोकप्रतिष्ठः ।
जिनमत (?) यतिरेतत्तद्दिने यः सुशान्तो
व्यलिखदमलबुद्धिः कृत्स्नकर्मक्षयाय ॥ २ ॥

शर चन्द्र सूर्य संख्ये संवद्विक्रमभूपतेः ।
अतियाति नभो मासे पञ्चदश्यां तिथौ रवौ ॥ ३ ॥

यावज्जिनप्रवचनं प्रवरप्रतापं
यावज्जिनागमविदो यतिनोऽपपापाः ।
यावत्सुदर्शनभृतः स्थिरधीरचित्ता-
स्तावत् सुपुस्तकमदः सुधियः पठन्तु ॥ ४ ॥ "

The Ms of the राक्षसकाव्यटीका described by Mr. Dalal is a Palm-leaf[1] Ms in the Big Bhandar at Jesalmere. We have no access to this Ms and hence must rest content with the extract and the description of it given by Mr. Dalal. Mr. Dalal describes the Ms as राक्षसकाव्यटीका and if we have a commentary on the राक्षसकाव्य copied in A. D. 1159, the date of composition of this commentary is earlier than A. D. 1159. In the same manner the date of the राक्षसकाव्य is earlier still and we may presume that it may be earlier than say A.D. 1000. In view of this limit it would be useful to record references to the राक्षसकाव्य earlier than say A. D. 1100 or so.

The Government Oriental Mss Library, Madras, contains some Mss[2] of a poem having the designation कविराक्षसीय. A description

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1. Vide p. 43 of Dalal's Catalogue — No. 345 contains 5 works :— (1) चंद्रदूतकाव्य, (2) मेघाभ्युदयकाव्यवृत्ति, (3) वृन्दावनयमक, (4) राक्षस-काव्यटीका (contains also a praśasti of 4 verses) संवत् १२१५, and (5) घटखर्परटीका.

2. These Mss are as follows :— Vol. XX, p. 8024.
No. 12000 — Complete in 100 *stanzas* of Anuṣṭup metre.

(*Continued on next page*)

of these Mss has been given in Vol. XX (*Kāvyas*) *of the Descriptive Catalogue* of that Library (1918). It appears from this description that the कविराक्षसीय is a poem of 100 stanzas, while the राक्षसकाव्य consists of 20 stanzas only. I am unable to determine if there is any connection between the राक्षसकाव्य and the कविराक्षसीय[1] both of which are represented by some Mss in the several Mss catalogues. It appears, however, that the राक्षसकाव्यटीका represented by a Ms of A. D. 1159 in the Jesalmere Bhandar deals with the राक्षसकाव्य of 20 stanzas only and not with कविराक्षसीय of 100 stanzas. If this view is correct we can definitely say that this poem of 20 stanzas was composed before A. D. 1000 or so in view of a Ms of a commentary on it copied in A. D. 1159 actually existing at Jesalmere.

(*Continued from previous page*)

No. 12001 — Ibid.

No. 12002 — *Ibid* in Grantha characters.

No. 12003 — *Ibid* with a Comm. called श्लिष्टार्थदीपिका in Kanarese characters. This commentary is by Nāgaṇārya, son of Devaṇārya of the Bhāradvājagotra.

No. 12004 — Text with Comm. (anonymous).

No. 12005 — कविराक्षसीय पदान्वयः (Prose order of the stanzas of the Text).

Aufrecht (CC I, 87) mentions some works and authors having the titles "कविराक्षस" (author of a lexicon षड्र्थनिर्णय) Burnell, 51a.

(1) "कविराक्षसशतक" *Kāvya*, Burnell, 113b. Oppert II, 1089, 3117, 9708 with Comm. Oppert II, 3118.

(2) "कविराक्षसीय काव्य" Oppert 35, 536, 769, 4958, 5507, 7536. Rice, 228. See राक्षसकाव्य Comm. by Nāgaṇakavi, Oppert 2293.

1. Vide p. 379 of Krishnamachariar (*Classical Sans. Literature*) —"*Kavirākṣasīyam* is a poem of 100 verses of involved meaning by an unknown author calling himself कविराक्षस. There are commentaries on it by Nāgaṇarāya, son of Devanārāḍhya, and two anonymous." The *Kavirākṣasīya* has been edited with translation and Index by Y. Mahalinga Sastri in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (1935).

In the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Śrīdharadāsa (Lahore, 1933) composed in A. D. 1205 the following stanza is ascribed to राक्षस :—

(*Continued on next page*)

The India Office Library possesses two Mss of the *Rākṣasa-Kāvya*, one[1] of which is a copy made about A. D. 1875 while the other was written " about 1650 A. D." The description of the 2nd Ms as recorded in the *India Office Catalogue*[2] also reveals the

(*Continued from previous page*)

Page 63—

" उदञ्चत्कावेरीलहरिषु परिष्वङ्गरङ्गे लुठन्तः
कुहूकण्ठी कण्ठीरवरवलव त्रासितप्रोषितेभाः ।
अमी चैत्रे मैत्रावरुणितरुणी केलिकङ्कोल्लिमल्ली-
चलद्वल्लीहल्लीसकसुरभयश्चाण्ड चञ्चन्ति वाताः ॥ ५ ॥ "

This stanza is given in the शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति as राक्षसस्य and there attributed to " राक्षसपण्डितौ."

1. Vide p. 1116 of Vol. II (Part II) of *Ind. Office Catalogue*, Oxford, 1935. The text is in 20 verses. The Ms ends :—

" इति कालिदासकृतौ राक्षसकाव्यं सव्याख्यानं संपूर्ण "

" A note by Burnell (fol. 1) runs :— "This seems to be the same poem as Hoffer published and which according to the Ms (v. B. 4, No. 580) is by Ravideva. The original of this Ms (at Tanjore, No. 4780) attributes it to Kālidāsa but it cannot have been written more than fifty years ago. So this authority for the statement leaves room for doubt." "The Commentary differs from all of those given by Mitra, *Notices*, ii 186, vii, 153 ; viii, 264 ; ix, 234. *Madras Catal.* XX, 7959, 7960. Eggeling No. 3932. The author of the poem is probably Ravideva, wrongly suggested as the author of *Nalodaya* (Pischel, Z. D. M. G., lvi, 626). See also F. Belloni Filippi, *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana*, xix (1906) 83 - 102, who translates the poem. With the Ms are four half sheets of notepaper containing remarks on the style of the poem and the text of verses 1-6 and a translation of verses 1-4 by Burnell." The colophon of the Jammu Ms of the poem (No. 1118) reads :—

" इति श्रीमहाकविना मलयदेशजन्मना रविदेवेन विरचितं राक्षसकाव्यं विंशति-हृद्यपद्यसमेतं बुधजनमनसानंददायिनी राक्षसकाव्यटीका समाप्ता ॥ "

2. Vol. VII (Kāvya and Nāṭaka Mss) 1904, p. 1493 — in 20 verses with *ṭīkā*. The Ms begins with v. 2 and does not mention the author's name at the end. Text and Commentary are, however, identical with

(*Continued on next page*)

interest of responsible scholars in this petty poem of 20 stanzas, with some anonymous commentaries. In the *Catalogue of Mithila Mss*[1] there are three undated Mss of this poem and its anonymous commentaries recorded from private sources. One of these Mss ascribes the authorship of the poem to Vararuci. The Ms of the work at Ulwar[2] contains a commentary on it by Vihārimiśra. There are two Mss of the poem in the recently opened Oriental Mss Library at Ujjain[3]. Both of these Mss appear to ascribe the work to Kālidāsa. One of these Mss contains a commentary. In the *Union List of Indic Texts in American Libraries* the work is attributed to Ravideva by Dr. Emeneau.[4] Dr. Poleman records three Mss of Rākṣasa Kāvya in American libraries.[5]

(*Continued from previous page*)

those printed in Hoefer's Sanskrit—Lesebuch from the Berlin Ms. No. 580, where the author is called रविदेव of मलयदेश. The text without the author's name is also given in *Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's Kāvyasaṁgraha*, 572 (21 *ślokas*, the 6th of which is wanting in this Ms). On this poem see also Weber's remarks, *Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.*, vi, 399. *Ind. Stud.* ii, 154.

1. Vol. II, (Patna, 1933) by K. P. Jayaswal, pp. 122*ff.*
   No. 119, 119 A, and 120.
   No. 119 — in Maithili characters on Nepāli paper. Text with Comm.
   No. 119 - A — राक्षसकाव्य by वररुचि — Devanāgarī characters. White Paper. Text with Comm. प्रदीप on it.
   No. 120 — राक्षसकाव्यव्याख्या — Maithi. characters — yellow paper-Ends :—
   " इति कालिदासकृतं राक्षसकाव्यं सटीकं समाप्तम् "

2. Peterson : *Ulwar Mss*, Bombay, 1892, p. 39 :—
   " 955— राक्षसकाव्य Ascribed here to Kālidāsa. With a commentary by Vihārimiśra. Peters 2, 189."

3. Vide p. 42 of *Cata of Ujjain Mss*, Gwalior, 1936.

4. Vide p. 119 of *Union List* (Ame. Ori. Series, Vol. 7), 1935 :—
   " Revideva, काव्यराक्षस or राक्षसकाव्य "
   1219 — " श्रीकालिदासकृतं राक्षसकाव्यं, सटीकम् " K. P. Parab, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1900.
   1220 — Il poema demoniaco (राक्षसकाव्य) Translated by Ferdinando Belloni Fillipi *GSAI* (1906), 83–102.

5. *Indic Mss in U. S. A. and Canada* by H. Poleman, 1938, page 97.

In view of the data recorded above and in view of the existence of a Ms of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya* commentary copied in A. D. 1159 it is necessary to search for quotations from the extant text of this poem in works composed earlier than A. D. 1159. It is also necessary to investigate the question of authorship of the poem, attributed to *Kālidāsa*, *Vararuci* and other writers indiscriminately. My object in the present paper is to take back the later limit for the date of the poem from "*before the 17th Century*" given by Prof. Keith to "*before A. D.* 1159" definitely and "*before A. D.* 1000" tentatively. The following chronology about the Mss of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya* (= *RK*) may prove useful for further investigation of the exact date of composition and the authorship of the work :—

A.D.	Ms of *RK*.
1159	Date of the Jesalmere Ms of the *RK* Commentary.
1205	Date of Śrīdharadāsa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* which quotes a stanza as "राक्षसस्य"
1598	Date of a Ms of the *RK* in America.
1757	Date of B.O.R. Institute Ms of the *RK* (No. 556 *of 1891-95*).
1767	Date of B.O.R. Institute Ms of the *RK* (No. 555 *of 1891-95*).
1826	Date of a Ms of the *RK* and Commentary in America.
1875	Date of India Office Ms of the *RK*.

30. The Date of the Kālikāpurāṇa — Before A. D. 1000 ‡

Mr. Payne in his work on the *Śāktas*[1] makes the following references to the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*[2]:—

Page 9 — " a *fourteenth century* document."

Page 46 — " seems to have been written *about the 14th century*."

Page 86 — (*Kālikātantra*) — " *14th century*."

Whatever be the evidence on which Mr. Payne has based his date—"*14th century* " for the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, it does not affect my evidence for an earlier date for this work, which I intend to record in this note. Śivānanda Sarasvatī in his work, called the *Yogacintā-*

‡ *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), Vol. X, pp. 289-294.

1. *The Śāktas* (Oxford University Press, 1933).

2. Aufrecht (*Cata. Catalogorum*), records the following MSS of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* :— Part I, p. 98 (b)—*Kālikāpurāṇa* or *Kālīpurāṇa* or *Caṇḍīpurāṇa* — Jones 406. Mack 49, I.O.1515, W. p. 127, Oxf. 78. Paris (B. 2, 3). L. 149, 173. K. 22. Kh. 64. B. 2, 4. Ben. 56. Bik. 200. Tub. 13. Kāṭm 2, Pheh. 4, Oudh V, 2, VIII, 4. Burnell 187a. D 2.

— Part III, p. 22 — AK. 118. AS p. 41 (3 MSS) BC 388. CS 4, 13, 14, I.O., 919, 952, 1515, 2563 (fr) 2943, Tb 50, 51. Lz 1290, 8, AK 212.

The following printed editions of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* have so far been published :—

(i) By Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1907 in Pothi form.

(ii) " *Kālikāpurāṇa* — An *upa-purāṇa* in 90 chapters on the cult of Durgā, ascribed to the Sage Mārkaṇḍeya. With Bengali translation by Pañchānan Tarkaratna (Ch. 1—26, 80-83, 90) and Hṛṣīkeśa Śāstri and others (Ch. 27–79, 84–89). Edited by the former, pp. i, i, ii, 587, Calcutta, 1910 " (*see Brit. Museum Cata.* of Sans., Pāli and Prākṛta books (1906–1928) by Barnett, pub. 1928, London).

maṇi,[1] which is a compilation of texts on yoga, quotes many times from the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, but as he is a late author[2] this evidence is not of much value in the present inquiry. The late character of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*[3] is proved by its reference to Vidyāraṇya, which only proves that Śivānanda flourished after 1400 A. D. or so.

Better evidence for pushing back Mr. Payne's date for the *Kālikāpurāṇa* by at least 200 years, if not more, is furnished by the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, a work on *Dharmaśāstra* compiled by Hemādri, the minister of the Yādava Kings of Devagiri,[4] *viz.*, (1) Mahādeva (1260-1270) and his successor (2) (Rāmacandra (1271-1309). Hemādri includes in this work many extracts from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* in the *Vratakhaṇḍa*.[5] These extracts are ushered in as from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* as follows:—

Page 151 — " इति कालिकापुराणोक्तं चतुर्दशीजागरणव्रतम् "

Page 180 — " इति कालिकापुराणोक्तं ईशानव्रतम् "

Page 332 — " कालिकापुराणोक्तं कालरात्रिव्रतम् "

Page 381 — " कालिकापुराणोक्तं महाव्रतम् "

Page 972 — " कालिकापुराणात् "

Page 992 — " कालिकापुराणात् "

Hemādri has drawn his extracts from numerous *purāṇas*,[6] old and

1. *Yogacintāmaṇi*, Calcutta Edition. pp, 165, 176, 186, 195 etc.

2. *Vide* my article on the *Date of Yogacintāmaṇi*. (*Yoga* monthly, Bombay, 1936).

3. A work *Yogacintāmaṇi* is quoted in *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*, which also quotes the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (*See* Hall's *Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Systems*, Calcutta, 1859, pp. 17–18, No. XXXIV). Hall states that *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* is a work by Sundaradeva, son of Viśvanāthadeva. They were of the Kāśyapagotra and were Marahaṭṭas of Benares. Sundaradeva's spiritual guide was one Pūrṇānanda, if this be a human designation.

4. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 354-359.

5. *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta, 1879, Vol. II, pp. 151, 180, 332, 381, 972, 992.

6. These *purāṇas* are :— (1) *Ādipurāṇa*, (2) *Ādityapurāṇa*,

(*Continued on next page*)

new, to make up his *Vratakhaṇḍa* of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and we have nothing in the nature of these extracts to challenge their genuine character. Hemādri's references to and quotations from the *Kālikāpurāṇa*[1] in the *2nd half of the 13th century* dis-establish Mr. Payne's date *"14th century"* for it and establish at the same time an earlier limit for it, *viz.* the *12th century*. At any rate *the work is older than A. D. 1200.*

Other evidence in support of the above limit fixed by me for the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* is furnished by a work on *Dharma-śāstra.* The *Ācārādarśa* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, a manual of daily religious duties of the followers of the White Yajurveda (Vājasaneyins), names among other works the *Kālikāpurāṇa.*[2] According to Prof. Kane[3], Śrīdatta "composed his works between 1275 and 1310 A. D." It is clear, therefore, that he was a contemporary of

(*Continued from previous page*)

(3) *Kālikāpurāṇa*, (4) *Kālottarapurāṇa*, (5) *Kūrmapurāṇa*, (6) *Garga-purāṇa*, (7) *Gāruḍapurāṇa*, (8) *Devīpurāṇa*, (9) *Narasiṁhapurāṇa*, (10) *Nāradīyapurāṇa*, (11) *Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa*, (12) *Padma P.* (13) *Brahmāṇḍa P.* (14) *Brahmavaivatra P.* (15) *Bhaviṣya P.* (16) *Brahma P.* (17) *Bhaviṣyottara P.* (18) *Bhaviṣot. P.* (19) *Bhaviṣyat P.* (20) *Bhaviṣyottara P.* (21) *Matsya P.* (22) *Mahābhārata P.* (23) *Yājñavalkya P.* (24) *Varāha P.* (25) *Vāyu P.* (26) *Liṅga P.* (27) *Viṣṇudharma P.* (28) *Viṣṇudharmottara P.* (29) *Viṣṇudharma P.* (30) *Viṣṇu P.* (31) *Viṣṇurahasya*, (32) *Śivadharma*, (33) *Śivadharmottara*, (34) *Saura-dharma*, (35) *Saura P.* (36) *Skandha P.* (37) *Skandhamahākāla Khaṇḍa*, (See K. A. Padhye's *Life of Hemādri*, Bombay, 1931 (in Marāthī) pp. 47–51, where a complete list of the *Vratas* from the above works included by Hemādri in his *Vratakhaṇḍa* has been recorded).

A very useful list of *Purāṇa* works (printed editions) will be found in the *Union List of Indic Texts etc. in American Libraries* (Ame. Ori. Society) 1935, pp. 76–86 (Nos. 749–875).

1. *See* Kane : *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 163 ff. — Prof. Kane states that the eighteen principal purāṇas are rich in *dharma-śāstra* material, so also the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and the *Saurapurāṇa*. *Kālikāpurāṇa* (88) contains material pertaining to *ācāra*. " Some of the extant *purāṇas*, if not all, are much earlier than the 6th century A.D."

2. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 363.

3. *Ibid*, p. 365.

Hemādri and hence we have two references to the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, one in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and the other in the *Ācārādarśa*, both the works being treatises on *Dharmaśāstra*, composed by two different authors who were contemporaries.

A third writer on *Dharmaśāstra* viz. Anantadeva (1675-1700),[1] refers to some verses in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*[2] and the *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha (1610-1645 A.D.)[3] contains some remarks on them. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa[4] (1612 A. D.) regards these verses as genuine.[5] These references collected by Prof. Kane show clearly how the *Kālikāpurāṇa* came to be looked upon as an authority on certain points of *Dharmaśāstra* in centuries subsequent to the date of its compostion, though primarily it was looked upon as a *tantra* work by the Śāktas.

Alberuni (11th century) gives us a list[6] of the 18 *purāṇas* which of course does not contain the *Kālikāpurāṇa*. A writer of Alberuni's historical sense and regard for accuracy of detail would not have failed to note the *Kālikāpurāṇa* had it been very popular in his time in India. This view is also consistent with the view expressed by Farquhar[7] that the Śākta philosophy attained recognition about the 10th century. Mr.Farquhar, however,

1. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 453.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 448 — "एषां वचसां बहुषु कालिकापुराणपुस्तकेषु अदर्शनात्" etc.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 440.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 448, f. n. 1118.

6. *Alberuni's India*, ed. by Dr. E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, (1914), pp. 130-131 — " The Purāṇas are of human origin composed by the so-called Rishis." The names of purāṇas were heard by Alberuni and committed to writing by dictation. He had only " seen portions of the *Matsya-*, *Āditya-* and *Vāyu-Purāṇas*."

7. *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 266-7. The Śākta systems began to appear from about the *6th cent. A. D.* (pp. 167 ff.). The Śākta Upaniṣads began to appear not much earlier than the *10th century A. D.*

makes the following remarks about the date of the *Kālīkāpurāṇa*[1]:-

"The *Kālikāpurāṇa* or *Tantra*, which has long been well known, is clearly a manual of the Śāktism of Bengal[2] and probably comes from *a date near the beginning of the period.*" The period to which the *Kālikāpurāṇa* has been assigned by Mr. Farquhar is the period of "*Muslim Influence*, A. D. 1350-1800" and the beginning of this period means the 14th century (2nd half). Consequently the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* would, according to Mr. Farquhar, be roughly the *14th century*. Our evidence as recorded above proves, however, that the work was composed before A. D. 1200, if not earlier.

Since the foregoing evidence regarding the limits for the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* was recorded by me, my friend Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras has favoured me with an earlier reference to this purāṇa occurring in the *Bharatabhāṣya* of King Nānyadeva. The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses a rare MS of this work, *viz*. No. 111 of 1869-70. The reference to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* appears as under on folio 132a of this MS......
"इति गो(रो)विंदकं समाप्तं ॥ छ ॥ कालिकाख्यपुराणे । यत्पुराणे पुरुषेरितं ॥ रोविंदकाभिधं गीतं नान्यमहीभुजा । इति रो.विंदकं प्रोक्तं स्यादुत्तरमतः परम् ॥ "

King Nānyadeva, the author of the *Bharatabhāṣya*, has been identified by Mr. M. R. Kavi[3] with King Nānyadeva of Mithilā who flourished between A. D. 1097 and 1133. Prof. R. C. Mujumdar[4] who has utilised Mr. Kavi's findings regarding Nānyadeva's *Bharatabhāṣya* states that "M. Sylvain Levi was the

1. *Ibid*., p. 345. *See also* pp. 372, and 389 where *Kālikāpurāṇa* has been included among the *Later Tantras written in Bengal.* See *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, ii, 134, 491 and English Translation of the *Rudhirādhyāya* or Blood Chapter by Blaquiere in *Asiatic Researches*, V.

2. As regards the *Kālī Cult* in South India and especially in Malabar, *vide* article on "*Kālī Cult in Kerala*" by H. H. Kerala Varma Thampuran (pp. 75 ff.) in the *Bulletin No. 4 of Shri Rama Varma Research Institute, 1936* — "There is not a single town, nay not even a single village, locality or even a residential unit, where there is not a temple dedicated to Goddess Kāḷī" (p. 75).

3. *Jour. Andhra His. Res. Society*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 55-63.

4. *Ind. His. Quarterly*, Vol. III, pp. 679-689 — article on "*King Nānyadeva of Mithilā.*"

first to establish on a satisfactory basis that the accession of the king falls in 1097 A. D. "[1] Prof. Mujumdar also states that the question of Nānyadeva's date may be regarded as finally settled.

In view of Nānyadeva's reference to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* towards the close of the 11th century we can safely fix 1000 A. D. as the limit before which this purāṇa must have been composed and await earlier references to this work from scholars interested in the chronology of the purāṇas.

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1. *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 197, f. n. 3.

31. The Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi And Its Probable Date — Before A. D. 1200 ‡

Aufrecht does not record any Mss of the work on music called the *Saṁgītacūḍamaṇi* in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. There are, however, to be found references to and quotations from this work in literature on music as also in allied literature as will be shown below.

In a work called the *Bharataśāstragrantha*, a Ms of which is available at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, (No. 40 of 1916-18) the following quotations have been ascribed to the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* :—

Folio 3 — " तदुक्तं संगीतचूडामणौ

चतुर्भिर्धातुभिः षड्भिश्चाङ्गैर्यस्मात्प्रयुज्यते ।
तस्मात्प्रबन्धः कथितः प्रतापः पृथिवीभुजाम् ॥

उद्ग्राह्यस्स तु चत्वारो स्वरादीनि च सप्तधा ।
वसन्ति यत्र संज्ञेयः प्रबन्धो वस्तुसंज्ञया ॥

उद्ग्राह प्रथमो भागस्ततो मेधा प्रतद्ध्रुवे ।
आभोगश्च प्रबन्धश्च चत्वारो धातवो मताः ॥

पदश्लेषौच......पादौ तालस्वरौ तथा ।
अङ्गान्येतानि षट् प्राहुः प्रबन्धस्य यथाक्रमम् ॥ "

Folio 10 — " तदुक्तं संगीतचूडामणौ

प्रबन्धेषु ध्रुवत्वेन ध्रुव इत्यभिधीयते
स्वयं येऽत्र प्रबन्धे स्याद्यदनेनैवपूरणम् ॥ इति "

I have shown elsewhere[1] that the *Bharataśāstragrantha* which contains the above quotations from the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* was written in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

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‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XVI, pp. 149–151.

1. *Annals*, Vol. XV, pp. 240-242.

A reference to the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* from a 15th century work is furnished by Dr. Raghavan,[1] of the University of Madras, who states that a work called *Cūḍāmaṇi* is quoted and criticized in the *Tālapadikā* of Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, who was Governor under Devarāya II (1423-1446 A. D.) of the Vijayanagar Dynasty and that most likely it is King Pratāpa's *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi*. If this assumption is correct we can take this as a 15th century reference to the work.

Dr. Raghavan also gives us a still earlier reference[2] viz. that made by Pārśvadeva in his *Saṁgītasamayasāra*.[3] This reference is not made to the title of the work but to its author "*Pratāpabhūbhuj*" or King Pratāpa in the following verse :—

" पञ्चतालेश्वरो यद्वा हृद्यं गद्यमथापिवा ।
आलिङ्कमोयमेवोक्तः प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ॥ "

That King Pratāpa or "*Pratāpapṛthivībhūbhuj*" mentioned by Pārśvadeva in the above verse was the author of the work *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* is proved by the first verse in the extract from the *Bharataśāstragrantha* (folio 3) given above. The 2nd line of this extract, explicitly stated by the author of the *Bharataśāstragrantha* to be from the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi*, contains the name of King *Pratāpa* in the following line which reads—

" तस्मात्प्रबन्धः कथितः प्रतापः पृथिर्वाभुजाम् "

The reading " प्रतापः पृथिवीभुजाम् " makes no meaning and is obviously wrong, being a substitute made by the copyist for the original reading, which must have been " प्रतापपृथिर्वाभुजा." Pārśvadeva's verse quoted above, in which the expression " प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ' occurs, appears to have been modelled on the verse from the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* as quoted in the *Bharataśāstragrantha*. The expression " प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा " is identical in both the verses and Dr. Raghavan appears to be right in his inference that Pārśvadeva is referring in his verse to King Pratāpa, the author of

1. *Later Saṁgīta Literature* (published in the *Journal of the Madras Music Academy*), p. 11 of the offprint kindly supplied to me by the author.

2. *Some Names in Early Saṁgīta Literature* (paper read before the Madras Music Conference, December 1931) p. 31 of the off-print supplied to me by the author.

3. *Saṁgītasamayasāra* (Triv. Sans. Series), p. 29.

the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi*. As Dr. Raghavan assigns Pārśvadeva to a period between A. D. 1165 and A. D. 1330 we may take this reference to be, say a 13th century reference to the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi*.

A still earlier reference to the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* is furnished by Prof. Handiqui[1] from the commentary on the *Naiṣadha* by Vidyādhara which is assigned by him to about 1250 A. D. This commentator quotes two works on music viz. (1) *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* and (2) *Saṁgītasāgara* in his gloss on canto XXI, verses 126-128. This reference in a work of about 1250 A. D. proves that the work *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* must have been *composed before A. D. 1200*. The popularity of the work is shown not only by the above references but also by the fact that it is referred to in a work on music published in 1842 A. D.[2] I am not aware if any Mss of the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* have been traced. Recently I inquired about this work of the Travancore Durbar but the Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Travancore informed me that the Palace Library contains a Ms of the *Saṁgītacintāmaṇi* only and not of the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi*.

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1. *Naiṣadha* (Translation), Punjab Oriental Series, 1934, Introduction, p. X.

2. The *Saṁgītarāgakalpadruma* by Krishnananda Vyāsadeva (published in 1842 and re-edited by the Baṅgīyasāhityapariṣad in 1916) refers to a work called *Cūḍāmaṇi* which I presume to be *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi*. My reference is found on folio 28 of Ms No. 980 of 1887-91 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute and not to the printed edition.

32. Vyavahāramañjarī, an unknown work of Bhojarāja on Dharmaśāstra ‡

Prof. P. V. Kane[1] makes the following remarks about the composition of works on Dharmaśāstra by Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva :—

"That he (Bhojadeva) composed an extensive work on the principal subjects of *Dharmaśāstra* follows from numerous references to him contained in the *Mitākṣarā*, the *Dāyabhāga*, the *Hāralatā* and other works,................. Whether Bhoja composed on Dharmaśāstra one work or two (as he composed two on poetics) and whether his work was a commentary or an independent digest it is difficult to say."

Aufrecht[2] ascribes two works on *Dharmaśāstra* to Bhoja viz. (1) *Cārucaryā* and (2) *Vyavahāra-Samuccaya*. Regarding the *Vyavahāra-Samuccaya* he makes the following entry[3]:—

"Quoted by Raghunandana, Oxf. 292a, by Kamalākara, Oxf. 279b."

Prof. Kane mentions a work called *Vyavahāra-Samuccaya* in the following entry in his list[4] of works on Dharmaśāstra :—

"व्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघुनंदन and in निर्णयसिन्धु"

In his list[5] of authors on Dharmaśāstra we have the following entry re. Bhojadeva:—

" भोजदेव Sec. 64 ; a. of भूपालपद्धति, भूपालसमुच्चय, or भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय, भुजबलभीम, चारुचर्या, युक्तिकल्पतरु, राजनीति, राजमार्तण्ड, शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका."

‡ *Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa* (Poona), Vol. I, pp. 10-11.

1. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 277.
2. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 418.
3. *Ibid*, p. 617.
4. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 631.
5. *Ibid*, p. 719.

In none of the references recorded above we find any mention of a work called व्यवहारमंजरी ascribed to भोजराज and referred to by a commentator of the *Mahābhārata* viz. Vimalabodha,[1] whose commentary variously known as *Durghaṭārthaprakāśinī* or *Viṣama Ślokī* or *Durbodhapadabhañjinī* has been preserved in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This Ms is No. 84 of 1869-70. As this commentary is yet unpublished I reproduce the reference to व्यवहारमंजरी from this Ms from Folio 63 b :—

" एवं नानारूपे व्यवहारपुरुष इति अयं च सार्धश्लोको भोजराजेन व्यवहारमंजर्यामन्यथा व्याख्यातः । उभयोः सत्यानृतप्रवृत्तयोर्वादिप्रतिवादिनोर्विरुद्धो व्यवहारः । स चोभयधर्मग्राहितत्वात् । उभयात्मा पुरुषः कोऽपि नीलोत्पलदलश्यामः शिताशितात्मा सत्यानृतप्रवृत्तत्वात् । उभयोश्चतस्रो दंष्ट्रा यस्मिन् स तथा । एवमुभयोश्चत्वारः पादाः । भाषोत्तरक्रियाप्रत्याकलितपादचतुष्टयसहिता अष्टौ पादाः यस्मिन् स तथा । नैकानि बहूनि उभयोर्नयनानि यस्मिन् स तथा । चतुरक्षरत्वात् । व्यवहारस्य । "

The above reference to भोजराज as the author of a work on Dharmaśāstra called व्यवहारमंजरी in a Ms[2] of Vimalabodha's commentary appears to be very important as no Mss of this work have been recorded so far in the Mss catalogues. The other work of Bhojarāja on व्यवहार mentioned by Aufrecht and Prof. Kane viz.

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* (Sukthankar : Epic Studies) Vol. XVII, p. 194, — Arjunamiśra mentions Vimalabodha, who cites Devabodha, hence we get the Series देवबोध-विमलबोध-अर्जुनमिश्र. Vimalabodha mentions Vaiśampāyana's ṭīkā and cites Devabodha (once as Svāmin).

2. The colophon of the B. O. R. I. Ms reads as under :—

" इति श्रीविषमश्लोकी टीका समाप्ता ॥ " इदं पुस्तकं शुद्धां दुर्मिळां प्रतिं ज्ञात्वा अत्यंताशुद्धप्रत्यनुसारेणैव शिवणेकरोपनाम्ना शिवरामपंतसूनुना कृष्णभट्टेन पुण्याख्यपुरभेदेन स्थितेन स्वार्थं परार्थं च लिखितं । लेखनकाले विचाराशक्यत्वात् प्रतेरत्यंताशुद्धत्वाच्च । श्रीमद्भारतव्याख्यानप्रीतिमतः पत्यंतरसंपादनाशक्तस्य पुरुषस्य चित्तकार्य्येण दृढमननशीलस्य कचित्कचिद्दंशेऽथापि भविष्यत्युपकारकमिति ॥ ॥ शके १७२४ दुंदुभिसंवत्सरे माघ कृष्णाष्टम्यां सह नवम्यां भौमवासरे रजन्याः प्रथमयामावसाने जगदंबकृपया सिद्धिं गतमिदं पुस्तकं शुभं भूयात् ॥ "

This copy was written at Poona in A. D. 1802 by a scribe Kṛṣṇambhaṭ Śivarām Śivaṇekar who complains in the the above colophon that he had to rely for his copying work on an incorrect original perhaps owing to the rarity of good Mss of this work.

the व्यवहारसमुच्चय is known only by references to it in other works on *Dharmaśāstra* and hence it is difficult to decide whether these two works by Bhojarāja on व्यवहार viz. (1) व्यवहारमंजरी mentioned by Vimalabodha and (2) व्यवहारसमुच्चय mentioned by Raghunandana are identical or otherwise. For the present we have no other course left open but to treat them as two separate works of Bhojarāja and await further research on the question from the students of the history of Dharmaśāstra literature.

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33. Rare Manuscripts of Subhūticandra's Commentary on the Amarakośa ‡

In an article contributed by me to the *Kuppuswami Shastri Commemoration Volume* I have tried to prove that Subhūticandra wrote his commentary on the *Amarakośa* between A. D. 1062 and A. D. 1172. My conclusion was based on the analysis of a fragment of this commentary [Govt. Ori. Mss Library No. R. 2933 (1-35-44)] as given by Dr. T. R. Chintamani in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras[1] and the reference to Subhūti in the grammatical work *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva composed in A. D. 1172. I have not been able to identify the quotation from Subhūti occurring in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* as no Ms of Subhūti's work has yet been available to me. Even the Madras fragment analysed by Dr. Chintamani was stated by him to be the only Ms newly brought to light. I was, therefore, curious to know if more Manuscripts of this valuable commentary were brought to light by the efforts of research scholars in recent years.

Thanks to the labours of Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana we have been fortunate enough to know that three more Mss of Subhūticandra's commentary on the *Amarakośa* have been brought to light. In his recent list of "*Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss in Tibet*" he refers to three manuscripts of this work viz.—

(1) Copy in the Lalchand LIbrary of the D. A. V. College, Lahore.

(2) Two copies available in Tibet, these are:—

(i) P*age 40 of the list*.—IV-Nagor Monastery (one day's journey from Si-gar-tse). Vol. No. XXVII, 150 अमरकोशटीका (कविकामधेनु) author सुभूतिचन्द्र ; Script मागधी ; size 12 × $2\frac{1}{5}$ inches, leaves 192-389 ; lines in each page 7, 8, incomplete. (footnote No. 1— " In the colophon "संवत ३१३ (313 N.E = *1191* A.D.) फाल्गुन कृष्ण तृतीय बृहस्पति ").

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‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XVI, pp. 313-314.

1. *J. O. R.* Madras, Vol. VIII, pp. 372-380 (1934).

(ii) *Page 43 of the list.*-V-Gu-rim-lha-Khang Library Sa-skya. Vol.II - 1- 180—अमरकोशटीका (कामधेनु); Author सुभूतिचन्द्र ; Script मागधी ; Size 22½ × 2½ inches ; leaves 9, lines 1-8-10 pages.[1]

Unfortunately these manuscripts of the commentary available in Tibetan monasteries are incomplete. Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana does not furnish any details about the D. A. V. College Ms of the commentary referred to by him.

It will thus be seen that there are now 4 Mss of the commentary brought to light though they are hardly sufficient for a critical edition of the whole work.

The Ms in the Nagor Monastery is very important as it corroborates my conclusion about the date of Subhūticandra (between A. D. 1062 and 1172). This copy on palm-leaf is dated 313 Nepali Era = A. D. *1191* and this date of the copy harmonizes with Śaraṇadeva's reference to Subhūti in his *Durghaṭavṛtti* in A. D. 1172. We may, therefore, safely conclude that Subhūti wrote his commentary on the *Amarakośa* about the first half of the 12th century say between A. D. 1100 and 1140. The date A. D. 1121 for a palm-leaf Ms of this commentary need not be looked upon with suspicion as the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses dated palm-leaf Mss some of which have even earlier dates.

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1. *Journal of Bihar and Ori. Res. Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 21-43 (1935).

34. Date of Subhūticandra's Commentary on the Amarakośa — Between A. D. 1062 and 1172 ‡

We are thankful to Dr. T. R. Chintamani of the University of Madras for having acquainted us with the rich historical contents of the fragment of a manuscript of Subhūticandra's commentary on the *Amarakośa*,[1] which has been acquired by the Govt. Oriental Mss Library, Madras and is numbered R - 2933 (1-35-44). The varied references numbering about 129 made by Subhūticandra to several ancient works and authors in his commentary as recorded by Dr. Chintamani amply reveal the literary strata of the period of Sanskrit literature when the present commentary was written, as also those of a period much earlier than Subhūticandra's date. Many of the works referred to by Subhūticandra are still unknown or known only by their titles.

As Dr. Chintamani has not said anything about the date of this commentary in his article under reference, I propose in this note to fix its chronological limits on the basis of the data available at present.

Aufrecht[2] has the following remarks in his Catalogue of Manuscripts about Subhūticandra :—

> " सुभूतिचन्द्र — or abridged सुभूति, a commentator on अमरकोश quoted in माधवीयधातुवृत्ति, by उज्ज्वलदत्त, Rāyamukuṭa in धातुरत्नाकर, by Bhānuji. Oxf. 183 a''

We know that Bhānuji's father Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita flourished about 1630 A. D.[3] and Rāyamukuṭa wrote in 1431 A. D. Ujjvaladattta is assigned to circa 1250.[4]

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‡ *Kuppuswami Shastri Commemoration Volume*, pp. 47-51.

1. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, Part IV, (October-December 1934, pp. 372-380).
2. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 728a.
3. Belvalkar : *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 47.
4. Ibid, p. 54.

Dr. Chintamani in his article refers only to Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji Dīkṣita and to the translation of Subhūticandra's commentary preserved in Tibetan. According to him A. D. 1431 would be one of the limits to Subhūticandra's date, while, as we have noted above, Aufrecht's list of references pushes this limit back to about A. D. 1250, the date of Ujjvaladatta.

Looking to the numerous references made by Subhūti in his commentary we find that he refers to Bhojarāja (No. 18 of Chintamani's list) as also to his two works, viz., *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (No. 102) and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (No. 104). Bhojarāja flourished between A. D. 1010 and A. D. 1055[1] and died after A. D. 1062.[2] It would thus appear that Subhūti wrote his commentary between A. D. 1062 and 1250.

The above limits, viz., A. D. 1062 and 1250 can still be narrowed down on the strength of a further reference pointed out by the learned editor of the *Kalpadrukośa*[3] in the following remarks :—

" Another old commentator (on the *Amarakośa*) often quoted by Bengal commentators is Subhūti or Subhūticandra, a Buddhist, whose commentary called *Kāmadhenu* exists in a Tibetan version (Ind. Wört. p. 21). Subhūti is mentioned in *Durghaṭavṛtti of Śaraṇadeva* (1173). "

The *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva, who is a Buddhist himself, records its own date of composition, viz., A. D. 1172 and the only reference to Subhūti[4] in the same appears as under : —

" संज्ञापूर्वविधेरनित्यत्वाद् वृद्ध्यभाव इति सुभूतिः "

The above reference makes it clear that Subhūti wrote between A. D. 1062 and 1172.

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1. S. K. De : *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 147.

2. *Pathak Comm. Volume* (B. O. R. I.), Poona 1934, p. 376 where Keith's view is cited.

3. *Kalpadru-Kośa*, Vol. II (Gaikwar Ori. Series), 1928, Intro. p. 32.

4. *Durghaṭavṛtti* (Trivandrum Sans. Series) p. 82.

Further data which might enable us to narrow down even these limits may also be discussed. In his article under reference Dr. Chintamani remarks about 'Vopālita' referred to by Subhūti in his commentary: "Vopālita is older than 1100 A. D." Though this conclusion by itself does not enable us to say that Subhūti wrote after 1100 A. D. it may suggest in combination with Subhūti's references to Bhojarāja and his works that the commentary may have been composed after 1100 A. D. Then again the lexicon *Viśvaprakāśa* of Maheśvara composed in A. D. 1111, which is quoted by another commentator of Amara viz. Sarvānanda in his commentary composed in A. D. 1159, is not found in the list of 129 references made by Subhūti to earlier authors and works as noted by Dr. Chintamani. This omission, if justified in the light of a further analysis of the whole of Subhūti's commentary (Madras MS being only a fragment) may indicate that Subhūti wrote before A. D. 1111 (date of *Viśvaprakāśa*) or that he being a contemporary of the author of *Viśvaprakāśa* did not regard the latter's work as worth quoting in case he had access to it. At any rate the omission of such a popular work as the *Viśvaprakāśa* Kośa which held its sway over all commentators beginning with Sarvānanda (A. D. 1159), has its own significance pertinent to Subhūti's date.

The commentator, Sarvānanda mentions in verse 3 of his beginning of the *Amarakośaṭīkā* that he used 10 previous commentaries on Amara. Sarvānanda, himself a Buddhist, may have known the commentary of Subhūticandra though he nowhere mentions either his name or the name of the commentary. If Subhūticandra could be mentioned by Śaraṇadeva in A D. 1172 it is possible that his commentary must have been used by Sarvānanda in A. D. 1159. Out of the 129 references of Subhūti about half the number is found in Sarvānanda's commentary on the *Amarakośa* The references common to both the commentaries are the following :—

काप्य, नारद, पालकाप्य, भरत, भागुरि, शाश्वत, आगम, नाममाला, रामायण (Sarvānanda has **बालरामायण**), **भारत, कामन्दक** (Subhūti mentions **कामन्दकीय**), **कालिदास, गोवर्धन, चन्द्रगोमी, जयादित्य, तारपाल, दण्डि** (Subhūti mentions **दण्ड्यलंकार, दण्डियमक**), **धनंजय, न्यासकार, भट्टि, भारवि, माघ, माधव,** (Subhūti mentions Mādhava's **पर्यायरत्नमाला**), **मुरारि, रक्षित, रामदास, रुद्र, वररुचि, वल्लभ, वामन, विभाकरवर्मा, विशाखदत्त** (Subhūti has **विशाखदेव**), **वोपालित, व्याडि, शालिहोत्र, हलायुध, उणादिवृत्ति, कप्फिणाभ्युदय** (Subhūti has **कप्फणाभ्युदय**), **कातन्त्रटीका** (Subhūti has **कातन्त्रविशेष** and **कातन्त्रव्याकरण**), **कादम्बरी, कीचकवध, कुमारसंभव, गोवर्द्धनीय, उणादिवृत्ति, जातकमाला, त्रिकाण्डशेष, दण्डियमक, दुर्घट** (Subhūti has **पुरुषोत्तम-दुर्घट**), **धरणि, धातुपारायण,** (Subhūti

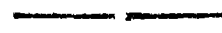
mentions पाणिनीय धातुपारायण), धातुप्रदीप (Subhūti mentions धातुप्रदीप-टीका), रघुवंश (Subhūti mentions रत्नकोश), रभसकोश (Subhūti mentions रभस), लिङ्गानुशासन (Subhūti mentions वामनलिङ्गानुशासन), वर्णदेशना, वायुपुराण, वासवदत्ता, विदग्धमुखमण्डन, वृत्ति (Subhūti has वृत्तिकृत्), शब्दार्णव, शाकटायनसूत्र, शृङ्गारप्रकाश, हर्षचरित. It is still possible to show that many more references from Sarvānanda's commentary could be found in the commentary of Subhūti because Dr. Chintamani's list of references is based only on a partial survey of the commentary, the Madras MS containing commentary extending from almost the beginning to the end of the 1st Varga in the 2nd Kāṇḍa only as reported by Dr. Chintamani. The foregoing references though common to Sarvānanda and Subhūti are not, however, sufficient to establish the exact obligations of the former to the latter in the composition of his commentary. Another commentator on the *Amarakośa* who is definitely indebted both to Sarvānanda and Subhūti is Liṅgābhaṭṭa. Mr. Sheshagiri Sastri[1] refers to him as "the latest of the commentators" on the lexicon of Amara. He has made full use of Sarvānanda's Amaraṭīkā and refers to him as the 'दशटीकासर्वस्वकार.' Mr. Sheshagiri Sastri gives a big schedule of references to earlier works and authors found in Liṅgābhaṭṭa's commentary. From this list I find that Subhūtichandra has been mentioned by Liṅgābhaṭṭa not less than 43 times. This number of citations shows clearly the influence of Subhūticandra on subsequent commentators of Amara and it would really be a great gain if the whole of his commentary is recovered. Even the fragment that is now recovered should be published and made available for a closer study by Sanskritists.

From Dr. Chintamani's list of references we come to know that Subhūti refers in his commentary to Dhanañjaya (No. 29) and possibly to his *Nāmamālā* (No. 71). There has been raging a controversy about his date.[2] According to Dr. K. B. Pathaka Dhanañjaya flourished about A. D. 1123. This date has apparently been accepted and echoed by Winternitz and Keith in their Histories of Literature. If it is correct we shall have to fix A. D. 1123 and A. D. 1172 as the limits for Subhūticandra's date. This date has, however, been challenged by Vīra Rāghavāchārya, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah and other scholars, who are more in favour of an early date for Dhanañjaya in view of Bhoja's reference to his poem

1. *Madras Mss Report* (1893-94). Published in 1899, p. 40.

2. *Pathak Comm. Volume* (Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, 1934) pp. 375-376.

Dvisandhāna which would put the date of the poem between A. D. 960 and 1000. We cannot, therefore, rely upon this date in the present stage of the controversy raging round it. From the list of references common to Subhūti and Sarvānanda given above we know that Sarvānanda refers to Dhanañjaya as also to his *Nāmamālā* in A. D. 1159, a fact which is useless for our purpose because we find Vardhamāna quoting from *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* of Dhanañjaya in A. D. 1140. Prof. Macdonell opines[1] that Dhanañjaya's *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* quoted by Vardhamāna is an imitation of Kavirāja's work. According to Mr. Vīra Rāghavāchārya, Kavirāja was a contemporary of Muñja, Bhoja's uncle (A.D. 975—95) and that the Telugu poet Pālkuriki Somana (1190 — 1260 A. D.) refers to Kavirāja in his *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita*. These facts so far as they go are in favour of an early date for Dhanañjaya as given by Mr. Vīra Rāghavāchārya, viz., A. D. 960—1000, which contradicts Dr. Pathak's date for Dhanañjaya viz., A. D. 1123. For the present we may regard A. D. 1062 and 1172 as the limits for Subhūticandra's date as pointed out above or in general we may say that he flourished *in the first quarter of the 12th century*.[2]



1. Vīra Rāghavāchārya in *Pathak Comm. Vol.* (B. O. R. I., 1934-5), p. 376.

2. Since this article was written, my note in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVI (1935), pp. 313-4 on "*Rare Mss of Subhūticandra's Commentary on the Amarakośa*" has been published. We have in all four Mss of Subhūti's *Amarakośaṭīkā*, viz. one in the Madras Library, one in the D. A. V. College Lalchanda Library and two in Tibetan monasteries. Of the two MSS available in Tibet one is dated *Saṁvat* 313 of the Nepali Era = A. D. 1191. This date of the copy harmonizes with Śaraṇadeva's reference to Subhūti in A.D.1172. (See also List of *Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS in Tibet* published by Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana in *J. Bih. and Ori. Res. Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 21-43.)

35. Date of Ānandabodha Yati, the author of Nyāyamakaranda and other works on Vedānta — Between A. D. 1200 and 1297 or the middle of the 13th Century ‡

Dr. Das Gupta remarks in his *History of Indian Philosophy*[1] about Ānandabodha :—

"Ānandabodha is a great name in the school of Śaṅkara Vedānta. He lived probably in the 11th or 12th century.........He wrote at least three works on Śaṅkara Vedānta viz. *Nyāyamakaranda*, *Nyāyadīpāvali*, and *Pramāṇamālā*." Aufrecht[2] records the following works as the works of Ānandabodha Paramahaṁsa :—

(1) *Nyāyadīpāvali* and its comm. *Pramāṇaratnamālā*.

(2) *Nyāyamakaranda*.

(3) *Nyāyāpadeśamakaranda*.

In the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series[3] the following works of Ānandabodha have been published :—

(1) *Nyāyamakaranda*; (2) *Pramāṇamālā*; and (3) *Nyāyadīpāvali*.

If the *Pramāṇaratnamālā* mentioned by Aufrecht is identical with the *Pramāṇamālā* published in the Chowkhamba Series it does not seem to be a commentary on the *Nyāyadīpāvali*, as stated by Aufrecht.

Mr. M. R. Kavi,[4] however, informs us that Ānandabodha, wrote another work called "*Nyāyadīpikā*." He observes :-" Ānandabodha,

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‡ *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 137–138.

1. Vol. II, p. 116.

2. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 48.

8. *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*, (1907).

4. *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, Part 3, p. 188 (foot-note).

a pupil of Ātmavāsa wrote a commentary on the *Śābdanirṇayadīpikā* of Prakāśātman. The commentary is known by the name of *Nyāya-dīpikā*. Citsukha, a contemporary of Ānandagiri commented on the works of Ānandabodha."

Mr. Kavi informs me that the above information about Ānandabodha's authorship of *Nyāyadīpikā* is based on the following verse which appears at the end of a Ms of the work described on p. 4812 of *Triennial Catalogue of Mss*, Vol. IV Part I (B) of the Govt. Ori. Mss Library, Madras :—

" नमो निखिलवेदान्तकमलाकरभानवे ।
आत्मवासाभिधानाय गुरवे गुणवेश्मने ॥
दुस्तर्कध्वान्तपटलप्रपाटनपटीयसी ।
इयमानन्दबोधेन रचिता न्यायदीपिका ॥ "

In the beginning of the Ms the line " शाब्दनिर्णयसदर्थभासिका दीपिकेय-ममला विधीयते " clearly states that the work is a commentary on शाब्दनिर्णय and not " on शाब्दनिर्णयदीपिका " as stated by Mr. Kavi in the extract quoted above.

I have now to record the following reference to a "*Nyāya-dīpikā*" made by Ānandabodha himself in his ***Nyāyamakaranda***. This reference appears as under in the Chowkhamba Edition of the *Nyāyamakaranda* referred to above :—

P. 170 — " दिङ्मात्रमत्र सूचितं विस्तरस्तु न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः "

Evidently the " *Nyāyadīpikā* " in the above reference is identical with the *Nyāyadīpikā* referred to by Mr. Kavi as the commentary of that name on the *Śābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman. It would appear that Ānandabodha is referring in the above line to an earlier work written by him.

Nyāyadīpikā is thus the title of a commentary on the *Śābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman. This latter work appears to be identical with that published by T. Ganapati Sastri[1] and ascribed to Prakāśātman.

Mr. Kavi further observes that Ānandagiri (also called Ānanda-

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1. *Śābdanirṇaya* (Kārikās and Vṛtti), Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LIII, 1917.

jñāna and Janārdana) was a contemporary of Citsukha and that he is generally assigned to A. D. 1200. Ānandabodha, whose "*Nyāya-makaranda*" was commented on by Citsukha, lived at least half a century prior to Ānandagiri. The chronological order of the three authors would, therefore, be as follows :—

(1) Prakāśātman, author of the *Śābdanirṇaya.*

(2) Ānandabodha, author of *Nyāyadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Śābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman.

A. D. 1200 — Contemporaries {
(3) Citsukha (commented on Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda*)
(4) Ānandagiri (commented on Ānandabodha's *Nyāyadīpāvali*)
}

According to Mr. Kavi, therefore, Ānandabodha's date would be about 1150 A. D.

As against this date viz., A. D. 1150 for Ānandabodha Dr. Das Gupta[1] assigns Prakāśātman, who stands first in the above list of four writers, to A. D. 1200 and remarks that he wrote a work called *Śābdanirṇaya* in which he tried to prove the claims of scriptural testimony as valid cognition. I have not examined the grounds on which this date of Prakāśātman viz. A. D. 1200 is based but as Dr. Das Gupta mentions it several times[2] in his book, I presume that it is based on reliable evidence. I had requested Dr. Das Gupta to let me know his grounds for the date of Prakāśātman. Though he is unable to do so at present owing to illness he has promised to consider my request as soon as he feels well.

It is proposed now to fix the limits for the date of Ānandabodha and for this purpose the date A. D. 1200 assigned to Prakāśātman is useful as it gives us one terminus to the date of Ānandabodha who commented on the work of Prakāśātman in his *Nyāyadīpika* as mentioned above by Mr. Kavi. The other terminus is furnished by the commentary of Caṇḍūpaṇḍita on the Naiṣadha-Carita of Śrī Harṣa. This commentary was composed in

1. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 103.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 30, 82, 103.

Saṁvat 1353 (A. D. 1297)[1] and it quotes from the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabodha in commenting on v. 108 of Canto XXI of the *Naiṣadhacarita*.[2]

It will be seen from the foregoing data that Ānandabodha lived after Prakāśātman (A. D. 1200) and before Caṇḍūpaṇḍita (A. D. 1297). We are, therefore, inclined to assign him to about A. D. 1250 or the *middle of the 13th century* and not 11th or 12th century as Dr. Das Gupta has done in his *History of Indian Philosophy*.

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1. Handiqui : *Naiṣadha-Carita* (English Translation etc.), 1934 (Punjab Ori. Series), Intro. p. ii.

2. *Ibid.*, — pp. 481-482 (Extracts)— " वस्तु घटपटादिकं etc......... भ्रममात्रासिद्धिः ॥ इति श्रीमदानन्दबोधाचार्यैरपि न्यायमकरन्दे भेदं निराकुर्वद्भिरुक्तम् "

36. Ānandabodha's Authorship of Nyāya-dīpikā and Limits for his Date ‡

In his illuminating article on the date of *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao[1] makes the following cautious statement about the authorship of the *Nyāyadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Śābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman :—

" If this Ānandabodha is the same person as the one of that name who was the author of *Pramāṇaratnamālā*, a treatise on the Advaita system and the *Śābdanirṇayavyākhyā* (or *Dīpikā* or *Nyāya-dīpikā*), etc." The above remarks appear to contain a doubt about Ānandabodha's authorship of *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Nyāyadīpikā*.

I have pointed out in my note on the date of Ānandabodha[2] that the author of the *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Nyāyadīpikā* appears to be identical for the following reasons :—

(1) Ānandabodha in his *Nyāyamakaranda* refers to the *Nyāya-dīpikā*, which was presumably composed by him earlier as the following lines will show :—

" दिङ्मात्रमत्र सूचितं विस्तरस्तु न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः "

(2) The manner in which the above reference is made by Ānandabodha shows that to save much labour in exposition he is pointing his finger to a detailed exposition of the topic under discussion in the *Nyāyamakaranda*.

(3) In the Madras MS of *Nyāyadīpikā*, the following statement proves that the author of the treatise was Ānandabodha :—

" दुस्तर्कध्वांतपटलप्रपाटनपटीयसी इयमानंदबोधेन रचिता न्यायदीपिका "

Prima facie, therefore, the above facts appear to clear up the

‡ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 153-156.

1. *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 278-279.

2. *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II (1935).

doubt of Mr. Hayavadana Rao about Ānandabodha's authorship of of both the (1) *Nyāyamakaranda* and (2) *Nyāyadīpikā*, though I have not verified the reference to *Nyāyadīpikā* found in his *Nyāyamakaranda* in the text of the Madras MS of the *Nyāyadīpikā*.

Another point which I want to bring to the notice of Mr. Hayavadana Rao is the reference by Caṇḍūpaṇḍita in his commentary on the *Naiṣadha* composed in A. D. 1297. He quotes a long passage from the *Nyāyamakaranda*[1] of Ānandabodha as follows :—

"असति प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वे भेदस्य अनुमानस्यापि व्याप्यव्यापकभेदज्ञानाधीनस्य भेदावभासे प्रामाण्यं निरस्तम्...... इत्थं निरस्तनिखिलप्रतिकूलतर्कात् वेदान्तवाक्यनिकरान्निखिलोऽपि भेदः। शक्यो निषेद्धुमिति सिद्धमनाद्यविद्या, तद्वासनाविरचितभ्रममात्रसिद्धिः" इति श्रीमदानन्दबोधाचार्यैरपि न्यायमकरंदे भेदं निराकुर्वद्भिरुक्तम्।"

A. D. 1297 is, therefore, one sure terminus to Ānandabodha's date and it is in harmony with the inscriptional evidence brought forth by Mr. Hayavadana Rao for the date of Citsukha, who commented Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda*. According to this inscriptional evidence, Citsukha's literary activity may fall between A. D. 1220 and 1284, the dates of the two inscriptions in which Citsukha is styled as Citsukha Somayājin and Citsukha Bhaṭṭāraka *alias* Narasiṁhamuni. If the Citsukha mentioned in the inscriptions is identical with the commentator of Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda*, it would appear that Caṇḍūpaṇḍita, the author of the *Naiṣadhaṭīkā* and Citsukhācārya were almost contemporaries, Caṇḍū being possibly a younger contemporary.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao rightly looks upon the date of Prakāśātman as the other terminus to the date of Ānandabodha. If this date of Prakāśātman is finally fixed, we shall be in a position to clinch the issue with some certainty. At present, two dates for Prakāśātman are put forward. They are :—

(1) *A.D. 1200* - According to Dr. Das Gupta,[2] this date is given

1. *Naiṣadha Carita*, edited by Handiqui, 1934 (Punjab Ori. Series), p. 480.

2. ***History of Indian Philosophy***, **Vol. II, p. 17, foot-note 2 and at other places in the volume.**

to Prakāśātman several times in the *History of Indian Philosophy* but in all these references the grounds for this date are not mentioned. I had requested Dr. Das Gupta to let me know his grounds for this date but have not yet heard from him in reply.

Dr. T. R. Chintamani of the Madras University writes to me in a private communication dated 22nd March 1935, as follows :—

"The date of Prakāśātman adopted by you from Dr. Das Gupta is not correct for it is very well and widely known that Rāmānuja who lived between A. D. 1015 and 1137 has criticized in his *Bhāṣya* the syllogism of Prakāśātman. In view of this fact, it is impossible to bring down Prakāśātman to any period later than A. D. 1000. The date 1200 for Prakāśātman is definitely wrong. The date of Citsukha is fairly correct (A. D. 1200) and Ānandabodha who preceded him cannot be later than at least A. D. 1150. He was propably slightly older."

I have not examined the grounds of Dr. Chintamani's criticism of the date A. D. 1200 for Prakāśātman as given by Dr. Das Gupta but have quoted his view to enable Mr. Hayavadana Rao to survey his facts in the light of this criticism.

(2) *A. D. 1000.* — Prof. M. Hiriyanna[1] as quoted by Mr. Hayavadana Rao assigns Prakāśātman to A. D. 1000. This view appears to come nearer to Dr. Chintamani's view stated above that Prakāśātman is not later than A. D. 1000.

The chronological order of the several writers mentioned above may now be represented as under :—

(1) *Prakāśātman* — 1200 A. D. (Dr. Das Gupta).
— 1000 A. D. (Prof. Hiriyanna).
— not later than A. D. 1000.
(Dr. Chintamani).

(2) *Rāmānuja* — Between A. D. 1015 and 1137.

(3) *Ānandabodha* — Before A. D. 1297 (Caṇḍūpaṇḍita).

(4) *Citsukha* — Between A. D. 1220 and 1284 (Inscriptions).

1. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, (London, 1932), p. 340.

In the present state of the above chronology, for want of a more definite date for Prakāśātman I am inclined to agree in general with Mr. Hayavadana Rao in his remarks about Ānandabodha's date, *viz*. " Ānandabodha should be assigned to a date somewhat later than A. D. 1000 say *circa* A. D. 1050 " but may go a step further and conclude that he may have flourished between 1050 and A. D. 1100.

37. Who was the Guru of Ānandabodha? — Vimuktātman or Ātmavāsa? ‡

Prof. M. Hiriyanna, the learned editor of the Baroda edition of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*[1] makes a very cautious inference on the strength of a half stanza which is found in the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman as also in the *Pramāṇamālā* of Ānandabodha. Ānandabodha introduces this stanza with the words " एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः. " Our attention is also directed by Prof. Hiriyanna to another stanza in the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabodha which contains the words " इत्याचार्या व्यचीचरन् " analogous to the words " एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः. "

I propose in the present note to show that Vimuktātman was not the guru of Ānandabodha and that the references made by Ānandabodha in the words " गुरुभिः " or " आचार्याः " to an earlier writer show only his respect for the author, whose opinions he is citing in his works with esteem and regard in view of the fact pointed out by Prof. Hiriyanna himself that Ānandabodha held views in regard to many a detail of Advaitic doctrine which are identical with those maintained by Vimuktātman. These references may still be taken to allude to Vimuktātman, the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* on account of the kinship of views between the two authors as pointed out by Prof. M. Hiriyanna.

But before I state my evidence which runs counter to Prof. Hiriyanna's cautious suggestion based on a half-stanza common to the works of Vimuktātman and Ānandabodha and which he owes to Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppuswamy Shāstri as he gratefully informs us in a footnote, I must quote the pertinent extract from Prof. Hiriyanna's Introduction to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* to acquaint the reader fully with his argument on the point at issue and the possibilities, hinted though very cautiously about the chronological position of the two authors viz. Vimuktātman and Ānandabodha.

Prof. Hiriyanna observes (p. xiii)—" There is a book with the title of *Pramāṇamālā* by Ānandabodha, a well-known exponent of

‡ *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 229–232.

the Advaita and in it he quotes the following half-stanza which he found in *Iṣṭasiddhi* (i, 36) prefacing it with the words एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः

— 'नान्यत्र कारणात्कार्यं न चेत्तत्र क तद्भवेत्'

We may deduce from this, though we cannot be at all sure about it, that, Ānandabodha was a disciple of Vimuktātman. There is nothing improbable in this for Ānandabodha was an early writer on the Advaita and, has shown by his references to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* in another of his works *Nyāyamakaranda*, he held views in regard to many a detail of Advaitic doctrine which are identical with those maintained by Vimuktātman. But as Ānandabodha's date is not definitely known, this conclusion even if correct throws no light on the chronological position of the present work."

The above passage raises two questions :—

(1) Was Vimuktātman, the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*, the *guru* of Ānandabodha ?

(2) What is the chronological position of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*[1] with reference to Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda*, which contains references to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman ?

Our answer to the first question must be in the negative on the strength of Ānandabodha's own testimony contained in the following verse appearing at the end of a Manuscript[2] of a work called *Nyāyadīpikā* by Ānandabodha :—

" नमः सकलसंसारसागरोत्तारसेतवे
संश्रिताखिलसंकल्पकल्पवृक्षाय शम्भवे ।
नमो निखिलवेदान्तकमलाकरभानवे
आत्मवासाभिधानाय गुरवे गुणवेश्मने ॥ "

The expression " आत्मवासाभिधानाय गुरवे " stating in unmistakable terms that आत्मवास was the गुरु of Ānandabodha directly contradicts Prof. Hiriyanna's cautious deduction that Ānandabodha was the disciple of Vimuktātman, the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* and that the former alludes to the latter as his *guru* in the words

1. *Iṣṭasiddhi* (Gaikwar Ori. Series), Baroda, 1933, Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv.

2. *Triennial Catalogue of Mss*, Vol. VI, Part I (B) of the Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, Madras, p. 4812.

" एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः " introducing a half-stanza, which is common to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman and the *Pramāṇamālā* of Ānandabodha. We must understand by the word " गुरुभिः " only a respectful reference to a predecessor's opinion instead of direct relation of the *guru* with his disciple.

The work *Nyāyadīpikā* referred to above is a commentary by Ānandabodha on the *Śābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman (शाब्दनिर्णयसदर्थभासिका दीपिकेयमसला विधीयते). Ānandabodha's authorship of this work is vouched by him in the following verse which appears at the end of the Madras Ms of *Nyāyadīpikā* referred to above :—

" दुस्तर्कध्वान्तपटलप्रपाटनपटीयसी ।
इयमानन्दबोधेन रचिता न्यायदीपिका ॥ "

Prof. Hiriyaṇṇa remarks further :—" It is strange that the colophons in none of the three works of Ānandabodha included in the volume (Chowkhamba Series) mention his *guru*. "

I have made it clear in the foregoing paragraph that the colophon of the fourth work of Ānandabodha viz. *Nyāyadīpikā* contains a direct reference by Ānandabodha to his *guru*. So far as the chronological order of the *Nyāyadīpikā* and *Nyāyamakaranda* is concerned I can say that the *Nyāyadīpikā* was composed earlier than *Nyāyamakaranda* because Ānandabodha refers to the former in the latter as under :—

" दिङ्मात्रमत्र सूचितम् विस्तरस्तु न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः " [1]

I cannot say anything about the chronological order of the other works of Ānandabodha with reference to *Nyāyadīpikā* but if it is proved that they are later than the *Nyāyadīpikā* like *Nyāyamakaranda*, we may easily explain why no reference is included in them by Ānandabodha to his *guru*. Having once made such a detailed reference in the earlier work, viz. *Nyāyadīpikā* perhaps he thought it superfluous to do so in every single work written by him subsequently. The second question stated above viz. What is the chronological position of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* with reference to the *Nyāyamakaranda* ?, will require a detailed examination of the references to *Iṣṭasiddhi* in the *Nyāyamakaranda* and other works of Ānandabodha and hence cannot be dealt with in this note.

As regards Ānandabodha's date, which as Prof. Hiriyanna states is not definitely known, I am inclined to assign him between

1. *Nyāyamakaranda* (Chowkhamba Edition) p. 170.

Prakāśātman (on whose *Śābdanirṇaya* he wrote the *Nyāyadīpikā*) and Caṇḍūpaṇḍita (A. D. 1297), the author of a commentary on the *Naiṣadha*, who directly quotes in his commentary from Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda.*[1]

The date of Prakāśātman as given by Dr. Das Gupta is A. D. 1200.[2] Presuming this date to be correct I had placed Ānandabodha between A. D. 1200 and 1297. My friend Dr. T. R. Chintamani of the Madras University writes to me, however, in a private letter dated 22-3-35 :— " The date of Prakāśātman adopted by you from Dr. Das Gupta is not correct for it is very well and widely known that Rāmānuja who lived between 1015 and 1137 has criticized in his bhāṣya the syllogism of Prakāśātman. In view of this fact, it is impossible to bring down Prakāśātman to any period later than 1000 A. D. The date 1200 for Prakāśātman is definitely wrong. The date of Citsukha is fairly correct (1200 A. D.) and Ānandabodha who preceded him cannot be later than at least 1150 A. D. He was probably slightly older."

Between these two dates for Prakāśātman viz. A. D. 1200 of Dr. Das Gupta and about A. D. 1000 according to Dr. Chintamani I am unable to make a choice at present as I have not examined their grounds. The date of Ānandabodha as given by me on the strength of Dr. Das Gupta's date for Prakāśātman is about A. D. 1250, while Dr. Chintamani regards Ānandabodha to be "not later than at least 1150." If this date of Ānandabodha is definitely decided it will throw more light on the chronological position of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman to which references are made in the *Nyāyamakaranda* as pointed out by Prof. Hiriyanna. In the present state of our inquiry the two dates for Ānandabodha referred to above viz. A. D. 1250 and A. D. 1150 do not affect Prof. Hiriyanna's view[3] that *Iṣṭasiddhi* may have been composed between A. D. 850 and 1050. Dr. Das Gupta,[4] however, assigns Vimuktātman to the "*early years* of the *13th century*" i.e. A. D. 1200, a conclusion which conflicts with Dr. Chintamani's date for Ānandabodha viz., about 1150 A. D. but is in harmony with my date for Ānandabodha viz. about 1250 A. D. presuming the priority of Vimuktātman to Ānandabodha to be correct.

1. Vide my Note on the date of Ānandabodha, in the *Calcutta Ori. Journal*, Jan. 1935, p. 139, footnote 9.
2. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 17, 30, 82, 103.
3. *Iṣṭasiddhi*, (G. O. S.) Baroda, 1933, Intro. p. xiii.
4. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 198.

The oldest Dated manuscript of the Kāvyaprakāśa — Dated Wednesday, 18th October, 1158 ‡

Dr. S. K. De[1] in his chapter on "Mammaṭa and Allaṭa" has recorded the MSS of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* available in different MSS libraries in India and Europe. Further in fixing the lower limit of Mammaṭa's date he has made use of the date 1160 A. D. (*Saṁvat* 1216) when Māṇikyacandra composed his commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. As Dr. De's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* was published in 1923 and as the *Catalogue of the MSS in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere*[2] was also published in the same year, he could not make use of the following important dated MS of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* which provides a definite lower limit to Mammaṭa's date earlier by about 2 years. Mr. C. D. Dalal gives the following description of this MS :—

"163. काव्यप्रकाश. 178 leaves 18 X 2 (मु)

Col. कृती राजानकमम्मटालकयोः सं. १२१५ अ(आ)श्विनसुदि १४ बुधे अद्येह श्रीमदन(ण)हिलपाटके समस्तराजावलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक - उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापनिजभुजविक्रमरणाङ्गणनिर्जितशाकम्भरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये पण्डितलक्ष्मीधरेण पुस्तके लिखापितम्। "

The above colophon furnishes us with the exact date of the copy *viz. Saṁvat* 1215, *Aśvina Śudi* 14, *Budhe* which is equal to *Wednesday, 8th October*, 1158.[3] The copyist is one Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara, who copied the MS at Anahilapāṭaka[4] while king Kumārapāla was

‡ *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), Vol. XIII, Part I, pp. 49–53.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, (1923), p. 168.

2. *G. O. S.* (Baroda) No. XXI, p. 18.

3. Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, III, 319.

4. *Vide* Chap. XV of H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II (1936), pp. 933 ff. The Cāulukyas of Aṇahila-Pāṭaka ruled for nearly three and half centuries (C. 950-1304 A. D.).

ruling. This Anahilapāṭaka is identical with Anahilapaṭṭaṇa called also Anihilwār in northern Baroda in Gujarat founded in A. D. 746 after the destruction of Valabhi by Banarāja or Vaṁśarāja. Hemacandra flourished at the court of Kumārapāla, king of Anahilapaṭṭaṇa (A. D. 1142-1173) and was his spiritual guide. According to Dr. Bhau Daji (*Brief Notes on Hemacandra*)[1] Kumārapāla became a convert to Jainism in A. D. 1172, in which year Hemacandra died at the age of 84 but according to other authorities, the conversion took place in A. D. 1159 (Twaney's *Intro. Prabandhacintāmaṇi* p. iii). After the overthrow of Valabhi in the 8th century Anahilapaṭṭaṇa (also called Anahilapura) became the chief city of Gujarat or Western India till the 15th century.[2]

The colophon of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* MS dated 1158 A. D. quoted above states that this work *viz.*, the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is the work of Rājānaka Mammaṭa and Alaka (" कृती राजानकमम्मटालकयोः "). Many papers[3] have been written on the question of the joint authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. The traditional verse about this joint authorship is quoted by Rājānaka Ānanda in this commentary called the *Kāvyaprakāśa-nidarśanā*.[4] It informs us that Mammaṭa composed the work as far as *parikara* and the rest was completed by Alaka. As Rājānaka Ānanda is a late commentator,[5] his statements need independent and early corroboration on the question of the dual-authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. Such early corroboration is found in the *1st quarter of the 13th century*, when Arjunavarman in his commentary on the *Amaruśataka*

1. According to *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* Kumārapāla reigned for 31 years (V. S. *1199 to 1230*). The *Therāvali* gives the reign period : *1199 to 1229 V. S.* Published records of the time of Kumārapāla are dated A. D. 1145, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1153, 1154, 1156, 1159, 1161, 1163, 1165, 1166, 1169, 1171, (Vide *Dynastic History* II, pp. 977-985).

2. *Vide* p. 6 of *Geographical Dictionary* by Nandolal Dey, 1927.

3. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in Z. D. M. G. 1912 pp. 477 f. ; Dr. H. R. Divekar in JRAS, 1927, pp. 505-520.

4. This verse reads as follows :—

" कृतः श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः ।
प्रबन्धः पूरितः शेषो विधायालकसूरिणा ॥ "

5. *Vide* p. 181 of Vol. I of *History of Sanskrit Poetics* by Dr. S. K. De (1923). " Ānanda may be assigned to the *second and third quarters of the 17th century.*"

quotes from the *Kāvyaprakāśa* (VII A. D. 14).[1] Ruyyaka (2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century) alludes to the dual authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* but does not mention the name of Allaṭa as the continuator.[2] In view of the absence of Alaka's name in Ruyyaka's allusion of the 12th century and in view of the other references being removed from Mammaṭa's[3] date by about a century, Pandita Lakṣmīdhara's colophon of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* MS of 1158 A.D. is a better and more explicit corroboration of the Kashmirian traditions[4] about the double authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* than that furnished by Rājānaka Ānanda in the 17th century or Arjunavarman in the 13th century.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 163—Arjunavarman observes :—

" यथोदाहृतं दोषनिर्णये **मम्मटालकाभ्याम्** " and " ......काव्यप्रकाशकारौ......... अकुरुताम् "

2. *Ibid.*, p. 164 — Dr. De rightly observes that the combination of names in the colophon of a MS of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* (" श्रीमद्राजानकाल्लट-मम्मट-रुचक-विरचिते etc. ") should not lead us to think that the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is a joint compilation of Allaṭa, Mammaṭa and Rucaka. Dr. De (p. 163) states that of the three forms of the name, अलक, अलट and अल्लट, the last appears to be the most authentic. The colophon of the Jesalmere MS of 1158 A. D. uses the form अलक.

3. Vide *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, I, by Dr. S. K. De, p. 160 — " Mammaṭa probably belongs to the period between the middle of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. Allowing two generations to intervene between him and Ruyyaka, we may assign Mammaṭa's literary activity roughly to the last quarter of the 11th century."

4. Dr. De: *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, 162 — This tradition is supported by the colophons of some MSS of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. Dr. De states that a Bodlien MS (Hultzsch collection 172) mentions Mammaṭa and Alaka as authors of the K. P. as follows :—

" कृतिः श्रीराजानकमम्मटालकयोः "

This MS is a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā characters, and its statement about the dual authorship exactly tallies with that of the Paṭṭaṇa copy of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* (A. D. 1158) deposited in Jesalmere Bhandar. Evidently the 1158 A.D. copy must have been prepared from a Kashmiri original in Kumārapāla's time when the contact between Gujarat and Kashmir was frequent and continuous. According to the ***Prabhā-***

(*Continued on next page*)

In the list of published records given by Dr. H.C. Ray in his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II (pp. 977 ff.) I could not find any record for the years 1157 and 1158 A.D. Our present colophon, therefore, is useful in this respect also as it is dated 1158 A.D. and hence provides us some record for that year at least.

The importance of this colophon is further enhanced by the identity of a portion of it with the opening sentence of another inscription dated V. S. 1213 (= A.D. 1156) the beginning of which reads as follows :—

" ॥ ॐ ॥ संवत् १२१३ वर्षे माघे वदि शुक्रे ॥ श्रीमदणहिलपाटके समस्तराजावलिसमलंकृतपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रता प नि ज-भुजविक्रमरणाङ्गणविनिर्जित-शाकम्भरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादोपजीविनि महामात्यश्रीचाहडदेवे श्रीश्रीकरणादौ सकलमुद्राव्यापारान् परिपन्थयति... "

Dr. Bühler[1] has quoted this inscription while discussing the question of the date of Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism. This inscription deals with the presentation of land by the Mahāmaṇḍalika Pratāpasiṁha and it is preserved in the Temple of Pārśvanātha in Naḍḍūla-Nāḍol.

(*Continued from previous page*)

vakacaritra (C. 1250 A. D.) which is the oldest source for the life of Hemacandra, Hemacandra compiled his grammar after looking through the MSS from Kashmir, fetched by the officials of Jayasiṁha, the predecessor of Kumārapāla. These MSS included eight older grammars which were to be found in their entirety only in the library of the Temple of Sarasvatī in Kashmir (*Vide* p. 15 of Bühler's *Life of Hemacandra* — Eng. Trans. by Manilal Patel — *Singhi Jain Series* ed. by Muni Jina Vijaya, 1936).

1. *Vide* p. 35 of *Life of Hemacandra* (Patel's Trans.). " Kumārapāla received the title परमश्रावक *i.e.*, " the most eager hearer (of the Jaina-doctrine) as stated in the colophon of an old MS which was written......in V. S. 1221 (= A. D. 1165) while his conversion is not mentioned in a Jain inscription of V. S. 1213." (p. 90) — " As the inscription contains a presentation to the Jainas one might surely expect a mention of Kumārapāla's conversion in case the same had already taken place. The exact date of this is, according to Dr. Schram's calculation, January 20th 1156, a Friday."

This inscription has been edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[1] It will thus be seen that while the *Kāvyaprakāśa* copy of *A.D.* 1158 was made by Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara, the Nāḍol grant of *A. D.* 1156 was written by Paṇḍita Mahīpāla. The sentence common to both these records is the following :—

" श्रीमदणहिलपाटके समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर — उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापनिजभुजविक्रमरणाङ्गणविनिर्जितशाकम्भरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये "

The colophon of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* MS states : " पण्डितलक्ष्मीधरेण पुस्तके लिखापितम् ". If the word " लिखापितम् " is taken in its strict sense the statement would mean that Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara got this copy prepared for him. If, however, लिखापितं be interpreted to mean लिखितं, Lakṣmīdhara himself becomes the scribe. Can we suppose that Paṇḍita Mahīpāla's sentence quoted above is reproduced by Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* colophon? If Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara is supposed to be a different person from the copyist of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* MS, it may be possible to suggest that Kāyastha Mahīpāla may have copied the MS of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* for Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara and in doing so he only repeated a sentence from his inscription of A.D. 1156 two years later. This suggestion, however, needs more evidence because an alternative inference may be made to the effect that Paṇḍit Lakṣmīdhara had before him in 1158 A.D. the earlier Nāḍol grant of A.D. 1156.

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1. *Indian Anti.* 1912, Vol. XLI, pp. 202-203 — Dr. H. C. Ray has summarised the contents of this Nādol grant (*vide* p. 981 of his *Dynastic His.* II). " The grant consists of one *rūpaka* per day from the custom house (*maṇḍapikā*) of Badarī to some Jaina temples...... The inscription was written by the गौडान्वय-कायस्थ-पण्डित-महीपाल."

38. Guṇapatākā, an unknown Sanskrit work and its Date Before — A. D. 1200 ‡

No work of the name *Guṇapatākā* has been recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum.* In the list of Plays recorded by Prof. D. R. Mankad in his *Types of Sanskrit Drama*[1] he records a work called "*Guṇamālā*" mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but its connection with गुणपताका remains doubtful at present. I propose, therefore, to record in this paper some references to a work called गुणपताका and indicate as far as possible the chronology of these references which may prove the existence of this work for a period of at least 500 years, if not more.

Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita[2] in his commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* of

‡ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, pp. 82-86.

1. Published by Urmi Prakashan Mandir, Karachi, 1936, Apppendix, p. 172 — "गुगमाला Abh. 177." On p. 177 of the G. O. S. Edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vol. I (1926) we find the following quotation from the गुणमाला in the अभिनवभारती commentary :—

गुणमालायां 'जामि हराधांतुं गियपुण्णं चिममी' त्यादौ, तत्र सा नृत्यती डोम्बिका etc." I cannot say if गुगमाला mentioned by Abhinavagupta is identical with गुगपताका or otherwise. Prof. Kane also makes no remark against गुणमाला in his *Gleanings* from *Abhinavabhāratī* [*K. B. Pathak Comm. Vol.* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1934), p. 389]. In the indices to the *Sanskrit Drama* by Keith no work of the name गुणमाला or गुणपताका is recorded. In the same manner no reference to these works is found in the Index of Titles given by Prof. M. Dillon, on pp. 145-6 of his edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, Oxford, 1937. Krishnamachariar (*Classical Sans. Literature*, 1937, p. 548) mentions डोम्बिका as an उपनाटक of which गुणमाला and चूडामणि are examples. See also p. 820 where he calls गुणमाला and चूडामणि as "lyrical plays." Keith and Winternitz record no work of the name गुणमाला or गुणपताका.

2. Vide my paper on *Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and other commentators of the Vāsavadattā* (*Annals of B. O. R. Institute*, Vol. XXI, pp. 128-144).

Subandhu, which is later than about 1250 A. D., mentions and quotes from the गुणपताका as follows :—

Folio 21 of Ms *No. 567 of 1891-95* (B. O. R. Institute).

— " बाला स्यात्षोडशाब्दा तदुपरि तरुणी त्रिंशतं या तदूर्ध्वं
प्रौढा स्यात्पंचपंचाशदवधिपरतो वृद्धतामेति नारी ।

उक्तं च गुणपताकायाम् —

वा(बा)ला ताम्बूल वा(भा)ला फलरससुरसाहारसम्मानहार्या
मुक्तालंकारहारप्रमुखवितरणै रज्यते यौवनस्था ।
सद्भावारण्ठगाढोद्भटरतसुखिता मध्यमा रागलुब्धा
मृद्व(द्रा)लापैः प्रहृष्टा भवति गत(भ?)या गौरवेणातिदूरम् ॥

एवंभूतानां मालतीनां युवतीनां माला अनधिगतपरिमालापि अनास्वादितरतोपमर्दविकसद्देहरागादिसौरभापि दशं द्वारं विकारत्वाद्धरति । "

As a result of my inquiry with some of my friends I have succeeded in locating some more references to गुणपताका. They are as follows :—

Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa in his work called the प्राकृतचन्द्रिका mentions गुणपताका and quotes a Prākrit verse[1] from it as follows :—

Ms.[2] *No. 243 of 1895-98* (B.O.R. Institute, Poona) *Folio 4b* —

" गुणपताकायामपि

संसारो कामाओ कामो णिव्वहइ जुवइरअणाओ
जं तम्मि तेण सारं भणिअं बहुजाणुराण फुडं ॥ "

1. Supplied by Prof. R. D. Laddu of the S. P. College, Poona.

2. There is another MS. of the *Prākṛta-Candrikā* at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 255 of 1884-86). This MS is a late copy made at Bombay by Ganesh Parashuram Godbole in Śaka 1807 (= A.D. 1885). The third MS of the work is found in the India Office Library (MS. 945, p. 267 of *I. O. Cata.*, II, 1889). Dr. Eggeling describes this MS as " fairly written in Devanāgarī, *about A. D.* 1550. " If this description is correct the MS appears to be a contemporary copy and hence extremely valuable for a critical edition of this text.

Unlike the Sanskrit quotation from *Guṇapatākā* recorded above from Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita's commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* we have in the above extract a Prākrit verse from गुणपताका.

It remains to be seen if the work गुणपताका was a "lyrical play" of the type of गुणमाला referred to by Abhinavagupta (A. D. 990–1020).[1] If the quotation from the गुणपताका from Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's *Prākṛta-candrikā* is genuine, it may enable us to infer that Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa who flourished towards the end of the 16th century[2] had before him a Ms of the गुणपताका or that he had taken this quotation from some other Sanskrit or Prakrit work as an illustration borrowed second-hand. Even if we suppose that the quotation does not form part of the *Prākṛta-candrikā*, it must retain its value as we know of no other quotation from गुणपताका in Prākrit recorded in a Ms. References to the गुणपताका by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and by Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa being somewhat of a later date do not give us any idea about the antiquity of this work. It is, therefore, necessary to see if there is any evidence to suggest or warrant an inference that this work, whatever be its exact nature or contents, is earlier than A.D. 1200. Such evidence is fortunately forthcoming[3] from a commentator on the *Mālatī-*

1. P. V. Kane : *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 1923 ; Index of authors, p. clx.

2. Aufrecht : *CC*, I, 117. Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa flourished during the reign of Emperor Akbar.

3. While commenting on "नववधूविश्रम्भणोपायज्ञाता" (*Mālatī-mādhava*, Act VII, p. 192 of Bhandarkar's edition) Harihara says (p. 82) :—

"नववधूविस्रम्भणोपायस्तु । **बाला ताम्बूलमाला फलरससुरसाहारसंमानहार्येत्यादि** लौकिकः कन्यावर्जनोपायः"

Jagaddhara (p. 292 of Bhandarkar's edn.) who has at times borrowed verbatim says ;—

"नववधूविस्रम्भणोपायस्ताम्बूलादिदानम् । यदाह । बाला ताम्बूलमालाफलरससुरसा-हारसंमानहार्येत्यादिकः सुप्रसिद्ध एव ।"

Ir will be seen from Harihara's quotation given above that he is quoting the stanza "बाला ताम्बूलमाला etc." which Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita quotes as from a work called गुणपताका. How the name गुणपताका came to be applied to the work under reference may perhaps be explained by the following referenee to गुणपताका made by Harihara in commenting on the *Mālatīmādhava* verse असारे संसारे (Act V of Bhand. edn. p. 232). Harihara says :—

"त्वया च मालत्यामसमञ्जसं प्रक्रममाणेन संसार एवासारः कर्तुं प्रक्रान्तः । संसारे किं सारमिति **गुणपताकया पृष्टो मूलदेवः** सारं निहितपदेति"—(p. 65 of transcript of Harihara's commentary on *Mālatīmādhava*). I am indebted to Prof. N. A. Gore for the above references.

mādhava of Bhavabhūti, who is no other than Harihara who composed his commentary during the reign of Arimalladeva, the founder of the Malla dynasty of Nepal. In fact Harihara records the date of composition of his commentary which corresponds to A.D. 1216.[1] Harihara appears to have flourished between A.D. 1150 and 1225.

The suggestion made by me in the foregoing lines to the effect that *Guṇapatākā* was a definite work of that title gets further strengthened by the mention of the work by Pṛthvīdhara, the commentator of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*,[2] who quotes from it in his commentary on Act IV while explaining the term " गणिकादारिकाः " :—

[" गणिकादारिकाः वेश्याविशेषा " इति गुणपताकायामुक्तम्]

The approximate chronology of the references to *Guṇapatākā* recorded so far is as follows :

A.D. 1216 — Harihara in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* quotes a verse which is quoted by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita as from a work called *Guṇapatākā*. Harihara also refers to a female character of the name *Guṇapatākā* at one place in his commentary.

Between 1250 and 1550 — Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita mentions and quotes from a work called *Guṇapatākā* in his commentary on the *Vāsavadattā*.

Between 1300 and 1500 — Jagaddhara copying Harihara, quotes the verse which is already quoted by Harihara as mentioned above.

c. 1500 — Pṛthvīdhara, in his commentary on the *Mṛcchakaṭika* mentions and quotes from the *Guṇapatākā*.

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1. Vide *Descriptive Cata. of Kāvya MSS.*, Vol. VII (1934), pp. 242-243. The date of composition as recorded in MS No. 5299 is Newari Saṁvat 336 = A. D. 1216, which I take to be the date of composition. Even if this is the date of the copy the date of Harihara lies between A. D. 1150 and 1225 as he quotes from Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* (about A. D. 1100).

2. *Vide* p. 103 of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, ed. H. M. Sarma, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1910. *Vidūṣaka*—" गणिकादारिकाः नर्त्यन्ते... " Pṛthvīdhara appears to belong to the end of the 15th century A. D. I propose to deal with his date in a separate paper.

c. 1600 Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa mentions and quotes from the *Guṇapatākā* (a Prākṛta verse in his *Prākṛta-candrikā*).

It will be seen from the above table that a work of the name *Guṇapatākā* known to Sanskrit writers from say A. D. 1200 to 1600 i.e. a period of 400 years has apparently been lost and consequently not even its name is rec orded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* or by other compilers of Catalogues. I shall feel thankful if any close students of Sanskrit literature throw more light on this work *viz*, the *Guṇapatākā* by recording any references to it found by them during the course of their studies.

39. Identification of the Siddharāja-Saras ‡

In a work called the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*,[1] devoted mainly to the description of holy places or *tīrthas* associated with the river Sarasvatī[2] in Gujarat falling into the gulf of Kutch, there is a good deal of description of a lake called सिद्धराजसरः.[3] This lake, the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* tells us, was formed from the river Sarasvatī itself :— *Folio 110a* (of Ms No. 429 of Viś. I)—

" एवं सरस्वती ब्रह्मन् प्राचीभूत्वा सरिद्वरा ।
महता च जलौघेन मत्स्यकच्छपवाहिना ॥ २३ ॥
हसमानेन फेनौघैरावर्त्तैर्नृत्यतीव सा ।
ताभ्यां सरिद्भ्यां सहिता पूरयामास तत्सरः ॥ २४ ॥

‡ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, pp. 252–258.

1. MSS of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* mentioned by Aufrecht are :—

Part I, *p*. 699—"Kh. 64. B. 2, 34; BL. 2; Gu. 3; Bhk. 14; Poona 429" (a Śāradāpurāṇa is frequently quoted by Hemādri). Out of these MSS the MS available to me is " Poona 429 " which is the same as No, 429 of Viś I in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

2. N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary* (London, 1927) pp. 180-181, where various identifications of the river *Sarasvatī* are recorded. We are concerned here with the river Sarasvatī which is an affluent of the river *Kuvarkā* falling into the gulf of Kutch.

3. Hemacandra, a contemporary of Siddharāja refers to this lake as follows in verse 114 of canto XV of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*.

" अतीत्य मैथिलं युद्धं राघवो नु कृतक्रतुः ।
प्रापातेतरतिथ्यां स पूर्तं चक्रे महासरः ॥ ११४ ॥ "

Abhayatilakagaṇi who wrote his commentary on the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* in Saṁ. 1312 = A. D. 1256 comments on the above verse as follows :—

" स राजा सहस्त्रलिङ्गाख्यं महासरः पूर्तं चक्रे कारयत् "

(Vide analysis of this *Kāvya* in *IA*., IV, p. 269) cf. also verse 117 of canto XV of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* :—

" शंभोः सहस्रमष्टौ च आयतनानि सरस्तटे ॥ "

तुष्ट्यर्थं सिद्धराजस्य तीर्थं पूतेन वारिणा ।
संपूर्णं तत्सरश्चक्रे समंतादक्षयेण सा ॥ २५ ॥
सा तत्सरसमासाद्य पुण्यं पुण्या महानदी ।
सरस्वती स्थिता देवी लोकानां पापनाशनी ॥ २६ ॥"

This lake, thereafter, became the abode of all heavenly beings as Siddharāja established one thousand *liṅgas* of god Śiva all round it :—

"तथा नागा सुपर्णाश्च सिद्धाश्चक्रधराश्च ये ।
सरितः सागराः सर्वे यक्षविद्याधरास्तथा ॥ ३१ ॥
सहस्रं यत्र लिङ्गानां सिद्धेशेन प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
निवासं रोचयामासुः तस्मिन्नमृतसागरे ॥ ३२ ॥"

The place in course of time attained great celebrity as a centre of religious purification :—

"एकस्मिन् शिवकुण्डेऽपि....मुक्तिदं नृणाम् ।
किं पुनर्यत्सहस्रस्य लिङ्गानां पुरतः स्थितम् ॥ ३८ ॥

त्रिषु लोकेषु विख्यातं सिद्धराजसरोवरः ॥ ४० ॥"

It became pre-eminent among the holy places owing to the presence of 1000 *Śiva liṅgas* :—

"सर्वेषामेव तीर्थानामिदमेवाधिकं सरः ।
सहस्रं यत्र लिङ्गानां स्थितं देवगणैः सह ॥ ४६ ॥"

Even god Keśava made this place his abode to please king Siddharāja :—

"प्रीत्यर्थं सिद्धराजस्य पुण्येत्वमृतसागरे ।
जलशायी जगद्योनिः तस्मिन्स्वपिति केशवः ॥ ३८ ॥"
"यत्र शेते स भगवान्[1] योगनिद्रां समाश्रितः ।
तत्स्थानं मुक्तिदं ब्रह्मन् श्वेतद्वीपाद्विशिष्यते ॥ ४६ ॥

1. About the temple in the centre of the Sahasraling Talav Burgess observes :—" In the centre was an island on which stood the

(*Continued on next page*)

स्नात्वा तीर्थवरे यत्र पश्यंति जलशायिनम् ।
सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्ता वैकुण्ठं प्राप्नुवन्ति ते ॥ ५० ॥ "

In front of god Keśava is situated the दशावतारक तीर्थ in the Siddharāja lake :—

" तस्य देवस्य पुरतः तस्मिन् सरसि संस्थितम् ।
दशावतारकं नाम.....पप्रणाशनम् ॥ ५८ ॥ "

The *ten* images of the *ten* incarnations of god were established at the दशावतार तीर्थ by Siddharāja himself. These ten images are of the ten *avatāras* viz :—

(१) मत्स्य, (२) कूर्म, (३) वराह, (४) नरसिंह, (५) वामन, (६) भार्गवो रामः (७) दाशरथिराम, (८) कृष्ण, (९) बुद्ध and (१०) कल्कि (verses 61 and 62).

Another *tīrtha* called the दशाश्वमेधिक तीर्थ is situated in front of the image of वामनावतार :—

" वामनस्याग्रतस्तत्र कुरुक्षेत्रं सदास्थितम् ।
.....त्याः सहाया तं कथितं ते महानघ ॥ ७६ ॥

दशाश्वमेधिकं तीर्थं तस्यैक पुरतः स्थितम् ।
.....नामश्वमेधानां यत्र स्यातः फलं लभेत् ॥ ८० ॥ "

Sumati now asks Mārkaṇḍeya to explain to him the genesis of the 1000 Śiva liṅgas, which is then explained in a mythical style as follows :

" बाणेन यानि लिङ्गानि विमुक्तानि नदीजले ।
तेषां सहस्रसमुद्धृत्य सिद्धराजः समानयत् ॥ ८३ ॥
स्थापितं सिद्धराजेन तस्मिन् पुण्यसरोवरे ।
सहस्रं बाणलिङ्गानां युगपद्भक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥ ८४ ॥ "

(*Continued from previous page*)

temple of Rudreśvara destroyed, of course, by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauzah on its ruins; but of this only the dilapidated remains now exist." It appears from verses 48, 49, 50 of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* quoted above that the central temple was of Keśava or Viṣṇu and not of Rudreśvara and this fact is consistent with the दशावतारक तीर्थ in front of the god Keśava in the same lake containing the images of the 10 incarnations of god Viṣṇu as described in detail by the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* (verses 61-62 of chap. xvi).

The purificatory powers of a single *Śiva liṅga* have been mentioned by god Śiva himself in the शिवशास्त्र. What can be the power of 1000 *Śiva liṅgas* ? :—

" एतत्तु शिवशास्त्रेषु शिवेन कथितं स्वयम् ।
सहस्रं दृश्यते यत्र किं वर्ण्यते मया ॥ ८६ ॥ "

Siddharāja practised penance on a mountain called the अमरकंटक and then took his bath in the waters of the river *Narmadā* (v. 90). God *Oṁkāra* was pleased at this and granted Siddharāja a boon, promising that he would thenceforward reside permanently on the embankment of the Sahasraliṅga Lake :—

" त्वया सहस्रलिङ्गानां स्थापितं तत्सरस्तटे ।
तत्र वत्स्यामहं नित्यं भक्त्या ते प्रीतिमानसः ॥ ९२ ॥ "

Then follows a long फलश्रुति dealing with the effects of religious rites performed at the Sahasraliṅga tīrtha, followed by the praśasti of king Siddharāja and his Lake as follows :—

" न सिद्धेशसमो राजा न सरस्तादृशं क्वचित् ।
समं सहस्रलिङ्गेन तीर्थमन्यत् (न) दृश्यते ॥ १२० ॥
तत्रागाराणि तेनैव स्थापितानि सरस्तटे ।
ब्राह्मणानां यतीनां च तृप्त्यर्थं च तपस्विनां ॥ १२१ ॥
सर्वकामसमृद्धानि शोभन्ते तानि सुव्रतः ।
ब्रह्मविष्ण्वीश देवानां लोके श्रिय इव स्थितः ॥ १२२ ॥
उन्मत्ता चैव निम्ना च कीर्तिस्तेन प्रकाशिता ।
सिद्धराजेन तत्रैव स्थिता सा व्याप्य रोदसी ॥ १२३ ॥
सिद्धराजसमो राजा न भूतो न भविष्यति ।
सहस्रं येन लिङ्गानां युगपत्स्थापितं स्वयं ॥ १२४ ॥ "

Chapter XVI from which the above information has been extracted is designated सिद्धराजमाहात्म्यवर्णन and it ends with the following verses :—

Folio 121^{b} —

" इदं तु यः सिद्धनृपस्य जन्म
श्रृणोति भक्त्या पुरुषोत्तमस्य ।
प्राप्नोति कामान्सकलानिहैव
प्रयाति विष्णोः परमं पदं सः ॥ २६८ ॥

ये सिद्धराजस्य चरित्रमेतत्
पठन्ति शृण्वन्ति च सुस्तवन्ति ।
ते सिद्धकामाः सुखिनो मनुष्याः
प्रभुकृपायाश्च सदा भवन्ति ॥ २६९ ॥ "

I shall now record the description[1] of the *Sahasraliṅga Talāv*, the construction of which has been ascribed to king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja[2] of Gujarat (A. D. 1093-1143). Various artificial lakes or reservoirs in Gujarat are ascribed to Siddharāja. " One of the largest of these was the Sahasraliṅga talāv, or tank of the thousand Śaiva shrines at *Pattan* the remains of which are still pointed out to the north-west of the town. It must have been a reservoir of of immense size, and derived its name from the numerous little temples containing *liṅgas*, placed on the steps around it. ' In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreśvara, destroyed of course by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauzah on its ruins; but of this only the dilapidated remains now exist. " " The basin of the lake is now converted into little-fields. The great embankment surrounding it appears to be composed throughout of solid brick-work and this was once faced with solid masonry forming flights of steps to the water's edge. On and above these steps stood the thousand shrines of which fragmentary remains are still found buried in the debris of the embankment. " " This tank is said to have been begun by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja

1. Burgess and Cousens : ' Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat' (*Arch. Survey* of *Western India*, Vol. IX), London, 1903, pp. 38-39.

2. Vide pp. 973-977 of *Dynastic History of Northern India* by Dr. Hem Chandra Ray, Vol. II (1936) — Jayasiṁha was a great builder. Besides the Sahasraliṅga Talāv the temple of Rudramahākāla at Siddhapur is also ascribed to him. (The *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* contains a description of this temple and some genealogy of Siddharāja but I shall deal with this material in a separate paper). Jayasiṁha appears to have been a devotee of the Śaiva faith. The era known as the Siṁha era was already in use in Jayasiṁha's reign (Vide *Atru* Stone Inscription dated in the year 14 of this era as also Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla dated in the 32 year of this era). One sorrow viz. the want of a son gnawed at his heart. Dr. Ray (p. 975) gives a table showing the relationship of Kumārapāla with his predecessor Jayasiṁha.

shortly before he set out against Yaśovarman, the sovereign of Mālava and is the theme of legend and song."

A historical incident associated with this tank is the stabbing of Bairām Khān, the famous minister of Humayun, when alighting from a boat after a sail on the tank on *Friday, the 31st January 1561*. Bairām Khān rebelled against Akbar and was sent to Mecca. He came to Patan and was hospitably received by Musā Khan Fûladi the Governor, but was stabbed by Mubarik as described above. Burgess further remarks that during the 14th century all the rich shrines of the Hindus (Brahmanical or Jain) were desecrated, plundered and demolished at the will or caprice of the Moguls. If this statement is applicable to the Sahasraliṅga Talāv we may presume that the shrines on the embankment of this talāv may have been destroyed in the 14th century. I am of opinion that the Sarasvatīpurāṇa was composed at a time when the tīrthas associated with the river Sarasvatī had attained so sacrosanct a character as to necessitate the creation of a special purāṇa like the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*.[1] It would also be reasonable to suppose that when this purāṇa was composed all the tīrthas on the banks of the river Sarasvatī were quite in a flourishing condition, free from the ravaging hands of the Moguls.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*[2] records the following information about the Sahasraliṅga Talāv :—

"The Sehesling or Sahasraling Talāv, the tank with the thousand shrines, was dedicated to Shiv by Sidh Raj just before he set out on his expedition against Yaśovarman, king of Málava. A merchant left nine lakhs of Balotras with a certain banker and died. The heirs of the latter knew nothing of the sum and refused to take it. Jai Sing Sidh Raj decided that the money should be spent in building a reservoir, and it was done, "the finest in the world, hitherto unsurpassed by all that the cleverest and wisest have executed or imagined, and it remains to this day (A.D. 1200-1230)."

1. Hemacandra, a contemporary of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha informs us (in chapter xv, verse 118 of the *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya*) that *Siddharāja* Jayasiṁha caused to be made the Sahasraliṅga tank and established also schools for learning *Jyotiṣaśāstras*, *Nyāya-śāstras*, and the *Purāṇas*. Perhaps the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* may have been the outcome of the study of Purāṇas instituted by Jayasiṁha.

2. *Bombay Gaz.* Vol. VII (Baroda), p. 600.

I believe the foregoing description of the *Sahasraliṅga* tank if compared with that given in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* leaves no doubt that the *Siddharāja-Saras* described in the latter work is exactly identical with that now known to history and archaeology. It appears, however, that though the tank was called a *Sahasraliṅga-saras* the actual number of Śaiva shrines on the bank of this lake was *one thousand and eight* as stated by Hemacandra शंभोःसहस्रमष्टौ-चायतनानि सरस्तटे ।[1]

The testimony of Hemacandra being contemporary must be taken as conclusive on the question of the exact number of the Śaiva shrines on the bank of the Siddharāja lake.[2]

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1. Vide *B. S. S.*, LXIX (*Dvyāśraya Kāvya*), Canto XV, v. 117.

2. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Ambalal B. Jani (Assistant Secretary, Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay) at whose request I began my study of the historical material in the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa* in April 1937. Mr. Jani was also kind enough to keep the contents of this paper in May 1937 at the disposal of the scholar entrusted with the work of editing the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*. I am not aware to what extent these contents have been useful to the above editor in the preparation of his proposed edition of the work. I await with eagerness this edition of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* for which I have supplied to the Forbes Gujarati Sabha a copy of the B. O. R. Institute MS No. 429 of Viś. I (from the Vishrambag Collection of the Peshwas in the Govt. MSS Library).

40. Bühler's mistaken Identity of Vidyādhara, the author of the Sāhityavidyādharī, Commentary on the Naiṣadhīya-Carita and of Cāritravardhana, the author of Commentaries on Raghuvaṁśa, Kumārasambhava etc. ‡

In one[1] of my *Notes on Indian Chronology* on the date of Cāritravardhana, I tried to fix the limits of his date. Incidentally I stated in this note that Cāritravardhana was also called Vidyādhara or Sāhityavidyādhara, son of Rāmacandrabhiṣak. My statement of identity of Cāritravardhana and Vidyādhara was based on the following entry in Aufrecht's Catalogue[2] :—

" चारित्रवर्द्धन called also विद्याधर or साहित्यविद्याधर, son of Rāmacandrabhiṣak.

कुमारसंभवटीका, नैषधटीका, रघुवंशटीका, राघवपाण्डवीयटीका, शिशुपालवधटीका "

Though Aufrecht does not record the source of his identity of Cāritravardhana and Vidyādhara, it appears to have its origin in the following statement[3] of Dr. Bühler :—

" He (Caṇḍūpaṇḍita) asserts that before his time only one commentary on the *Naiṣadha* existed, composed by Vidyādhara (*alias* Sāhityavidyādhara *alias* Cāritravardhana muni)."

It is not clear on what evidence Dr, Bühler bases this identity of Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana. Perhaps it may have been based on mere hearsay. However, in his article on the *Age of*

‡ *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 37–40.

1. *Annals*. Vol. XV, pp. 109-111. (Note No. XIX).

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 186.

3. *Report for 1874-75*, p. 8.

Naiṣadhīya[1] published in 1875 Dr. Bühler does not refer to this identity, which leaves an impression that he was not aware of its mistaken character, otherwise he would have taken this opportunity to correct his original statement made in the Report under reference. He observes in his article :—

" He (Caṇḍūpaṇḍita) further states that in his time there existed only one commentary on it (*Naiṣadhīya-carita*) composed by Vidyādhara, *alias* Sāhityavidyādhara of which I have found fragments at Jesalmere and Ahmedabad. "

The pertinent verse[2] in Caṇḍūpaṇḍita's commentary in which he refers to Vidyādhara reads as follows :—

" टीकां यद्यपि सोपपत्तिरचनां विद्याधरो निर्ममे
श्रीहर्षस्य तथापि न त्यजति सा गंभीरतां भारती ।
दिक्कूलंकषतां गतैर्जलधरैरुद्गृह्यमाणं मुहुः
पारावारमपाम्बु किमिह स्याज्जानुदघ्नं क्वचित् ॥ "

No clue is furnished by this verse in favour of the identity of Cāritravardhana and Vidyādhara as supposed by Dr. Bühler in his Report for 1874–75 and it appears that Aufrecht as a cataloguer has exceeded his powers to a certain extent in presuming this identity to be correct and modifying his entry accordingly by consolidating under the heading "Cāritravardhana" works of two different authors viz. Cāritravardhana and Vidyādhara.

When I wrote my note on the date of Cāritravardhana I did not doubt the truth of Aufrecht's entry. Subsequently Prof. Handiqui's edition of the *Naiṣadhīya* came to my hands. Prof. Handiqui devotes about 5 pages in the Introduction of this Edition to Vidyādhara and his commentary on the *Naiṣadhīya*. Vidyādhara's commentary was based on the text of the *Naiṣadhīya* preserved in the library of king Viśāladeva of Gujarat, also called Aparārjuna, who reigned till 1264 A. D. Prof. Handiqui, therefore. assigns this commentator to the fifties or sixties of the 13th century.

The above information given by Prof. Handiqui in the light of Bühler's identity of Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana as sug-

1. *Journal*, BBRAS, Vol. XI (1875), p. 284.
2. *Naiṣadha-Carita by* Handiqui (Punjab Ori. Series), Intro p. X.

gested by him in his Report for 1874-75 led me to the belief that if Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana are not two different authors but are identical, then when the date for one of them *viz.* Vidyādhara is fixed, the date of the other viz. Cāritravardhana is automatically settled. This belief had another harmonising factor in the fact that the date A. D. 1250 or 1260 for Vidyādhara was well within the limits for Cāritravardhana's date fixed by me on other evidence viz. A. D. 1172 and 1385.

My belief, however, did not last long when I began to verify the source of Buhler's supposed identity of the two commentators viz. Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana. I began to hunt for Mss of Cāritravardhana's commentary as such on the *Naiṣadhīya* in Aufrecht's Catalogue.[1] He records the following Mss of this commentary:—

(1) B. 2.90 (p. 90 of Fascicule II of Bühler's Catalogue of Mss from Gujarat etc.—1872)

(2) X. LXIII (= No. 142 of 1875-76 of the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, see extract on p. lxiii of Bühler's Report 1877).

The description of the first of the two Mss revealed that it is not a Ms of Cāritravardhana's commentary but of Vidyādhara's, judging from the description and name of the author viz. Vidyādhara recorded in the same. The second Ms viz. No. 142 of 1875-76 was examined by me and it also turned out to be a Ms of Vidyādhara's commentary and not of Cāritravardhana's. The next question that arose out of the above disillusionment was: Whether Cāritravardhana wrote any commentary on the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* different and distinct from Vidyādhara's commentary on the same Kāvya? The Govt. Mss Library at the Institute has no Mss of this work. Aufrecht also did not record any other Mss of the work except the two mentioned above as wrongly ascribed to Cāritravardhana.

The answer to the above question is furnished by the statement of Pandit Shivadatta, who in his Sanskrit Introduction to the edition of the *Naiṣadhīya-Carita*[2] states that Cāritravardhana wrote

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 306b.

2. *Naiṣadhīya-Carita* with the Commentary of Nārāyaṇa, (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1874), p. 17.

a commentary on the *Naiṣadhīya* called *Tilaka* (चारित्रवर्धनेन विरचिता तिलकाख्या) and that Vidyādhara wrote another commentary on the same work called *Sāhityavidyādharī* (विद्याधरेण विरचिता साहित्यविद्याधर्याख्या). He further gives a list of the Mss of different commentaries on the *Naiṣadhīya* utilised by him and the persons from whom they were borrowed. This list includes a Ms of *Tilaka* commentary of Cāritravardhana borrowed from Rājaguru Dādhīca Candreśvara of Jaipur and a Ms of Sāhityavidyādharī from Rājaguru Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa of the same place. Pandit Shivadatta has utilized both these commentaries in his footnotes to the edition e.g. footnote 1 on page 3 reads :—

" अत्र श्रीहर्षैर्यमकमुरजसर्वतोभद्रप्रमुखान्बन्धानर्थपुष्टिकराननादृत्यार्थपुष्टिकरोऽनुप्रासाभिधशब्दालंकारः प्रायः प्रयुयुजे " इति चारित्रवर्धनविरचिततिलकव्याख्या। "

The above evidence furnished by Pandit Shivadatta's statements proves that both these commentators viz. Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana are two different persons and that they wrote two different commentaries on the same work *Naiṣadhīya*. These commentaries are known by two different names. Cāritravardhana's commentary is known by the name *Tilaka* while Vidhyādhara's is known by the name *Sāhityavidyādharī*. Further we find that Mss of both these commentaries are in existence. One Ms of each of these commentaries was utilised by Pandit Shivadatta as far back as 1894.

In my opinion the foregoing data have conclusively proved the mistaken character of Dr. Bühler's supposed identity of Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana and the consequent copying of this error by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* at two places as pointed out above.

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41. Viśvādarśa and its Commentary Vivaraṇa by Kavikānta Sarasvatī ‡

I propose in this paper to record and describe a new Ms of the *dharmaśāstra* work, *Viśvādarśa* and its commentary called the *Vivaraṇa* by Kavikāntasarasvatī and also to decide the date of this author on the strength of new evidence discovered by me since (1) the description of Mss of this work by Prof. H. D. Velankar in 1928, (2) the notice of this work by Prof. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* in 1930 and (3) the publication of a critical edition of the Text of this work by Mr. Tenkshe in 1938.

In the Introduction to the text of the *Viśvādarśa*[1] of Kavikāntasarasvatī[2] published by Mr. S. A. Tenkshe in the *Journal of the Bombay University*[3] he has made use of *seven* Mss *six* of which belong to the University of Bombay and *one* to the B. B. R. A. Society, Townhall, Bombay. All these Mss[4] have been described

‡ *Annals* (Tirupati Ori. Institute), Vol. I, pp. 129-139.

1. Vide p. 229 of H. D. Velankar's *Cat. of B. B. R. A. S. Mss*, Part II.

2. According to Prof. Velankar Kavikāntasarasvatī flourished towards *the close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century*.

3. Vol. VII (New Series) (Part 2) — Sept. 1938 — pp. 65-98.

4. Aufrecht (*CC*, I, 586) makes the following entry in his *Catalogue* re. the *Viśvādarśa:* :—

विश्वादर्श dh. by Kavikāntasarasvatī. Divided into आचारकाण्ड, व्यवहारकाण्ड, प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड Khn. 80.

B. 3. 120 (and comm.) Oudh 1876, 12, p. 11.

Lahore, 1882, 5. Quoted by Hemādri in परिशेषखंड, 2, 112, by Nṛsiṁha in प्रयोगपारिजात, by Raghunandana in एकादशीतत्त्वम् by Kamalākara in निर्णयसिंधु.

Viśvādarśavivaraṇa (*jy* ?) by Ādityakavikrānta (?) K. 242.

(*Continued on next page*)

by Mr. Tenkshe under *The Critical Apparatus* (pp. 65-70 of *Introduction.*) The first two of these Mss *viz.* I-A and II-B belonging to the Bhadkambkar Collection of the University also contain the Commentary written by the author. Mr. Tenkshe states "This Commentary was of immense use to me in fixing up the readings of the Text. Naturally as a rule, I have followed the readings adopted in the Commentary."

In view of the importance of the commentary as indicated above it is necessary that the commentary should be edited critically and for this purpose efforts should be made to gather Mss of the *Viśvādarśa* containing this commentary in addition to the two rare Mss.[1] in the Bombay University Collection. I propose,

(*Continued from previous page*)

Viśvādarśoktanakṣatravidhāna, W. p. 352.

विश्वादर्शस्मृति B. 3, 120. Most likely identical with the *Viśvādarśa.*

CC, II, 139 — "विश्वादर्श dh. by Kavikāntasarasvatī, Stein 102."

CC, III, 123, — "विश्वादर्श dh. Divided into आचारकाण्ड, व्यवहारकाण्ड, प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड; ज्ञानकाण्ड. By Kavikāntasarasvatī, CS 2, 488. Whether CS, 2, 132 belongs to this work is doubtful.

Viśvādarśa Pravaranirṇayaḥ, CS 2, 476.

The *Cat. of Oriental Mss*, Ujjain (1936) pp. 30-31 records one Ms of the विश्वादर्श (No. 771—1090) dated *Śaka 1778 = A. D. 1856.*

The *Punjab University Mss Cat.* Vol. 1 (1932) p. 101 records one Ms of the work viz. No. 577 ("4 कांड").

It may be noted here that the Jammu Ms of the विश्वादर्श (Stein 102) is dated *Saṁvat 1641 = A. D. 1585.* It contains 19 leaves (leaves 1 and 2 missing). It is older by 140 years than the best Ms used by Mr. Tenkshe which is dated *A. D. 1720* (MS - IA).

1. A brief descripition of these Mss as given by Mr. Tenkshe may be noted here :—

I. A—72 folios. Size :—$11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, 12 to 13 lines to a page and about 38 letters to a line. Contains *first three Kāṇḍas with the commentary.* As the Ms contains the commentary it has the St. जयति etc., in the beginning. The *1st Kāṇḍa* contains 41 stanzas and though it contains the 42nd St. as in the prepared edition it is

(*Continued on next page*)

therefore, to bring to the notice of Mr. Tenkshe the following Ms of the commentary which was acquired by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1938 :—

This Ms belongs to the Limaye Collection[1] of the Institute. According to the folio numbers the Ms consists of leaves one to ninety-one serially numbered but these numbers are entered apparently by a later hand as the commentary for the first thirty-

(*Continued from previous page*)

not marked. The *2nd Kāṇḍa* contains all the stanzas in the edition printed. It makes only first 40 stanzas and the 44th St. followed by an index of the 1st and 3rd chapters. This Ms is *one of the best Mss* used by the editor. It was copied by the scribe R. B. Devasthali in Śaka 1642 = A. D. 1720.

II. B. — 101 folios. size:—12″ × 4.″ Each page has 9 lines and each line contains about 44 letters, carefully written. The Ms has *3 Kāṇḍas of the Text and Commentary* and ends with a short summary of the *Ācāra-kāṇḍa*.

The extent of the Text in the edition may be indicated here :—

1.	*Sadācāra-kāṇḍa*	42 stanzas.
2.	*Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*	45 ,,
3.	*Prāyaścitta-kāṇḍa*	49 ,,
4.	*Jñāna-kāṇḍa*	53 ,,
		189 stanzas.

1. This collection consists of about 450 Mss which were mainly collected by Sakhopant Anant Limaye Phaḍṇis of Aṣṭe (Satara District) between A. D. 1800 and 1840 (vide : *Annals* of the B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XX, p. 39, footnotes 1 and 2). Sakho Anant was the patron of Vāñcheśvarayajvan alias Kuṭṭikavi, the author of the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*. His family hailed originally from the village Someśvara in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. The Limayes are Chitpāvan Brahmins of *Kapi gotra* and belong to the *Hiraṇyakeśī-śākhā*. Kuṭṭikavi composed his commentary on the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtra* (between A. D. 1816 and 1828) by the order of Sakho Anant Limaye who was in the employ of Sardar Mahādevabhaṭṭa Paṭvardhan, the son of the celebrated Paraśurāmbhāu, Paṭvardhan, the ancestor of the present Raja of Sangli (S. M. C.). Paraśurāmbhāu was killed in A. D. 1799 in a battle with the then Mahārāja of Kolhapur.

two verses of *Kāṇḍa I* appears to have been lost. Folio No. 1 begins :—

" नैपालकम्बलस्य तु सारिष्टफलैः ।। असतीतन्तुमयस्य गौरसर्षपसहितैः शुद्धिः गौमूत्रोदकैः इति सर्वथानुवर्तते etc. Text :— रेतो विण्मूत्रमज्जास्थिभिरिह यदुक्तं वासितं तैजसं तद्...क्षेपणेन १४ अस्यार्थः etc. "

Folio 9 contains verse 42 of *Kāṇḍa I* and also its commentary which ends on folio 11 as follows :—

" इति श्रीगीतार्थप्रवीणश्रीभट्टाचार्यादित्यसुतकविकान्तसरस्वतीरितविश्वादर्शाख्यधर्मशास्त्रविवरणे सदाचारकांडः प्रथमः समाप्तः "

Folio 36 — Colophon of *Kāṇḍa II*— " इति श्री गीतार्थप्रवीण ... विवरणे व्यवहारकांडे द्वितीयोध्यायः समाप्तः "

Folio 64 contains a quotation from स्मृत्यर्थसार as follows :—

" स्मृत्यर्थसारः ॥ [1]

प्रारम्भादूर्ध्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य एव तु ।
प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे संकल्पो व्रतसत्रयोः ॥
नान्दीश्राद्धौ विवाहादौ श्राद्धे पालपरिक्रिया ।
निमन्त्रणं वा श्राद्धेषु प्रारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृतेः ॥ "

Folio 70 — Colophon of *Kāṇḍa III* —

" इति गीतार्थप्रवीण...विवरणे प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डं तृतीयम् "

1. The स्मृत्यर्थसार mentioned and quoted by our author in his विवरण is not included in the list of *smṛtis* on which he has based his work. This list as recorded by Prof. Velankar (p. 230 of the *Catalogue of the B. B. R. A. S. Mss*, Vol. II) is as follows :—

" अङ्गिराः, आपस्तम्ब, आश्वलायन, उशनाः, ऋष्यश्रृङ्ग, कात्यायन, कौशिक, गोभिल, गौतम, जातूकर्ण्य, दक्ष, देवल, नारद, पैठीनसि, पैङ्गय, प्रचेतस्, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, मनु, मरीचि, मार्कण्डेय, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, योगयाज्ञवल्क्य, लौगाक्षि, वत्स, वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, व्याघ्रपाद, व्यास, शङ्ख, शातातप, षट्त्रिंशन्मत and हारीत. "

The *Purāṇas* and *Nibandhakāras* referred to in the *Viśvādarśa* are :—

भविष्य, मार्कण्डेय, वायु, विष्णु and स्कन्द, धारेश्वर, भट्टाचार्य, मेधातिथि, विज्ञानेश्वर, विश्वरूप and शारीरकभाष्य.

The Fourth *Kāṇḍa* — Commentary begins at the end of folio 70-*b* and ends on folio 91-*b* covering twenty-one leaves. The beginning of this commentary for the fourth *Kāṇḍa* is as follows :—

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीकालिकायै नमः । श्रीपाण्डुरङ्गाय नमः ॥
उक्तं तृतीयकाण्डे प्रायश्चित्तं हि चित्तशुद्ध्यर्थं...ब्रह्मचर्यं वसेत् । अस्यार्थः "

Folio 91 — The commentary ends as follows :—

" इति श्रीगीतार्थप्रवीण......विवरणे ज्ञानकाण्डश्चतुर्थः समाप्तः । संवत् १८१२ "
(letters indistinct).

From the description of the Manuscript recorded above it is clear that the Manuscript contains the commentary *Vivaraṇa* (by the author) for all the four *Kāṇḍas*, except the commentary on the first thirty-two verses of *Kāṇḍa I*. In particular the commentary on the fourth *Kāṇḍa* is complete[1] in the Baroda Oriental Research Institute Manuscript while it is absent in the only two Manuscripts of the commentary at the Bombay University which contain commentary for the first three *Kāṇḍas* only. The best Manuscript of the Text with the commentary used by Mr. Tenkshe *viz. I-A* is dated *A.D. 1720* while the Baroda Oriental Research Institute Manuscript containing the fourth *Kāṇḍa* also is dated *Saṁvat 1812* = *A.D. 1756 i.e.*, later by about thirty-six years than the Manuscript *I-A* of Mr. Tenkshe's edition of the *Viśvādarśa*. We have, therefore, to record the following dated Manuscripts of the *Viśvādarśa* and its commentary :—

Source	Text = T	Commentary = C	Date of Ms	Portion
1. Bombay University Library (Bhad. Collection.)	T	C	A. D. 1720.	Kāṇḍas I, II, III.

1. Speaking of the incomplete Mss of the *Viśvādarśa*, Prof. Velankar observes :— " Two of these Mss contain all the four *Kāṇḍas* while the third contains only three like the Mss noticed at at *CC* I, p. 586. The fourth *Kāṇḍa* was not usually copied out as it treats of Philosophy rather than *Dharma*." (Vide p. 229 of *Catalogue of B. B. R. A. S. Mss*, 1928).

Source.	Text = T	Commentary = C	Date of Ms	Portion
2. B. O. R. Institute (Limaye Collection.)	T	C	A. D. 1756	Kāṇḍas I (frag.), II, III, IV.
3. Jammu Mss (Stein 10-2.)	T	...	A. D. 1555	

Any scholar interested in the editing of the *Viśvādarśavivaraṇa* would find his work facilitated if he makes use of the three Manuscripts of this commentary now available. He may also profit by the use of the Jammu Manuscript of the Text of the *Viśvādarśa*, not utilized by Mr. Tenkshe in his edition.

I now turn to the question of the exact date of the *Viśvādarśa* and its commentary and record below the earlier views of scholars on this question :—

(1) According to Prof. H. D. Velankar[1] " Our author alludes to Vijñāneśvara, author of the *Mitākṣarā*." "The earliest author who quotes our author is Hemādri in *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa, pt. 2, p. 112 " ... " *Viśvādarśa* was also used in the composition of his *Kālādarśa* by Ādityabhaṭṭa. *Kālādarśa* again is quoted in *Kālamādhava* (See I. O. No. 1655). The manner in which our author refers to Vijñāneśvara shows that he was separated from him at least by a hundred years.

Our author, therefore, must have flourished towards the *close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.* "

(2) According to Prof. P. V. Kane,[2] our author is " *later than 1100 A. D. and earlier than 1200.* "

1. *Cat. of B. B. R. A. S. Mss*, 1928, p. 229. Kavikānta was " a follower of the *Advaita* School of *Vedānta* and a pious devotee of Rāma and Viśveśvara of Benares." He was patronized by a prince called Dhanyarāja, son of Nāgārjuna. Prof. Velankar thinks that " Dhanyarāja was very probably a ruling prince of Benares."

2. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930, B. O.R.I.), pp. 624-5.

(*Continued on next page*)

I shall now record my evidence on the question of Kavikānta's date. In my description of the Baroda Oriental Research Institute Manuscripts of the *Viśvādarśa* with *Vivaraṇa* I have reproduced an extract from the *Vivaraṇa* (fol. 64) which consists of two verses from a work स्मृत्यर्थसार as mentioned by the author. Prof. Kane mentions three different works[1] of the name स्मृत्यर्थसार. I have succeeded in identifying the two verses from the स्मृत्यर्थसार mentioned as such and quoted by Kavikānta. They are identical with the following verses in श्रीधर's स्मृत्यर्थसार [2] :—

" प्रारम्भादूर्ध्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य (v. l. काय) एव तु ।
प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे संकल्पो व्रतसत्रयोः (v. l. यो) ॥
नान्दीश्राद्धं (द्धौ v. l.) विवाहादौ श्राद्धे पाकपरिक्रिया ।
निमन्त्रणं वा श्राद्धे तु (पु v. l.) प्रारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृतिः
(तेः v. l.) ॥ "

It is, therefore, certain that Kavikānta used Śrīdhara's *Smṛtyarthasāra* and no other work of the same name. Now as regards the date of Śrīdhara, Prof. Kane[3] observes as follows :—

" the *Smṛtyarthasāra* must have been composed between *1150 and 1200 A. D.* "

(*Continued from previous page*)

Prof. Kane states that the विश्वादर्श is referred to in his स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by देवणभट्ट (Mysore ed. p. 164). देवणभट्ट flourished *after A. D. 1150* and *before A. D. 1225* (Kane, ibid, p. 346).

1. Ibid, p. 674, — (1) स्मृत्यर्थसार by नीलकण्ठाचार्य (C. P. Cat. No. 6733), (2) स्मृत्यर्थसार by मुकुन्दलाल and (3) स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर. (Section 81 of Prof. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra.*)

2. Vide p. 17 of *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdharācārya, Ed. by Vaidya Raṅganātha Śāstri (*Ānandāśrama Sans. Series*, No. 70), Poona, 1912. The variants in the brackets pointed out by me are more or less scribal errors in the B. O. R. I. Ms.

3. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol I, p. 337 — " The date of the *Smṛtyarthasāra* can be fixed within approximate limits. As it names the *Mitākṣarā*, the *Kāmadhenu*, the *Kalpataru* and *Govindarāja* it is later than 1150 A. D. The *Smṛticandrikā* and *Hemādri* both quote it as an authority."

In view of the above date assigned by Prof. Kane to the *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara and in view of the fact that Kavikānta-sarasvatī quotes from and mentions this work in his commentary of the self-composed *Viśvādarśa*, I am inclined to hold the view that he flourished *between A. D. 1200 and 1230*. This view agrees with one of the alternatives suggested by Prof. Velankar that our author belongs to "*the beginning of the 13th Century.*" If an author quotes a work composed between A. D. 1150 and 1200 and is quoted by a subsequent author in his work (*Caturvargacintāmaṇi*) "composed between 1260 and 1270 A. D." according to Prof. Kane, the period — *1200 to 1230 A. D.* assigned for him by me would be considered reasonable. This view also harmonizes with Devaṇabhaṭṭa's reference to the *Viśvādarśa* as pointed out by Prof. Kane. If Devaṇabhaṭṭa flourished between 1150 and 1225 A. D. according to Prof. Kane his reference to the *Viśvādarśa* (1200 to 1230 A. D.) may warrant an inference that the author of the *Viśvādarśa* was a senior contemporary of the author of the *Smṛticandrikā*.

The three views regarding the date of the *Viśvādarśa* and its *Vivaraṇa* may now be tabulated as follows :—

Prof. Velankar' sview	Prof. Kane's view	My view
" Close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century. "	" Later than 1100 and earlier than 1200."	" Between 1200 and 1230 A. D. "

P.S.—Since the above paper was sent to the press I noticed the following entry about a manuscript of the *Viśvādarśa* with the *Vivaraṇa* on p. 141 of the *Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States of America and Canada* by H. I. Poleman, New Haven, Conn. 1938 :—

" 2833. *Viśvādarśa* with the Commentary. 95 ff. 11. 25. × 5.25. 8—12 lines, UP 1632."

This manuscript is available in the University of Pennsylvania Library (Philadelphia, U. S. A.). It is difficult to say on the basis of the above catalogue entry if the commentary covers up all the *four Kāṇḍas* of the Text of the *Viśvādarśa* of Kavikānta Sarasvatī. Scholars interested in a critical edition of this commentary may inquire of the Librarian of the above Library and elicit the required information.

42. The Dates of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and other Commentators of the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu ‡

Aufrecht [1] records the following information about a commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* by Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita :—

" वासवदत्ता, a romance by Subandhu. Commentary by Nārāyaṇa, *B. 2. 106. Radh 22.*"

" वासवदत्ता by Subandhu, comm. by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, *A. K. 567.*"

I propose to analyse the only available Ms [2] in the above list of Aufrecht viz. A. K. 567, which is identical with No. 567 of 1891-95 in the B. O. R. Institute - Govt. Mss Library. The Ms belonged once to a man of the name वंशधर चक्रवर्ति as stated in an endorsement[3] on a leaf at the beginning of the Ms. The Ms begins as follows :—

Folio 1 — " ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

पायाद्योगो सहस्रेण क्रीडन् गोपालको हरिः ।
प्रकाशदंतघातेन भिंदानो ध्वांतकुंजरं ॥ १ ॥ "

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‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXI, pp. 128–144.

1. CC I, 566 and CC III, 120. Out of the three Mss recorded by Aufrecht two belonged to private individuals ; only the 3rd Ms (AK 567) is deposited in the Govt. Mss Library (B. O. R. Institute under *No. 567 of 1891-96*. No description of this Ms has been recorded by Prof. A. B. Kathawate in his report which includes this Ms among Mss acquired for Govt.

2. The fourth Ms of Nārāyaṇa's commentary is also recorded by Aufrecht (CC II, 224) as " Ulwar 967. " This Ms is not accessible to me. Peterson in his Catalogue of Ulwar Mss (1892), p. 42, describes this Ms as follows :—" 967, A commentary on the Vāsavadattā, called *Sarvaṅkaṣā* by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita."

3. This endorsement reads :— " पुस्तकमिदं वासवदत्ताटिप्पनस्य मुरलीधरात्मजवंशधरचक्रवर्तिनः ".

Folio 2 — " सीदसीन (?) गुणवारिधिरिंदसौम्यः
सोमाभिभूति सत साधि स...कुमारः।
...था तटानि। चित्रीचकार चमनैरुपकन्यकुब्जे
तस्मादजायत जितेंद्रियवृंदवंद्यो।...त मुख्यरेखः।
निघ्रीकृतः क्षितिपतिः क्षमिता च पूज्याः।
सर्वोपकारि धुरिदीक्षितविश्वरूपः।......
शिशुप्रबोधविमलाटीका कृता सज्जनैः
सानुक्रो. .शधिया सुबंधुजनिता योषेव पोष्या स्वयं (?)
नारायणदीक्षितेन बहुशः श्रुत्वा गुरुभ्यस्ततो—
दृष्ट्वा कोशदशावुर्यो रसमयान्ग्रंथाश्च शब्दाकरान्।
सुबंधुरचितस्यास्या...श्लिष्टार्थस्यविशिष्टता।
शिष्टावृतस्य पुष्टस्य बंधुवत्क्रियते मया॥
करघदरसदृशमखिलं भुवनतलं यत्प्रसादतः कवयः।
पश्यंति सूक्ष्ममतयः सा जयति सरस्वती देवी॥ "

The colophons of some of the chapters may be reproduced here :—

Folio 23 — " श्रीनारायणदीक्षितं हरिपदद्वंद्वारविंदे रतं
सावित्री सुषुवे सुकर्मनिचयं श्रीविश्वरूपश्रयं।
ते........तः सुविस्तरवती व्याख्या कृता चाधुना
संक्षिप्तासनिवारितेन परतो ग्रंथ........
॥ ॥ इति श्रीनारायणदीक्षितकृतायां वासवदत्तटीकायां...॥ "

Folio 46 — " श्रीनारायणदीक्षितं हरिपदद्वंद्वारविंदे रतं
सावित्री सुषुवे सुकर्मनिचयं श्रीविश्वरूपश्रयं।
तेनेयं बहु चिंतयाकुलहृदा व्याख्याकृता सज्जनैः
स्वीकार्या परदोषमुद्रणधियोभ्यासास्पदास्ते यतः॥
॥ इति श्रीनारायणदीक्षितविरचितायां वासवदत्ताटीकायां
द्वितीयः प्रघट्टकः॥ "

Folio 75 — " (श्रीनाराय)णदीक्षितं हरिपदद्वंद्वारविंदे रतं
सावित्री सुषुवे सुकर्मनिचयं श्रीविश्वरूपश्रयं।

(ये)न म्लेच्छभिया विमोहितधिया[1] व्याख्यां कृतां सज्जनाः । स्वीकुर्वंतु यतः पराणुगणिता......लीकृतैकव्रताः ॥

॥ ॥ ॥ इति श्रीवासवदत्ताटीकायां तृतीयः प्रघट्टकः ॥ ३ ॥"

Last folio 83 — The Ms ends —

" श्रीनारायणदीक्षितं हरिपदद्वंद्वारविंदे रतं
सावित्री सुषुवे सुकर्म (निचयं श्री)विश्वरूपश्रयं ।
तेनौद्धत्यविवर्जितेन गुणिना संक्षिप्य नारायणी-
नाम्नीयं रचिता रद(र्थ?) विशदा व्युत्पत्तिवृध्यै सताम् ।

॥ इति श्रीदीक्षितनारायणविरचितायां वासवदत्ताटीकायां चतुर्थः प्रघट्टकः समाप्तः ॥ ४ ॥"

The parentage of our author as disclosed by the foregoing extracts may be represented as follows :

विश्वरूप (दीक्षित) hailing from कन्यकुब्ज (married
सावित्री)
|
Son
|
नारायण दीक्षित, the author of नारायणी टीका on सुबन्धु's वासवदत्ता.

Nārāyaṇa states that he used no less than 20 lexicons and numerous works on rhetorics and poetics in the composition of his present commentary. It is natural, therefore, that this commentary is rich in citations from these and other works as will be seen from the following list [2] of works and authors mentioned by him :—

1. The expression " म्लेछभिया विमोहितधिया " applied by our commentator to himself suggests that he lived at a place and time full of insecurity to life and property and the consequent disturbed condition of mind. The fear of Mlecchas or Mohammedans referred to in the above expression did not, however, deter our author from completing the learned commentary before us, with the help of no less than 20 lexicons (कोशद्वद्वयीं) and numerous works on poetics (रसमयान् ग्रंथान् etc.) as he informs us in the beginning of his commentary. It was such zest for study that was responsible for the unbroken continuity of learned pursuits, glimpses of which we met occasionally in the casual references of mediaeval writers.

2. I have included in this list some specimens of vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit words explained by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita. These equivalents are generally introduced by the expressions : " इति लोके ", " इति प्रसिद्धिः ", " इति ख्यातः " etc.

1. No work on poetics of this name "शृंगारार्णव" has been recorded by Aufrecht. Prof. Kane mentions a work called the "शृंगाररत्नाकर" in his Index of works (*Sāhityadarpaṇa* Edn., 1923, p. CLXXVI). I am unable to say if शृंगारार्णव is equal to शृंगाररत्नाकर.

2. No lexicon of the name "जयंत" or "जयंतिकोष" has been recorded by Aufrecht.

वैशेषिकाः, 8.
पूर्वाचार्याः, 9.
भामह–उद्भटादयः अलंकारकाराः, 9, 17 (भामह) — (6th or 7th Cent.).
उद्भटादिभिः (18), (about 800 A. D.).
अलंकारसर्वस्व, 9, 10, 12, 52.
कुमारभट्ट[1] :— 10 —

" अतस्तेन गुणविशिष्टादि रचनात्मिका रीतिः काव्यजीवितत्वेनोक्ता ।
अत्र प्रथमेऽर्थे भारतीवृत्तिः अन्येष्वार्थेषु कौशिकी वृत्तिः ।
वीराद्भुतप्रहसितैरिह भारतीस्यात्...
.........वर्गादिताद्भुतवीररौद्रैः ।
शृंगारहास्यकरुणैरपि कौशिकी स्यात्
इष्टा भयानक(भ ?) ता.........(इति) कुमारभट्टः "

चंद्रगोमी, 12, (A. D. 470).
उक्तं च कद्रये, 20.
उक्तं च गुणपताकायाम्,[2] (21).

" वाला तांबूलवाला फलरससुरसा हारसन्मानहार्या
मुक्तालंकारहारप्रमुखवितरणैरयते यौवनस्था ।
सद्भावारछगाढोद्भटरतसुखिता मध्यमा रागलुब्धा
मृद्वालापै प्रहृष्टा भवति गतया गौरवेणातिदूरं ॥ "

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1. Viśvanātha (*14th Century A. D.*) in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (VI, 122) refers to *Vṛttis* : *Kaiśikī* and *Bhāratī* as follows :—

" अथ वृत्तयः —
शृंगारे कैशिकी, वीरे सात्वत्यारभटी पुनः ।
रसे रौद्रे च बीभत्से, वृत्तिः सर्वत्र भारती ॥ १२ ॥ "

I wonder if कुमारभट्ट mentioned by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita is identical with कुमारस्वामिन्, the author of रत्नापण commentary on the *Pratāparudraya-śobhūṣaṇa* (*about A. D. 1300–1325*). Kumārasvāmin was the son of Kolācala-Mallinātha. The new date for Mallinātha is A. D. 1430 (see *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 442 – Dr. Raghavan's article) and hence his son Kumārasvāmin should be assigned to A. D. 1450.

2. No work of the title " गुणपताका " has been recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* or by Profs. S. K. De and P. V. Kane in their Histories of Poetics. The work appears to have been older than A. D. 1200 as I propose to show on evidence in a special paper later. Prof. Kane informs me under date 23rd February 1940 :— "I do not remember to have heard the name of a book called गुणपताका." Dr. S. K. Belvalkar also informs me to the same effect.

कृष्णामिश्रैः, 21 (about A. D. 1150).

मुरारिः कविः, 22, (about A. D. 800).

चार्वाकाः, 27.

महाभारते, 29.

इति दाक्षिणात्याः पठन्ति, 30.

हलायुधः (about 950 A. D.) 33, 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 44, 51, 52, 53, 61, 63, 66, 69, 79, 82.

हारावली (Before A. D. 1159), 34, 40, 46, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56.

धरणिः 37, (Before A. D. 1159).

उत्तरतंत्रे,[1] 39, 45, 48, 54, 55, 56, 62, (See Śivarāma on Vāsavadattā, pp. 184, 242).

उत्पलिनी, 40, 45, 53.

" दात्यूहः कालकंठक इत्यमरः डाउक इति लोके " — 44.

कामशास्त्रेषु, ,44, 53.

वराहमिहिरः, 45.

मल्लनागः, 46.

रभसः 47.

" शूलभंजन " इति प्रसिद्धः, 48.

विंध्यवासिनी, 40, 48, 56.

स्मृतिः, 53.

सांवत्सरे ज्योतिषि, 55.

" गुलिकाः गुळा इति प्रसिद्धिः," 60.

" तुलाधारो वस्तु परिणामकारी राजपुरुषः । वया इति ख्यातः," 61,

विष्णुपुराण, 65.

पाणिनिव्याकरणेन, 74.

" सांढालीति प्रसिद्धः, " 79.

" आतर्पणं ॥ अइपण इति ख्यातः," 79.

सामुद्रिकः, 79.

" सहरा इति ख्याताः, " 80.

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1. Vide Aufrecht CC I, 63 —" उत्तरतंत्र probably part of a dictionary. " As some of the commentators of the *Vāsavadattā* quote from this vocabulary and as it appears to have been lost, it is worth while collecting and putting on record all quotations from it wherever found. The list of Sanskrit lexical works given by Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā at the end of his Introduction to the *Kalpadrukośa* I, 1928 (Baroda), pp. LV–LXII mentions *no* work of the name " उत्तरतंत्र."

सभापर्वणि, 81.

" द्रामाषयुति कउडेद्ढेका इति प्रसिद्धाः, " 82.

" कंठालकं गौणी। कठाल इति प्रसिद्धः, " 82.

In the above list of references the mention of रुचक[1] and his अलंकारसर्वस्व of about 1150 A. D. enables us to fix A. D. 1200 as the earlier limit to Nārāyaṇa's commentary. The references to हैममाला[2] on folios 6 and 64 of our Ms further enable us to push this limit forward up to A.D. 1250 or so, as we know that Hemacandra was born in A. D. 1089 and died at the ripe old age of 84 years in A. D. 1173.[3]

The later limit for Nārāyaṇa's date cannot be definitely fixed at present but judging by the condition and script of the Ms before me I am inclined to believe that the Ms was written about A. D. 1600 or 1650. Secondly our commentator, who boasts that he has used no less than 20 lexicons in the preparation of his commentary, does not refer to late lexicons. If the reference to कुमारभट्ट is proved to be made by our author to कुमारस्वामी the son of Mallinātha (A. D. 1430) we may be in a position to assert that Nārāyaṇa is later than A.D. 1500 or so, but as no other work of कुमारस्वामिन् is so far known except the commentary on the *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa* and as the verse ascribed to कुमारभट्ट is not found by me in this commentary no conclusion of a definite nature can be arrived at on the strength of this reference to कुमारभट्ट. Perhaps a study of other commentaries[4]

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1. Vide p. 194 of *Sanskrit Poetics* by Dr. S. K. De, Vol. I (1923). Dr. De fixes the literary career of *Rucaka* or *Ruyyaka* "*in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century.*"

2. Vide p. xxxvi of preface to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. I (Baroda, 1928)—Hemacandra composed देशीनाममाला, अभिधानचिन्तामणि (also called अभिधानचिन्तामणिनाममाला) and other lexicons.

3. See *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Parikh and Athavale, 1938) Intro. p. CCLXVII and CCXIC.

4. Aufrecht mentions the following commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā* :—

(CC I, 566) — (1) तत्वदीपिनी by Jagaddhara

(2) Comm. by Narasiṁhasena

(3) ,, by Nārāyaṇa (see No. 16 below)

(4) चूर्णिका by Prabhākara

(*Continued on next page*)

on the *Vāsavadattā* may give us a definite later limit for Nārāyaṇa in case his commentary is referred to in these commentaries. For the present we may tentatively fix Nārāyaṇa's date between A. D. 1250 and 1550.[1]

(*Continued from previous page*)

(5) तत्त्वकौमुदी by Rāmadeva
(6) व्याख्यायिका by Vikramārddhi Kavi
(7) कांचनदर्पण by Śṛṅgāragupta
(8) comm. by Śivarāma
(9) ,, by Sarvacandra
(CC II, 138) — (10) Comm. by Timmaya Sūri
(11) ,, by Sarvarakṣita
(12) ,, Siddhacandragaṇi
(13) ,, Sūkṣmadarśin
(CC III, 120) — (14) ,, by Kāśīrāma
(15) वासवदत्तापञ्जिका विदग्धवल्लभा
(16) Comm. by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita (Vide No. 3 above)
(17) ,, by Raṅganātha
(18) वासवदत्तास्थूलतात्पर्यार्थ

Adyar Mss Catalogue (Part II, 1928 p. 2), records a Ms of वासवदत्ता-व्याख्या called भावदीपिका (24 A 9 प्र 70). I cannot say if this commentary is an additional commentary or is identical with any of the above commentaries.

1. The Govt. Mss Library (B. O. R. Institute) contains a Ms of a comm. on the *Vāsavadattā* called विदग्धवल्लभा (No. 464 of 1887–91). I have gone through this Ms cursorily. This commentary refers to the following works and authors :— विश्व, अमर, धरणि, एकाक्षरकोष, भरत, सरस्वतीकंठाभरण, पुराणवार्ता, पुराणाचार्या:, मेदिनी (fol. 16) हारावली, मेदिनी (11) स्वप्राध्याये (13), मेदिनीकर (18), शाश्वत, भारतकथा, उत्पलिनी, " डाउक इति प्रसिद्धः " (23), मेदिनी (23), वराहमिहिर, मल्लनागः (24), वामनः (26), मेदिनी-कर (27 and 30), कात्यायन (31), उत्तरतंत्र (31, 32, 33, 39), रत्नकोश (33, 40) जैमिनी (32), कालिदास (34), गीतगोविंद (39), जयदेव (43), नानार्थः (46 and 50), शब्दप्रकाश (50), विंध्यवासी (55). The Ms ends :— इति श्री विदग्धवल्लभा नाम वासवदत्ताव्याख्यापञ्जिका समाप्ता. " " No information about the author is found in the Ms. Many of the works

(*Continued on next page*)

Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita's commentary is one of the 17 commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā*. I have had occasion to peruse cursorily only a few of them. Some indication of their chronological limits may be given below :—

(1) *Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita — after about 1250 A. D.*

(2) *Vidagdhavallabhā — after about 1350 A. D.*

(3) *Siddhicandragaṇi*[1] — Contemporary of Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1542—1605).

(*Continued from previous page*)

mentioned by नारायण are found in the above list. The references to मेदिनी or मेदिनीकर found in this commentary are absent in Nārāyaṇa's commentary. The poet जयदेव and his गीतगोविंद mentioned by this commentary furnish us the earlier limits to its date which should be about 1300 A. D. as जयदेव is assigned by scholars to the 13th century (Dr. De : *Poetics*, I, 219).

1. Vide IHQ, IX (1933), p. 138 — Siddhicandra, the disciple of Bhānucandra was a teacher of Akbar. The title *Khusfaham* was conferred on Siddhicandra by Jahangir. Siddhicandra refers to Akbar in the following verse of the *Vāsavadattāvivaraṇa* (Ms No. 781 of 1886-92) :—

Folio 1 — " अकबराह्वान महीमहेन्द्र—
योऽपि पठत्पाठकसार्वभौमः ।
सहस्रनामानि सहस्ररश्मेः
सौवर्णसिंहासनसंस्थितः सन् ॥ ७ ॥ "

Siddhicandra also refers to Jahangir in verse 10 at the beginning of this commentary as " जिरांगीरनरेन्द्रचन्द्र." In the colophon Bhānucandra is called the teacher of Akbar in reading सूर्यसहस्रनाम (" अकब्बर-सूर्यसहस्रनामाध्यापक "). For further details of Akbar's interest in Sun-worship see Dr. Hiranand Sastri's article in the IHQ referred to above. Siddhicandra refers to the following authors and works in his वासवदत्ताविवरण :— मालतीमाधव, काव्यप्रकाश, विश्व, निघंटु, अमर, पुराण, शाश्वत, मीमांसक, अभिधान, हलायुध, हारावली, शृंगारतिलक (fol. 15), धरणि, हैममाला, अनेकार्थ, वैजयंती, वराहमिहिर, दंडी, कामशास्त्र, जैमिनि, भरत, कोष, नीतिशास्त्र, जयंत (43). Prof. H. D. Velankar notes two other Mss of Siddhicandra's commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* besides the one I have used above. These Mss are indicated by him as—" *JG. p. 332* " and " *VA 15 (38)*."

(4) *Jagaddhara — Between A.D. 1300 and 1400*[1]

(5) *Śivarāma Tripāṭhin*[2] *— Between 1700 and 1725 A. D.*

(6) *Raṅganātha*[3] *— later than Prabhākara*, the author of the *Cūrṇikā* on the *Vāsavadattā*. Prabhākara is earlier than A. D. 1685.

(7) *Prabhākara*[4] *— Before 1685 A. D.* (His Cūrṇikā is mentioned by Raṅganātha).

(8) *Sarvarakṣita*[5] *— Earlier than Sarvacandra.*

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1. Vide my article on the *Date of Jagaddhara* (JUB, IX Pt. 2, pp. 116–125). There are 2 Mss of Jagaddhara's comm. in Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, Madras (Cata. XXI, 1918 — Nos. 12421 and 12422).

2. Aufrecht CC I, 652 — Śivarāma quotes परिभाषेन्दुशेखर in the *Lakṣmīvilāsa*, " which suffices to place him in the *beginning of the 18th Century*." Vide also S. K. De : *Sans. Poetics*, I, p. 318 ; and *JAOS*, XXIV, 57–63. The *Bib. Indica* Edn. of the *Vāsavadattā* (1859) includes Śivarāma's commentary. The editor Fitzedward Hall used three Mss of this comm. for this edition (vide p. 44 of this *Preface*). Hall fixes the earlier limits for Śivarāma's date as A. D. 1373, the date of the lexicographer Mahīpa but observes that Śivarāma must be " more modern. "

3. Vide CC III, 120 — " AK 566 = *No. 566 of 1891–95* (B. O. R. Institute). This Ms is called वासवदत्ताटिप्पनसार. It ends :—

" यत्संदिग्धमतिश्लिष्टं क्लिष्टं चामूलभाषितं । तद्बोधार्थमसौयत्नस्तेन
प्रीणातु मे हरिः ॥ इति रंगनाथोद्धतोवासवदत्ताटिप्पनससारः ॥ ६९ ॥ "

Raṅganātha refers to the following works and authors :—धरणि, विश्व भरत, चूर्णिकाव्याख्या (fol. 11), उत्पलिनी. Possibly चूर्णिकाव्याख्या mentioned by Raṅganātha is the चूर्णिका by Prabhākara on *Vāsavadattā* (CC I, 566). Kielhorn records a Ms of चूर्णिका dated Saṁvat 1741 = *A. D. 1685*. C. P. Mss. *Cata.* 1874, p. 76).

4. Vide p. 48 of *Cata. of Sans. Mss* (Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency, 1893), Ms No. 100 described here by R. G. Bhandarkar is Prabhākara's comm. on वासवदत्तादूतीसंवाद. This Ms is dated *Saṁvat 1903 = A. D. 1847*. In the colophon the author is called " मीमांसकवर्यभट्टप्रभाकर."

5. Vide CC II, 134 — " Stein 81 " — No. 301. Sarvacandra in his वासवदत्ताटिप्पनी (I. O. *Cata.* VII, 1904, p. 1557) mentions " राक्षितव्याख्या " (fol. 61^b). I presume that this is a reference to the commentary of Sarvarakṣita.

(9) *Sarvacandra — After A. D. 1300* and later than Sarvarakṣita.

In the I. O. Ms No. 996 of Sarvacandra's commentary on the Vāsavadattā there is a reference to *Vopadeva* (fol. 52[a]) who is, I think, identical with the grammarian Vopadeva, the protégé of minister Hemādri (A. D. 1260). We may, therefore, fix A. D. 1300 or so as the earlier limit to Sarvacandra's date.[1]

(10) *Rāmadeva*[2] *— Before A. D. 1470.*

A grammarian of the name रामदेवमिश्र is quoted in *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* (c. A. D. 1350) according to Aufrecht (CC I, 515). Aufrecht also states that this grammarian is "Later than Haradatta." If this Haradatta is identical with Haradatta[3] the author of the *Padamañjarī* (c. A. D. 1100) the date of Rāmadevamiśra mentioned in the *Mādhavīya-Dhātuvṛtti* must lie *between A. D. 1100 and 1350.* I am, however, unable to identify this latter रामदेवमिश्र with his namesake, the author of the तत्त्वकौमुदी commentary on the *Vāsavadattā*, the only Ms of which is dated A. D. 1470. Perhaps it may be possible to identify these two authors at a later date.

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1. Sarvacandra quotes the following works and authors:— उत्तरतंत्र, उत्पलिनी, धातुप्रदीप, नागरसर्वस्व, नीतिशास्त्र, भट्टशुभाङ्क, भागुरि, रक्षितव्याख्या, रत्नाकर (? वृत्तरत्नाकर), रन्तिदेव, रसभ (? रभस), रुद्र, वामन, विंध्यवासिन्, वोपदेव, शब्दप्रकाश, शब्दार्णव, सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण, सुभूति. Many popular and vernacular terms are also met with in the commentary of Sarvacandra (Vide p. 1557 of *I. O. Cata.* VII, 1904).

2. Vide *CC I*, 566 — तत्त्वकौमुदी comm. on *Vāsavadattā* by Rāmadeva *L. 2434.* This is the only Ms of the work which has been described by Rajendralal Mitra (p. 195 of *Notices*, VII, 1884). This Ms was in the possession of one Babulal Pathak of Mujonā (Zilla Darbhanga). It consisted of 48 folios and had an extent of 1584 Ślokas. Mitra points out that this commentary is not named by Hall in his Edition of the *Vāsavadattā*. This Ms begins :— "सजलजलदश्यामं पीतवाससमच्युतं। नन्दसूनुं नमस्कृत्य तन्यते तत्त्वकौमुदी ॥". Colophon :— "इति श्रीरामदेवमिश्रविरचिता वासवदत्ताटीका तत्त्वकौमुदी समाप्ता। लसं ३५२ ॥". The date of the Ms is *Lakṣmaṇa* Saṁvat Era 352 = A. D. 1470 (352 + 1118). If this date is correct Rāmadavamiśra is *earlier than A. D. 1470.*

3. Belvalkar: *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 40.

(11) *Timmayasūri*[1] — This commentator hails from South India. I have no means of determining any limits for his date at present.

(12) *Narasiṁhasena*[2] — *between A. D. 1450 and 1500*, if he is identical with his namesake, whose son Viśvanāthasena was at the court of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa (A. D. 1497–1539). If this identity is corroborated by further evidence it will make this author of the Vasavadattā commentary a contemporary of Puruṣottamadeva (A. D. 1470–1497).

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1. Aufrecht (*CC II, 133*) notes one Ms of Timmayasūri's commentary viz. "Govt. Ori. Ms. Library, Madras 84." The *Cata. of Madras Mss*, XXI (1918), p. 8330 describes a Ms of Timmaya's comm. called दर्पण. In the colophon the author is styled as "कविकुललोकबन्धु." The Ms is written in Telugu characters. Aufrecht (*CC I, 231*) mentions one तिम्मय as the author of a commentary on Agastya's *Bālabhārata* (Burnell, 159*b* and Oppert II. 5745.) The date of this तिम्मय is "*beginning of the 16th Century.*" A third namesake of our commentator is mentioned as the author of a work called कृष्णाभ्युदय. He is called तिम्मययज्वन् (Vide p. 303 of Krishnamachariar: *Classical Sans. Literature*, 1937). The identity of these three commentators of the same name तिम्मय need to be studied with a view to fixing their chronology.

2. Aufrecht (*CC I*, 566 and 278) records only one Ms of Vaidya Narasiṁhasena's commentary on *Vāsavadattā* viz. "Oxf. 156 *b*" This Ms begins,—

"श्रीगुरुचरणाम्भोजं प्रणम्य पित्रोः पदं वैद्यः ।
वासवदत्ताटीकां विलसत् श्रीकां करोति नरसिंहः ॥"

Aufrecht also mentions (I, 278) an author of the name नरसिंहसेन, son of तपन, son of उमापति, father of विश्वनाथसेन, who composed पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चय (L 2939). The following points of identity between the two नरसिंहसेनs may be recorded here :—

I. नरसिंहसेन a. of वासवदत्ताटीका — (1) calls himself वैद्य. In the margin of the Oxford Ms he is called वैद्य नरसिंहसेन.

2. The Ms of his comm. is in Bengali Script.

II. नरसिंहसेन, father of विश्वनाथसेन — (1) He is called नरसिंहसेन by his son विश्वनाथसेन :—

(Continued on next page:)

(13) *Trivikrama*[1] — After about 1100 A. D.

(14) *Śṛṅgāragupta*[2] —

(*Continued from previous page*)

" श्रीगौरीनरसिंहसेनतनयो निःशेषतन्त्रोद्भवं ।
पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चयं व्यतनुत श्रीविश्वनाथः सुधीः । "

(2) The Ms of पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चय is also in Bengali script.

(3) विश्वनाथ was at the court of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa as stated in the colophon of पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चय which reads as follows:—

" इति श्रीसूर्यवंशावतंसेन गजपतिप्रतापरुद्रेण प्रतिपादितः तपनमहापात्रेति द्विजपितामहनाम पदवीकस्य विश्वनाथसेनस्य कृतौ पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चयः समाप्तः " (Vide p. 49 of Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. IX, 1888). The solar dynasty (सूर्यवंश) to which Gajapati Pratāparudra belonged ruled Orissa between A. D. 1435 and 1540 (Vide p. 213 of *Orissa in the Making* by B. C. Mazumdar, Calcutta, 1925. Gajapati Pratāparudra ruled from *A. D. 1497 to A. D. 1539* (Vide p. 413 of Kane : *Hist. of Dharma*. I). His predecessor Puruṣottama-deva ruled from *A. D. 1470 to 1497*. If विश्वनाथसेन was at the court of Gajapati Pratāparudra between A. D. 1497 and 1539 we may safely presume that his father नरसिंहसेन was a contemporary of Puruṣottamadeva between A. D. 1470 and 1497. I am inclined to believe that the two persons of the same name नरसिंहसेन, both of whom were Vaidyas of Orissa or Bengal, are identical.

1. Aufrecht (*CC I*, 566) records a Ms of a commentary on the Vāsavadattā called " *Vyākhyāyikā* by Vikramarddhi Kavi, Burnell 162a. " This Ms has been described in the *Des. Cata. of Tanjore Mss*, Vol. VII (1939), pp. 3018–20 (Ms No. 4020). The correct name of the author is not Vikramarddhi Kavi but त्रिविक्रम as stated in a verse at the beginning (त्रिविक्रमेण क्रियते मेधाविकुलजन्मना). In the extract quoted in the *Tanjore Catalogue* (p. 3019) there are some quotations from the lexicon हलायुध (c. 950 A. D.). We may, therefore, presume that this commentary is *later than about 1100 A. D.* Perhaps an analysis of the only Ms of the work in the Tanjore library may furnish better chronological limits for this author than what I can do at present, relying mainly on the particulars gathered from the Catalogues. *Madras Cata.* XXI (1918) p. 8329 describes a Ms of Trivikrama's commentary. *Adyar Mss Catalogue*, Part II (1928), page 2 mentions a Ms of this commentary (29 G 5 प्र 105—त्रिविक्रमकृतः).

2. Aufrecht (*CC I*, 566) records only one Ms of this com-

(*Continued on next page*)

शृंगारगुप्त mentions the names of his ancestors viz. नागगुप्त, हरिगुप्त, धर्मगुप्त. धर्मगुप्त[1] appears to be the name of his father. It is difficult to locate the history of this family or identify these names in any contemporary works.

(15) *Sūkṣmadarśanā*[2] (name of the commentator is not given). The name "Sūkṣmadarśin" recorded by Aufrecht as commentator's name appears to be incorrect.

(*Continued from previous page*)

mentary viz. "Report XII" = *No. 186 of 1875-76* in the Govt. Mss Library (B. O. R. Inst.) This Ms begins :—

"ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीशारदायै नमः ॥
कथं वासवदत्ताख्यां सुबंधुर्यो महाकविः ।
व्यधात् शंगारगुप्तोस्याः करोति लघुपंचिकाम् ॥"

The Ms ends :—

"इति वासवदत्ताविवृतिः समाप्ता ।
कृतिरियं शृंगारगुप्तस्य इति शिवम् ॥
नागगुप्ताज्जातो हरिगुप्ताद्धर्मगुप्ततनयाद्यः ।
वासवदत्ताविवृतिं चकार शृंगारगुप्त इमामिति शिवम् ॥"

The *Cata. of Mithilā Mss*, Vol. II (1933, Patna), p. 141, records another Ms of लघुपञ्जिका (No. 137) of शृंगारगुप्त in Devanāgarī characters.

1. Aufrecht (CC I, 268) mentions one धर्मगुप्त (Son of रामदास) who wrote रामाङ्कनाटिका in *A. D. 1360*. (Bendall Cata. p. 87). This धर्मगुप्त appears to be different from his namesake mentioned by शृंगारगुप्त as his father or ancestor. An author of the name धर्मगुप्तमिश्र is mentioned in संक्षेपशंकरजय (Oxf. 258b.). The name धर्मगुप्त appears to be an old one. धर्मगुप्त, a Śramaṇa of Southern India, translated several Buddhist works into Chinese between A. D. 590 and 616 (Vide p. 44 of Duff's *Chronology of India*). In an inscription of about the 6th Century A. D. from Gaya District, Bihar and Orissa, a Śākya mendicant of the name धर्मगुप्त is mentioned (Vide p. 246 – No. 1738 of *Inscriptions of Northern India* (*Epi. Ind.* XX) by D. R. Bhandarkar.

2. Aufrecht (CC I, 134) records this commentary by the entry : "Comm. by सूक्ष्मदर्शिन् Govt. Ori. Library, Madras, 84." See, however, p. 8331 of *Madras Catalogue*, Vol. XXI, (1918) where this Ms is described. The author prefers to remain anonymous while the

(*Continued on next page*)

(16) *Kāśīrāma*[1] — Before A. D. 1800.

(17) *Vāsavadattā-Sthūlatātparyārtha*[2] — No information available.

In the foregoing brief record of commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā* I have not included some more commentaries found in Catalogues as they were anonymous. Scholars interested in the study of the *Vāsavadattā* may do well to study many of these commentaries, which though of later times are likely to throw unexpected light on some of the obscure words in the text of the *Vāsavadattā* which is full of words with double meanings and hence has taxed the heads of many commentators as would be seen from the numerous commentaries mentioned in this paper.

Hall in his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* (*Bib. Ind.* 1859) refers to the following commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā* :—

(1) *By Jagaddhara* — Hall had 7 Mss of this commentary called तत्त्वदीपिनी, one of which was in Tailaṅga characters. He gives the

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name of the commentary is given as " सूक्ष्मदर्शना " in two verses in the colophon one of which reads as follows :—

" व्याख्या वासवदत्ताया रचिता येन केनचित् ।
कविचित्तप्रमाथिन्याः समाप्ता सूक्ष्मदर्शना ॥ "

1. Aufrecht (CC III, 120) records only one Ms of this commentary viz. " I. O. 543. " The description of this Ms as recorded on p. 1556 of *India Office Catalogue*, VII, 1904, states that the Ms contains detached annotations on the text hardly deserving the name of a commentary. The Ms ends :—" इति श्री काशीरामवाचस्पतिकृता वासवदत्ताटीका समाप्ता." The paper on which the Ms is written is European (bearing " *water-mark 1805* "). The Ms is written in Bengali characters. One काशीराम, son of Nyāyālaṁkāra wrote a commentary on the आत्मप्रकाशक of नन्दरामतर्कवागीश (Vide p. 768-9 of *I. O. Cata.* IV, 1894). I am not sure if this काशीराम is identical with the commentator of the *Vāsavadattā*.

2. Aufrecht (CC III, 120) records only one Ms of this commentary. It is described in *I. O. Mss Catalogue* VII, 1904, p. 1558 (No. 4080). The Ms is written on European paper by one Bholānātha Śarman of Vīranagaragrāma. No details about the work or author are recorded in the Catalogue.

following estimate of Jagaddhara's commentary on comparing it with that of Śivarāma, published by him :—

(Preface, p. 45) — " Jagaddhara, as compared with Śivarāma, though he oftener takes note of various readings is more diffuse, is equally fanciful, and resorts less frequently to authority in justification of his comments. His errors are freely exposed by his successor and not invariably with unexceptionable courtesy. As I understand from his introduction he was not the first annotator of Subandhu —*None older, however, seems to be now known.*" [1]

(2) *By Narasiṁha* — Hall had only one Ms of this commentary. Particulars about this author and his work as given by Hall may be briefly noted here :—

(i) *N* (= Narasiṁha) was a physician.

(ii) *N* was presumably a native of Bengal.

(iii) The Ms of *N*'s commentary with Hall was in Bengali characters.

(iv) *N*'s commentary is of small value as it deals more with figures of rhetoric than with anything else.

(v) Nothing positive can be said about *N's* age.[2]

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1. Hall states that the date of Jagaddhara can be determined from the following quotations in his work :— (1) गीतगोविन्द, (2) धातुसंग्रह, (3) शब्दभेद, (4) शब्दप्रकाश, (5) रत्नावली, (6) उत्तरतन्त्र, (7) वल, (8) विन्ध्यवासिन्, and (9) मत्तनाग. Speaking of शब्दप्रकाश Hall observes :— " I have seen an imperfect copy of a शब्दप्रकाश which was digested by some Muhammadan of note, vaguely spoken of as " खान नृपति. " The copy was transcribed in *Saṁvat 1575* " (= A. D. 1519). *Preface*, p. 46. शब्दभेद is a part of शब्दभेदप्रकाश which is a supplement to विश्वप्रकाश of महेश्वर (A. D. 1111). Vide p. xxvii of Intro. to *Kalpadrukośa*, I (1928, Baroda). Gītagovinda of Jayadeva is assigned to the *13th* century (Vide p. 219 of S. K. De's *Poetics*, Vol. I). I have tried to prove in my article on Jagaddhara's date that he flourished *after A. D. 1300*. This earlier limit harmonises with Jagaddhara's reference to गीतगोविन्द pointed out by Hall and also with the fact that Jagaddhara wrote a commentary on the *Gītagovinda* of which there are several Mss (See *Mithilā* Mss Cata. II, 1933, Patna and *Des. Cata. of Madras Mss*, XX, p. 7997).

2. Vide my remarks about Narasiṁhasena made on pp. 274–275 (foot-note) of this volume.

(vi) One of his few authorities is उत्तरतंत्र.[1]

(vii) "He may have succeeded[2] Jagaddhara and Śivarāma and he probably did but he does not allude to them while he speaks of one विद्यासागर in a manner to induce the conjecture that he may once have laboured as an interpreter of our story."

(3) *By Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārḍe* — Hall states that a rumour had reached him of a third commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* by Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Arḍe.[3] In the list of this author's numerous works recorded by Aufrecht[4] no mention of his commentary on the *Vāsava-*

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1. This work उत्तरतन्त्र which appears to have been a vocabulary now lost has been mentioned by many commentators of the *Vāsavadattā* like नारायण दीक्षित, जगद्धर, author of विदग्धवल्लभा, सर्वचन्द्र, etc.

2. My evidence tends to support the following chronology for these commentators :—

जगद्धर	नरसिंहसेन	शिवराम
(*A. D. 1300-1400*)	(*A. D. 1450-1500*)	(*A. D. 1700-1725*)

3. In the foot-note on p. 47 of *Preface* Hall describes this author as "A Maraṭha of Benares : Son of Raṅganātha and pupil of one Hari. Among his works are huge commentaries on the निर्णयसिन्धु, गदाधरी and जगदीशी. The second is called काशिका or गदाधरीविवृति ; and the third मञ्जूषा or जगदीशतोषिणी. The गदाधरी is by गदाधरभट्टाचार्य. The जगदीशी by जगदीशतर्कालंकारभट्टाचार्य. They annotated respectively the whole and a part of the दीधिति of रघुनाथशिरोमणिभट्टाचार्य, which consists of notes on the first two sections of गंगेश उपाध्याय's तत्त्वचिन्तामणि, a celebrated treatise of Nyāya philosophy."

4. *CC I*, pp. 118-119 – Aufrecht states that कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे was the son of रघुनाथ, brother of नारायण, pupil of हरि, of Benares. About 74 works of this author are recorded by Aufrecht. In *CC II*, *23* and *CC III*, *26* he is called son of रंगनाथ. In *CC II*, 114 we are told that one रङ्गनाथ आरड son of महादेव wrote दशकुमारचरितपूर्वपीठिकासार (Stein 81). If this रंगनाथ is the father of कृष्णभट्ट आरडे the genealogy of this author would be :—

महादेव → Son रंगनाथ → Son कृष्णभट्ट (आरडे)

If Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa died 150 years ago i.e. about A. D. 1771 according to S. Vidyabhushan the date of रंगनाथ would be about A. D. 1745 while महादेव would have the date A. D. 1720 or so. This probable chronology as also the genealogy recorded above needs further verification from the works of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa and other sources. Perhaps "आरडे" is a Deśastha Brāhmin surname.

dattā is found. Satischandra Vidyabhushan in his *History of Indian Logic* (1921), p. 486, states that " Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārḍe was a Maratha who wrote a gloss on *Gadādharī* called गदाधराकर्षिका and one on Śiromaṇi's तत्त्वचिंतामणि while residing at Benares where he died about 150 years ago. The gloss has been printed in Telugu characters."

It would be seen from the above remarks of Hall on the commentators of the *Vāsavadattā* that their number as known to Hall was *three* only while in our present paper we have indicated the existence in Ms form of about 20 commentaries. It is now almost 90 years since Hall edited the *Vāsavadattā* but no serious study of the commentaries on this important text has been undertaken by scholars. I trust, therefore, that my present survey of the probable chronology of some of these commentaries and indication of the Ms material with regard to each commentary would direct the attention of scholars to this problem at no distant date so that some of these commentaries may be published by them gradually.[1]

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[1] So far the following editions of the *Vāsavadattā* have appeared :—

(1) *Text* with comm. by Pt. R. V. Krishnamachariar, Vanivilas Press, Shrirangam, *1906*.

(2) *Text* with a Critical [Sanskrit] comm. by T. V. Shrinivasachariar, Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Press, *1906*.

(3) *Text*, translated by Louis H. Gray, Columbia University Press, New York *1913* (contains a reprint in Roman characters of the Madras edition of the Southern text, 1862) *Indo-Iranian Series*.

(4) *Text* with comm. of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin (*Bib. Indica, 1859*) ed. by Hall, Calcutta.

(5) Text with Śivarāma's comm., Edited by Jivananda Vidyasagara (Calcutta, *1874*).

(6) Do - with J. Vidyasagara's commentary, 3rd Edition, Calcutta, *1907*.

43. Some new Evidence for the Date of the Lexicon Medini — Between A.D. 1200 and 1275 ‡

Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā in his scholarly Introduction to the *Kalpadrukośa*[1] has recorded the following facts bearing on the date of the lexicon *Medini* :—

(1) Rāyamukuṭa (A. D. *1431*) quotes *Medini*.

(2) Padmanābhadatta, who wrote his *Pṛṣodarādivṛtti* in A. D. *1375*, quotes *Medini* in his *Bhūriprayoga* as follows :—

" विश्वप्रकाशामरकोषटीकात्रिकांडशेषोऽज्वलदत्तवृत्तीः ।
हारावलीमेदिनिकोषमन्यच्चालोक्य लक्ष्मं लिखितं मयैतत् ॥ "

(Vide p. 192a of Aufrecht's *Cata. of Oxford MSS*, 1864, where a MS of *Bhūriprayoga* is described).

(3) Mallinātha (*c.* A. D. *1430*)[2] quotes *Medini* on *Māgha* II, 65 as follows :—

" इनः पत्यौ नृपार्कयोरिति मेदिनी "

(4) The *Maṅkhaṭīkā* contains a quotation from *Medini* (कमिति प्रकृत्यमस्तके च सुखेऽपिचेति अव्ययप्रकरणे मेदिनिः) which, if genuine, would push back *Medini's* date to the *12th century* for the *Maṅkhaṭīkā* was written before the last quarter of the 12th century.

Leaving aside the quotation from *Medini* in the *Maṅkhaṭīkā* composed before *c.* A. D. 1175 (last quarter of the 12th century) we may put *Medini* definitely between A. D. *1111*, the date of *Viśvakośa* mentioned as बहुदोष by *Medini* and A. D. *1375*, the date of Padmanābhadatta, who quotes from *Medini* in his *Bhūriprayoga*.

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‡ *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 171–175.

1. Ed. in G. O. Series, Baroda, Vol. I, (1928), p. XL.

2. According to Dr. V. Raghavan Mallinātha composed a work called *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākara* for Devarāya II of Vijayanagar (A. D. 1422-1466) — Vide pp. 111-117 of *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II.

Let us now see if we can go backwards from the definite later limit of A. D. 1375 for the date of the *Medini* lexicon.

In my article[1] on the date of Cāritravardhana I have assigned him to the period A. D. 1172 and 1385. Prof. N. A. Gore of the S. P. College has drawn my attention to several quotations from *Medini* found in the commentary of Cāritravardhana on the *Meghadūta*[2] of Kālidāsa. These quotations suggest the possibility of a date for *Medini* earlier than A. D. 1350 or so. Dr. A. B. Keith[3] assigns Medinikara "*to the fourteenth century.*"

In view of the foregoing references to the date of *Medinikara* made by responsible scholars we must try to fix this date within exact limits so that the chronology of many works which quote *Medinikara* would be definitely determined and I propose to record below some new evidence from a non-Sanskrit source which, if accepted, definitely pushes back the date of *Medini* lexicon before A.D. 1300.

Dr. S. K. Chatterji published his very learned paper on "The *Varṇa-ratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekharācārya" in the *Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference* (Allahabad, 1928), Vol. II, 553-620. This paper is based on a MS of the *Varṇa-ratnākara* on palm-leaf written in "ल. सं. ३८८" i.e. in the year 388 of the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat* = A.D. *1507*. This MS is preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Govt. Collection — No. 48/34). The work *Varṇa-ratnākara* is the oldest work in the Maithili language of North Bihar so far known. Speaking of the date of the author Dr. Chatterji makes the following observations :—

(1) The author of the *V. R.* (*Varṇa-ratnākara*) is a well-known figure in medieval or late Sanskrit Literature.

1. Vide pp. 109-111 of *Annals* (*B. O. R. I.*) 1934, Vol. XV. It appears from Prof. Velankar's *Jinaratnakośa* that Cāritravardhana composed a work (सिन्दूरप्रकरटीका) in A. D. *1449* (Saṁvat 1505).

2. Vide *Meghadūta* (Kashi Sanskrit Series).

3. Vide p. 414 of *Sanskrit Literature*, 1928. Mr. Y. R. Date (Vide p. 27 of महाराष्ट्रभाषाभ्यास-कोशरचनाशास्त्र व कोशवाङ्मय) in his remarks on *Medini* refers to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's view about the date of *Medini* recorded on p. 13 of the Intro. to मालतीमाधव (B. S. Series, 1876). According to this view *Medini* belongs to the *end of the 14th Century.*

(2) He wrote a *prahasana* or farce called the *Dhūrtasamāgama* and a work on erotics called the *Pañcasāyaka*. According to Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti our author wrote a work called *Raṅgaśekhara* (*J. A. S. B.*, 1915, p. 414 footnote).

(3) According to Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti (*J. A. S. B.*, 1915, pp. 407-433) our author was patronized by a King of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of the name Harasiṁhadeva, who ruled "*during the first quarter of the 14th century*" i. e. between A.D. 1300 and 1325.

(4) Our author was a "Cousin of the grandfather of Vidyāpati (c. A. D. 1400)."

(5) The period during which our author flourished was the golden age of Sanskrit studies in Mithila of post-Mohammadan times.

Dr. Chatterji has recorded illustrative passages from the *Varṇaratnākara*, which appears to be an encyclopaedic work like the *Mānasollāsa* in Sanskrit by Someśvara III, the Cālukya King of Mahārāṣṭra (A. D. 1127-1138). In the extract called भाट वर्णना (p. 583) which records the qualifications of a भाट, or official bard of the court, who was often a sort of ambassador to his king, well-trained in all kinds of learning we are informed that he should be proficient in the knowledge of 18 lexicons[1] viz. (1) धरणि, (2) विश्व, (3) व्यालि, (4) अमर नामलिङ्ग, (5) अजय, (6) पल्लूर, (7) शाश्वत, (8) रुद्रट, (9) उत्पलिनी, (10) मेदिनीकर, (11) हारावली and others.

As the author of the *Varṇaratnākara*, who flourished *between* A.D. *1300* and *1325*, mentions मेदिनीकर lexicon as a standard lexicon among the 18 *kośas* popular at the court of Mithila, we have reason to believe that *Medinīkara* had attained some literary status and standing say by A.D. 1300. If this view is accepted we can safely push back the date of *Medinīkara before* A. D. *1275* or so. As *Medinīkara* mentions the *Viśvakośa* composed in A.D. *1111* and condemns it as "बहुदोष" we are warranted in supposing that *Medinīkara* is removed from A.D. 1111 by about 100 years so that the date of Medinīkara gets fixed up say *between* A.D. *1200 and 1275*. In this

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1. "धरणिविश्वव्यालिअमरनामलिङ्गअजयपलूरशाश्वतरुद्रटउत्पलिनीमेदिनीकरहारावलीप्रभृति ये अठारहओ कोष तँ व्युत्पन्न।"

way the reference to *Medinīkara* in a Maithili work of c. 1320 A.D. enables us to take back the date of *Medinīkara* from A.D. 1375 to 1275, a period of 100 years. This is no small achievement in the field of Indian chronology, especially when scholars have failed to fix up the date of this much-cited lexicon during the last 75 years. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar discussed the date of *Medinī* in his celebrated edition of the *Mālatīmādhava* as early as 1876. He pointed out that Jagaddhara, the commentator of this drama, himself a Maithili author quotes *Medinī* several times and if the date of *Medinī* is fixed up it would help us to fix up the date of Jagaddhara. Unfortunately no Sanskrit source has yielded any definite evidence to determine the date of *Medinī* since 1876 and it was by mere chance that I happened to read Dr. S. K. Chatterji's scholarly paper on the *Varṇaratnākara* published in 1928 and noticed the reference to *Medinīkara* or *Medinī* in this early Maithili work of *c.* A. D. *1320* represented by a rare MS of A.D. *1507*. I struggled in vain during the last 10 years to find any definite evidence for the date of *Medinī* as many dates of Sanskrit works are dependent on the date of *Medinī*. At long last, I believe, I have brought *Medinī* within very narrow limits viz. A.D. 1200-1275 or so. These limits harmonize with the following data bearing on the date of Medinīkara :—

(1) *Vardhamāna*, a writer on dharmaśāstra, who flourished between A.D. 1450 and 1500 according to M. M. P. V. Kane[1], quotes मेदिनिकर [Vide folios 12 and 13b of a MS of Vardhamāna's गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक in the British Museum described by Bendall—*Cata.* of *British Mus. Mss*, 1902, pp. 75-76)]. This British Museum MS of गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक by वर्धमान is dated *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat 378 = 1496.*

(2) *Mallinātha* (*c.* A.D.*1430*) mentions and quotes from *Medinī* on Māgha II, 65 as I have already pointed out.

(3) Rāyamukuṭa (A.D. 1431) on Amara quotes *Medinī* several times.

(4) *Padmanābhadatta* (A.D. 1375) quotes *Medinī* in his *Bhūriprayoga*.

(5) *Jagaddhara* (Between c. 1275 and 1473 A.D.[2] quotes *Medinī*

1. Vide p. 736 of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930).

2. Vide my paper on the date of Jagaddhara (pp. 71-73 of *Jour. S. V. O. Institute*, Tirupati, Vol. IV).

many times in his commentaries on the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Mudrārākṣasa*. The Nepal MS of the *Vāsavadattāṭīkā* by Jagaddhara is dated A.D. *1473*.

(6) *Rāghavabhaṭṭa* (A.D. 1475-1500) quotes मेदिनीकर in his commentary on the शाकुन्तल (Vide p. 2 of M. R. Kale's Edn. 1913).

The number of works quoting *Medinī* is very large. I note below some of them to enable other scholars to note similar quotations from *Medinī* from Sanskrit and other sources :—

(1) *Rāmacandra's* commentary on the *Ānandalaharī* (B. O. R. I. Ms *No. 667 of 1882-83*) called पदार्थचन्द्रिका quotes मेदिनी many times.

(2) *Lokanātha* in his commentary मनोहरा on the Bengal recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions मेदिनी, विश्वकोश, भूरिप्रयोग, विमलबोध (*Mbh* commentator) and (नारायण) सर्वज्ञ (*Mbh* Comm.) — Vide p. 1181 of *I. O. Cata.* Pt. VI, 1899).

(3) *Śivadāsasena*[1] in his Comm. तत्त्वचन्द्रिका on चक्रदत्तसंग्रह (c. 1060 A.D.) quotes मेदिनीकर (Vide p. 939 of *I. O. Cata.* Pt. V, 1896).

(4) *Harirāma* in his कातन्त्रव्याख्यासार quotes मेदिनीकर (Vide p. 200 of *I. O. Cata.* Pt. II, 1889).

(5) *Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati* in his त्रिकाण्डविवेक refers to मेदिनीकरकृतकोष (Vide p. 273 of *I. O. Cata.* Pt. II, 1889).

(6) *Haragaurīstotra-ṭīkā* quotes मेदिनी (Vipe p. 1142 of *I. O. Cata.* Vol. II by Keith).

(7) *Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa* in his commentary on the *Naiṣadhīya-carita* quotes मेदिनी (Vide MS No. *716 of 1886-92*, folio 10). Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa's date has has been fixed by me between A.D. 1431-1730 (Vide *Calcutta Ori. Journal*, II, 309-312).

(8) *Kāyastha Gopāla* in his comm. on the कुमारसंभव quotes मेदिनीकर (Vide folio 29 of MS *No. 678 of 1886-92*). He also quotes प्रक्रियाकौमुदी of Rāmacandra (c. A.D. 1350-1400). Vide my paper on this author [in the *Annals* (B.O.R. Institute) XV, 114-116].

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1. *Śivadāsa Sen* was Court-physician of Barbek Shah of Bengal. Lane-poole gives A. D. *1459* as the date of Bārbek Shah of Bengal (Vide p. 307 of *Muhammedan Dynasties*, London, 1925). Vide my paper on Khāraṇādi in *Poona Orientalist* (Vol. IV, 1939, pp. 49-62).

(9) *Sujana* in his शब्दलिङ्गार्थचन्द्रिका mentions मेदिनी twice (Vide p. 43 of *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Manuscripts Notes (February 1943 — Note by H. G. Narahari). According to Mr. Narahari this lexion is *not later than* A.D. *1750*.

(10) *Vidagdhavallabhā*, Comm. on the वासवदत्ता of Subandhu (B. O. R. I. Ms *No. 464 of 1887-91*) quotes मेदिनी or मेदिनीकर (folios 16, 11, 18, 23, 27, 30) and गीतगोविंद of जयदेव (folios 39, 43) (Vide p. 135 of *Annals* B.O.R.I., XXI, 1940 — my article on the commentators of the वासवदत्ता). I may note here that a MS[1] of the मेदिनीकोष in Maithili Characters in the Nepal Darbar Library is dated "ल. सं. ३७७ पौषवदि" i. e. *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat 377* = A.D *1495*. This is perhaps the earliest dated MS of this lexicon.

Some of the commentators of the *Mahābhārata* quote *Medinī* lexicon, but as the date of *Medinī* was left undetermined so far I could not make use of these quotations for chronological purposes. I take this opportunity of noting these commentators as follows :—

(1) *Nārāyaṇa*[2] in his निगूढपदबोधिनी quotes मेदिनी (Vide p. 7248 of *Madras Catalogue* for 1925-26 to 1927-28—1935). He mentions other commentators of the Mahābhārata viz. वैशंपायन, देवस्वामि or देवबोध, विमलबोध, अर्जुनमिश्र, नारायणसर्वज्ञ, शाण्डिल्य, माधव etc.

1. Vide p. 79 of H. P. Sastri's *Cata. of Nepal Darbar* MSS, Calcutta, 1905.

2. *Madras Cata.* (1925-26 to 1927-28) p. 7247.

"निघण्टुभाष्यनिगमनिरुक्तानि विशेषतः।
वैशंपायनटीकादि देवस्वामिमतानि च ॥
श्रीमद्विमलबोधस्य मतं मिश्रार्जुनस्य च।
श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञमतमालोच्य तत्वतः ॥
श्री महाभारतव्याख्या निगूढ (र्थ) पदबोधिनी।
टीका विरच्यतेस्माभिरादिपर्वक्रमादियम् ॥"

p. 7249 —

"श्री देवबोधविमलबोधशाण्डिल्यमाधवाः।
नारायणश्चसर्वज्ञोऽर्जुनमिश्रस्तथैवच ॥
एतेषामतमालोच्य स्वमत्या च क्वचित् क्वचित्।
कृता नारायणेनायं निगूढपदबोधिनी ॥"

(2) *Caturbhujamiśra*[1] in his commentary on the विराटपर्वन् of the Mbh. quotes मेदिनीकर (Vide p. 188 of Mbh. *Virāṭaparvan*, ed. Bakre, Gujarati Press, 1915). This quotation reads :— "वृषभः श्रेष्ठवृषयोः" इति मेदिनीकरः. This quotation has been identified by me and found correct [Vide p. 144 of *Medinīkośa* (Jivananda, 1872)].

(3) *Arjunamiśra* the Bengali commentator of the *Mbh* quotes *Medinī* or *Medinīkara* several times in his comm. on the विराटपर्वन् (Vide pp. 66, 69, 72, 74, 89, 95, 105, 116, 119, 142, 143, 146, 190 of Gujarati Press Edition, 1920, Bombay).

I note here some views about the date of अर्जुनमिश्र noted by me :—

(1) *Holtzmann* assigns A (= Arjunamiśra) to the *13th or 14th century* (Vide p. 404 of Vol. I of *Sukthankar Memo. Edition, 1944*).

(2) *Dr. Sukthankar* notes a Ms of A's Comm. on the मोक्षधर्म dated A.D. *1534*. He says that A's date must be "long prior to A.D. 1534. A mentions देवबोध, विमलबोध, शांडिल्य, माधव, नारायणसर्वज्ञ (Vide p. 266 of *Suk. Memo. Edn.* Vol. 1).

(3) *Jogendra Chandra Ghosh* assigns A to about A.D. *1297* (Vide pp. 706 ff. of *Indian Culture*, Vol. I).

(4) In my article on A (*Indian-Culture*, Vol II. 141 ff), I assigned A to *about 1474* A. D. This date harmonises with the date A.D. 1534 of a MS of A's Comm. recorded by Dr. Sukthankar.

In view of *Medinī's* date (c. A.D. 1200-1275) now fixed by me, I think we may safely put Arjunamiśra *between c.* A.D. *1350 and 1500*.

The foregoing data will amply illustrate the importance of the date of *Medinī* or *Medini* lexicon in the field of the chronology of Sanskrit literature. I need not, therefore, record any more references to *Medinī* made by authors who definitely flourished

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1. गदानन्द in his comm. on the *Virāṭaparvan* mentions चतुर्भुजमिश्र, वसन्तराय (author of भारतभूषण), विमलबोध, and अर्जुन (मिश्र). See *Cata. of Sanskrit MSS* (Vol. xvii) of Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta).

after A. D. 1600 or so. Before closing up this paper I have to note the following views about the date of *Medinī* which are upset by the date of Medinī now fixed up by me :—

(1) *Winternitz and Keith* in describing a MS of *Medinī* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, assign Medinikara to "*circa 1400*", (Vide p. 122 of *Cata. of Bodleian* Library, Vol. II, Oxford, 1905).

(2) *Zacharie* (*Indi. Wort.* § 25) cites authorities for the assignment of *Medinī* to the *end of the 14th Cent.* A. D. (Vide p. 169 of Bendall's *Cata. of British Museum MŚS*, 1902).

(3) Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta in his article on the Bengali commentators of the Amarakośa (*Indian Culture*, October 1935, p. 264) makes the following remarks about the date of *Medinī* :—

"Since *Medinī*, as we know, cites in his lexicon (Medinīkośa), Mādhava, the author of the Dhātuvṛtti grammar and brother of Sāyaṇa (1360 A. D.) and is cited by Padmanābhadatta in his *Bhūriprayoga* lexicon we may without any great risk of error place him *about 1375* A. D."

As we have pushed back the date of *Medinī* by about 100 years from A. D. 1375, where Mr. Das Gupta has fixed it, we must explain the reference to *Mādhava* by *Medinī*. Possibly this Mādhava is not the brother of Sāyaṇa but he is identical with *Mādhavakara* the author of *Paryāyaratnamālā* (Vide p. xi of Intro. to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. I — G. O. Series, Baroda).

If my view regarding the date of *Medinī* recorded in this paper is accepted by scholars, they will have to reject the views of KEITH, WINTERNITZ, ZACHARIE and DASGUPTA according to which Medinī belongs to the 14th century. I am inclined to hold the view that *Medinī* belongs to the *13th century*.[1] I shall, therefore,

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1. In 1936 I published a paper on the date of *Viśvalocanakośa* of Srīdharasena in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 15-20. In this paper I observed as follows :—

" As *Medinī* refers to and criticizes *Viśvaprakāśa* (A. D. 1111)

(*Continued on next page*)

welcome any evidence from other scholars which either confirms this view or contradicts it, provided their evidence is of a contemporary character and hence not open to doubt or argument.

In the light of the evidence brought forth by me in this paper we have to reject the following statements of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar regarding the date of *Medinī* made by him in his *Preface* to the *Mālatīmādhava* :—

(1) "*Medinikara*, therefore, lived *after about 1375* A. D." (Vide p. xxi). I have proved in this paper that Medinikara is earlier than A. D. 1275.

(2) "Probably *Medinikara* lived *about the same time as Mallinātha*" (*Ibid*).

This is not correct as Mallinātha flourished about A. D. 1430 while *Medinī* is earlier than Mallinātha by more than 150 years. Mallinātha composed a work for Devarāya II of Vijayanagar (A. D. 1422-1466).

(3) "*Medinī*, therefore, very probably *lived after Mallinātha*" (Ibid, p. XX). This statement has also been disproved by my evidence as *Medinī* is earlier than Mallinātha by more than 150 years.

At one place Sir R. G. Bhandarkar states that Medinī "*lived about the same time as Mallinātha*" while at another place he observes that Medinī "*lived after Mallinātha.*" These contradictory statements only show the divided state of Bhandarkar's mind which then found no fulcrum of fact on the strength of which he could lift up the problem of Medinī's date from the slippery ground of relative chronology, made more slippery by the grease of groundless guesswork and absence of reliable evidence. I have dealt with Bhandarkar's view about the date of *Medinī* with a view to directing the attention of scholars to new evidence on the old problem and not out of any want of deference to the grandfather of Oriental learning on whose shoulders we stand and carry on our research with a wider vision and new tools not available to his generation.

(*Continued from previous page*)

and as he is quoted in the *Pṛṣodarādivṛtti* of Padmanābhadatta (A. D. 1375) we may not be far wrong if we assign him to the *thirteenth century.*"

This surmise about the date of *Medinī* stands substantiated by the evidence recorded in this paper.

44. Some new Evidence from the Rasaratnapradīpa of Rāmarāja on the Genealogy of the Ṭākā Kings of Kāṣṭhā — Between A. D. 1200 and 1500 ‡

Prof. P. V. Kane in his section on Madanapāla and Viśveśvarabhatta (*History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I, 1930) deals with the genealogy of Madanapāla. He observes :—

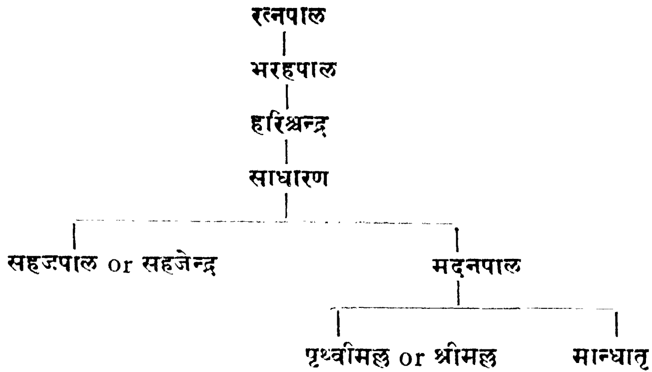
" Madanapāla belonged to the family of Ṭākā Kings that ruled in Kāṣṭhā (modern Kath) on the Jumna to the north of Delhi.[1] The printed *Madanapārijāta* makes the family name to be ' Kāṣṭhā ', but this is most probably a wrong reading as in the *Mahārṇava* and other works of Madanapāla the family name is distinctly stated to be Ṭākā. The pedigree of the family as gathered from the *Madanapārijāta* and the other works is given below. Some works such as the *Mahārṇava* omit the mention of Sahajapāla. About Sādhāraṇa it is said that he brought about the remission of all taxes at the three *tīrthas* (Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā)." [2]

The pedigree as recorded by Prof. Kane is as follows :—

‡ *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 176–180.

1. " अस्ति प्रशस्तविभवोपगतप्रशस्ति विस्तारिणी भुवि शकाधिपराजधानी। दिल्लीति विश्वविदिता नगरीमतल्ली पल्लीव भाति पुरतस्त्रिदिवोपि यस्याः ॥ तामुत्तरेण **यमुना**-तटदेशनिष्ठा **काष्ठे**त्यभूदनुपमा नगरी गरिष्ठा। यस्यामनल्पविभवोपचिता बभूवुः **काष्ठान्वया** महितकीर्तिजुषो महीशाः ॥ " — verses 4 and 5 of मदनपारिजात ; at the end of the मदनविनोदनिघण्टु we read " टाकान्वये महतिभूमिभुजां विशुद्धे **काष्ठे**ति नाम नगरं जयति प्रसिद्धम् " — Vide Aufrecht's *Oxf. Cat.* p. 275a (•MS of मदनपारिजात where the reading is ' टाककुलाम्बुराशौ ' for **काष्ठकुलाम्बुराशौ** of the printed text."

2. " तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमचीकरद्यः " Verse 10 of the महार्णव, D. C. MS No. 259 of 1886-92 :— कीनाशपाशचयबद्धविमोचनार्थं तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमचीकरद्यः ॥ Verse 10 of स्मृतिकौमुदी.



According to the evidence recorded by Prof. Kane the literary activity[1] of Madanapāla "*must be placed between 1360—1390* A. D." Such a patron of learning enjoyed the reputation[2] of the Bhoja Paramāra of Dhara even in lifetime, being called **अभिनवभोज.** Numerous MSS[3] of the works composed under Madana's patronage

1. Vide Aufrecht *CC I*, 425 —
" मदनपाल " of the Ṭākā race, King of Kāṣṭhā, father of Māndhātṛ, brother of Sahajapāla, son of Hariścandra, son of Bharahapāla, son of Ratnapāla. He was patron of Viśveśvara (Madanapārijāta etc.). The following works were written in his reign but attributed to himself :— आनन्दसंजीवन, तिथिनिर्णयसार, मदनपारिजात, मदनपालविनोद, यन्त्रप्रकाश, शूद्रधर्म-बोधिनी, सिद्धान्तगर्भ (?), स्मृतिकौमुदी, " " मदनपालविनोदनिघण्टु shorter मदन-विनोद a vocabulary of materia medica, *composed in 1375*, and attributed to Madanapāla, IO 42. L. 860. K 214. Kh. 90. B. 3.40.4.230; Bik. 647. Katm. 13. Pheh. 2. NW 588. Oudh. III, 20. XIV, 108. NP 1. 10. Quoted in *Nighaṇṭurāja* Oxf. 323a, in *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Oxf. 311b, in *Smṛtyarthasāgara*."

2. In fact in his commentary on the *Sūryasiddhānta* the 7th intro. verse reads as follows :—

" प्रतिदिनमुदितैर्नवैः प्रबंधैः स्मृतिसरणौ गणिते चिकित्सिते च ।
जगति विजयते विजृम्भमाणैरभिनवभोज इति प्रथा यदीया ॥ "

(Vide Kane, *His. of Dharmaśāstra*, I, 387, footnote 938).

3. These may be recorded here according to works :—
(1) आनन्दसंजीवन — CC I. 49 — " Saṁgīta, attributed to Madanapāla. Bik. 509 " on singing, music, dancing,

(*Continued on next page*)

have been preserved in the different Manuscript Libraries. These works pertain to a variety of subjects such as music, dharmaśāstra, jyotiṣ and medicine.

The promotion of Sanskrit learning under the rule of Madanapāla as indicated by the works now extant makes us inquisitive about similar service to literature rendered by any of his predeces-

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(*Continued from previous page*)

musical instruments and the musical modes or rāgas." fol. 29 — Date *Saṁvata 1585* = A. D. *1529*.

(2) तिथिनिर्णयसार — *CC* I, *231* — " Quoted Oxf. 276a (Compare संक्षेपतिथिनिर्णयसार by गोकुलजित् W. P. 322) — *CC* II, *49* — " by मदनपाल Stein 90. 306 (inc.). Here मदनपाल is called " हरिश्चन्द्रपुत्र ". The MS is dated *Saṁvat 1746* = A. D. *1690*.

(3) मदनपारिजात — *CC* I, *425*, numerous MSS — Quoted by *Khaṇḍrāya* W. P. 312, by *Mitramiśra*, Oxf. 295a, by *Raghunandana*, Oxf. 292a, by *Vācaspatimiśra*, Oxf. 273b (b. by Divākara in *Ācārāraka*, by Keśava in *Dvaita-pariśiṣṭa* — *CC* II, *97* — " Stein 98 ", " मदनपाल — King of काष्ठा, father of पृथ्वीमल्ल (बालचिकित्सा) and मान्धातृ. The शूद्रधर्मबोधिनी does not differ from the स्मृतिकौमुदी. " — *CC* III, *92* — " As p. 216 (3 MSS), Bd. 289 (inc.) CS, 2.101. 102 (inc.).

(4) मदनपालविनोद — *CC* I, *425* (also called मदनविनोद).

(5) यन्त्रप्रकाश — *CC* I, *472* — " attributed to Madanapāla, Oxf. 276a. " (This work is different from यन्त्रप्रकाश and Comm. by Rāmacandra, son of Sūryadāsa, grandson of Śivadāsa — Vide *CC* II, *109*).

(6) शूद्रधर्मबोधिनी — *CC* I, *659* — " Oppert II, 6477. " See स्मृतिकौमुदी.

(7) स्मृतिकौमुदी — *CC* I, *756* — " *by* Madanapāla or rather Visveśvara IO 2515 and numerous other MSS. (The IO MS is written " about 1550 A. D. "). Vide also *CC* II, *179* and *CC* III, *154*.

(8) सिद्धान्तगर्भ — *CC* I, *718* — " a work attributed to Madanapāla, Oxf. 276a. "

sors[1] or descendants but for this purpose it is necessary for us to know as complete a genealogy of the Ṭākā dynasty of Kāṣṭhā as can be revealed by documentary evidence. The documentary evidence for extending the genealogy of the Ṭākā race further than the time of पृथ्वीमल्ल mentioned last in Prof. Kane's statement of this genealogy recorded above is fortunately forthcoming from a MS of a medical work called the रसरत्नप्रदीप (by रामराज) of which three MSS only are recorded by Aufrecht.[2] The fourth MS of this work is mentioned by Peterson[3] in his *Catalogue of Ulwar MSS.* The MS in Aufrecht's entry " Peters 4.40 (incl.) " = *No. 1079 of 1886-92* in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It has been described by Dr. Har Dutt Sharma on pp. 247 - 249 of his *Descriptive Cata. of Vaidyaka MSS* (B. O. R. I.— Vol. XVI, Part I, 1939). Dr. Sharma makes the following remarks about the author of the work :—

" The author seems to belong to a royal family. He calls his

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1. The predecessors of Madanapāla according to the genealogy reconstructed by Prof. Kane are रत्नपाल, भरहपाल, हरिश्चन्द्र and साधारण. Aufrecht records no MSS of works ascribed to these predecessors. There is a work called धर्मसंग्रह composed by उपाध्याय हरिश्चन्द्र (*CC* I, II, p. 58) about A. D. 1850 under रामसिंह of the Jaipur dynasty (Vide my article in *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, p. 178), but this work has nothing to do with the Ṭākā race. Aufrecht (*CC* I, *707*) mentions साधारणदेव as the author of मुक्तावली on Hāla's गाथासप्तशती; but this King is the son of मल्लदेव and grandson of वामनदेव and hence different from Madanapāla's father साधारण. Aufrecht does not ascribe any works to सहजपाल the brother of Madanapāla.

2. *CC* II, p. 116a — { रसरत्नप्रदीप med. by रामराज son of रत्नदेव Peters 4.40 (incl.); Stein 187. }

CC I, p. 496 — " रसरत्नप्रदीप by रामराज — 216 " Aufrecht makes the following entry regarding an anonymous work on medicine called रसरत्नप्रदीप as follows :-

CC I, p. 496 — " रसरत्नप्रदीप — med. W. p. 300 (fr.) ; Katm. 13 ; Radh 32, quoted by त्रिमल्ल in योगतरङ्गिणी, in भावप्रकाश, in टोडरानन्द W. p. 289."

Under " रामराज " Aufrecht makes the following entries :—

CC I, 518 — " रामराज - नाडीप्रकाश, रसदीपिका. Both quoted by वैद्यचिन्तामणि - रसरत्नप्रदीप. "

3. Vide p. 71 and Extract 425 of *Cata.* (1892).

ancestors as reigning at Kāṣṭā on the banks of Yamunā. His father's name is रत्नपाल and he was in the services of his grandfather named साधारण."

Verses 1 to 9 at the beginning of the MS record the genealogy of the author which may be represented as follows :—

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(verse 3) —हरीचंद्र ( of टाकान्वय ruling on यमुनातट,
              |        called नरेन्द्रतिलक )
   (verse 4) —son
              साधारण
              |
(verse 5) —3 Sons.
              |
 |                  |                    |
लक्ष्मणसिंह        सहजपाल — (verse 6) मदन (नरेन्द्र)— (verse 7)
(ज्यायान्)                               |
                         (verse 8) —रत्नपाल¹
                                         |
                         (verse 9) —Son
                                    रामराज
                                    (author of रसरत्नप्रदीप)
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The above genealogy is very important as it adds the following names to Prof. Kane's genealogy of the Kāṣṭhā Kings of the Ṭākā race :—

(1) लक्ष्मणसिंह, the eldest brother of मदनपाल not mentioned by Prof. Kane.

(2) रत्नपाल, a descendant of मदनपाल.

(3) रामराज, the son of रत्नपाल and author of the रसरत्नप्रदीप.

A question now arises as regards the chronology of रामराज and his father रत्नपाल. For deciding this question we have to record the following evidence :—

1. Though Dr. Sharma makes रामराज the grandson of साधारण it is not possible to accept this statement. In the first place Dr. Sharma has ignored मदननरेन्द्र mentioned in verse 7. The name of रत्नपाल in verse 8 is introduced as follows after the mention of मदन in verse 7 :- " वंशेऽस्य विश्वविदिते नृपरत्नपाल । प्रादुर्बभूव etc. " i.e. in the line of मदन and his predecessors was born रत्नपाल etc. The expression " वंशेऽस्य " raises a doubt about the exact relation of मदन with रत्नपाल. I have, therefore, indicated this relation by a *dotted line*, leaving the question of this relationship open for further investigation. It is, however, certain that our रामराज remembered a fragment of his genealogy from हरीचन्द्र to मदन and from रत्नपाल to himself.

(1) According to Aufrecht (*CC* I, 496) an anonymous *Medical* work रसरत्नप्रदीप has been quoted in the following works :—

(i) *Yogataraṅgiṇī* of Trimalla.

(ii) *Bhāvaprakāśa* of *Bhāvamiśra* (*c.* A.D. 1550).

(iii) *Ṭodarānanda* (between A.D. 1565 and 1589 — See Kane's *History of Dh.*, Vol. I, p. 423)

The only other medical work of the name रसरत्नप्रदीप of known authorship is that by रामराज. I am, therefore, inclined to presume that the रसरत्नप्रदीप mentioned and quoted in the three works viz. the *Yogataraṅgiṇī*, *Bhāvaprakaśa* and the *Ṭodarānanda* is identical with the रसरत्नप्रदीप of रामराज belonging to the Ṭākā line of Kings. If this suggestion is accepted, I have to state that the chronology of Rāmarāja and his work becomes earlier than A.D. 1550 or so, when it is quoted by Bhāvamiśra in his medical compendium called the *Bhāvaprakāśa*. We have now to go backwards from A.D. 1550. For this purpose the date of the *Yogataraṅgiṇī* of Trimalla which mentions the रसरत्नप्रदीप is important. About this date the following evidence is available :—

Prof H. D. Velankar[1] while describing a MS of Trimalla's *Dravyaguṇaśataślokī* observes as follows :—

("Trimalla quotes *Vīrasiṁhāvaloka* (*1383* A.D.) in his *Yogataraṅgiṇī* and a MS of his *Dravyaguṇaśataślokī* (Mitra, *Notices*, Vol. I, p. 109, No. 203) is dated *Saṁvat 1555*, i.e. A.D. *1499*. Trimalla's date, therefore, falls *between 1383 and 1499* A.D.")

Prof. Velankar further states :—"*Rasaratnapradīpa*, a work of Trimalla's son is quoted in the famous *Ṭodarānanda*, Cf. Bendall, *Brit. Mus. Sk. MSS*, p. 212."

Bendall's statement "*Rasaratnapradīpa*, a work of Trimalla's son" is wrong. Bendall has evidently confused *Rasapradīpa* (by Trimalla's son Śaṁkarabhaṭṭa) with the *Rasaratnapradīpa* quoted by Ṭodarānanda. Aufrecht does not mention any रसरत्नप्रदीप by Trimalla's son शंकरभट्ट but he mentions रसप्रदीप by Trimalla's son which is not a medical work but an anthology[2] in three chapters. I have already suggested that the रसरत्नप्रदीप quoted by *Ṭodarānanda*,

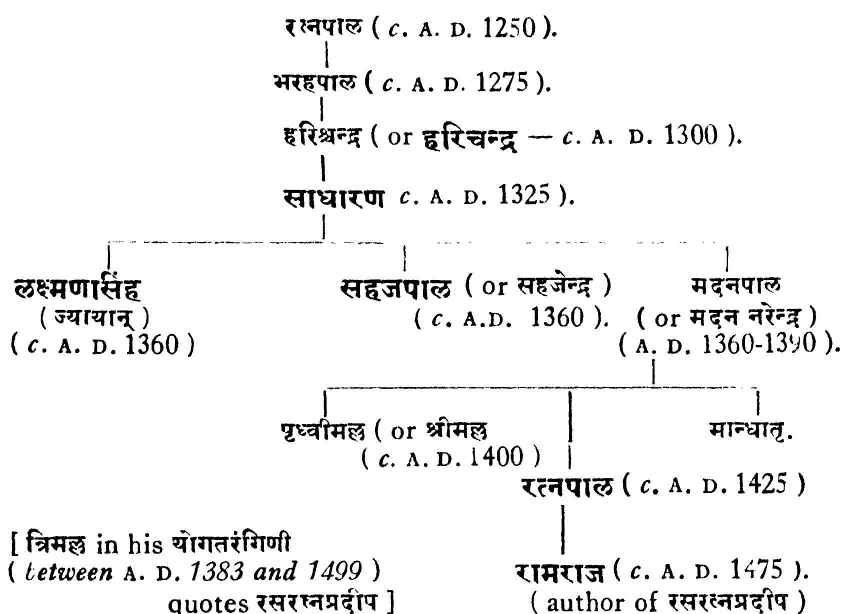
1. Vide p. 59 of *Cata. of BBRAS MSS*, Vol. I (1925).

2. *CC* I, *495* — "रसप्रदीप an anthology in 3 Chapters by Śaṁkarabhaṭṭa, son of Trimallabhaṭṭa, L. 1710."

Yogatarangiṇī and *Bhāvaprakāśa* is most probably the work of Rāmarāja of the Ṭākā line of Kings.

The reference to the रसरत्नप्रदीप in Trimalla's work composed between A.D. 1383 and 1499 enables us to push back the date of the रसरत्नप्रदीप of Rāmarāja up to about A.D 1475, which may be regarded as the later limit for Rāmarāja, the earlier limit being A.D. 1375, the date of मदनपाल in whose line Rāmarāja's father रत्नपाल was born ("वंशेऽथ विश्वविदिते नृपरत्नपाल: । प्रादुर्बभूव etc.") as stated in the MS of the रसरत्नप्रदीप (*No. 1079 of 1886-92*).

The genealogy of the Ṭākā Kings of Kāṣṭhā may now be consolidated as follows :—



It will be seen from the above consolidated genealogy that the name रत्नपाल which is the first name in the genealogy is again repeated after about 200 years. This genealogy, also shows how we have been able to extend the known genealogy of Madanapāla by about 100 years. The rule of the Ṭākā Kings of Kāṣṭhā for a continuous period of 300 years is thus proved on documentary evidence. We must now investigate the history of this Ṭākā line of Kings before Ratnapāla (*c.* A. D. 1250) and after Rāmarāja (*c.* A. D. 1450), the author of the *Rasaratnapradīpa.*

45. Studies in the History of Indian Cosmetics and Perfumery — A critical Analysis of a rare Manuscript of Gandhavāda and its Marāṭhī Commentary — Between c. A. D. 1350 and 1550 ‡

In a paper contributed by me to the *Journal of the Bombay University*, [1] I have given a critical analysis of a rare treatise on the science of cosmetics and perfumery represented by a single MS in the Raḍḍi Collection of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona. This work is called the *Gandhasāra* by Gaṅgādhara. In the same bundle in which I discovered the *Gandhasāra* there is another work written in the same hand called the *Gandhavāda* with a Marathi commentary. Folios 1 to 27a comprise the *Gandhasāra*, while folios 27b to 49 comprise the *Gandhavāda* with commentary. After the colophon of the *Gandhasāra* the MS of the *Gandhavāda* begins as follows :—

Folio 27b — " वरनलिनवदनमिलिता, जलजदनलदसहिता,
मदमदनलगरुविहिता, मधुतगरकरजमृदिता,
करालविबोधिता, निशाकरसंयुता ॥ लतावसंतसेविता भुजंग-
विजृंभिता ॥

॥ हरये नमः ॥ गंधवादु ॥

नखपलव भागपल गंधं कृष्णागरपलं ।
नख द्विपलकं चैव द्विपलं जाति कोसकं ॥
मांसी शैलज तालीस उशीरशतपत्रकं ॥ १ ॥

चंपाजलद लोबान गंह्लासटि पुंनकं ।
पृथक्यलमितं भागं बकं द्दवणपाचितं ॥ २ ॥

सरूवाचांबरं चैव पृथक्द्वादशशांणकं ।
एवगेला च लवंगं च कोष्टं चेत् शदशाणकं ॥ ३ ॥

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‡ *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 185–193.

1. For Septeml er 1945 issue [Vol. XV (N. S.) Part 2, pp.44–45].

त्रिवारं वस्त्रपूतं च नखं च घृतपाचितं ।
पुष्पावासं सुवासं च केतक्यादलपंचकं ॥ ४ ॥
॥ मन्मथोदयपिष्टकं ॥

टीका ॥ श्रीखंड पलें २० । अगरु पलें ६ । नख पलें २ । जायपत्री पलें २ । मांसी पल १ । सैलज पल १ । तालीसपत्र पल १ । वाल पल १ । भोल श्री टांक १२ । पांचि टांक १२ । अंबसा टांक १२ । तज टांक १२ । येला टांक १२ । लवंग टांक ६ । कोष्ट टांक ६ । नख टांक ६ ।

तूपें तलौनि ताबेट होति येतुके दलता घालिजे । तेणें तूपें मोजयिजे आंडि काढितां घालिजे ॥ फुलांचा वासु दीजे ॥ उत्तम वासु होय ॥ राउया योग्य देव योग्य बुका होए । अति उत्तमु होए ॥ श्रीगंध उगालुनि घालिजे ॥ हा महासुगंध होए ॥

मांसी बकुल सेवंती लवंगाम्रनिशा पृथक् ।
अष्टभागं न्यसेचान्ये गांठिनखश्च सैलजं ॥

दवणा मरु ब्रह्मी च सेलारस पृथक् चतुः ।
कर्चुरः चंपकलिका पृथक् द्वादशभागिकं ॥

विंशति भद्रमुस्ता च पत्रपुंनागकोष्टयोः ।
पृथभागिकं योन्यं निशा ज्याज्या पलं पलं ॥

पलार्द्धं खर्णव गेरुश्च त्रिवारं वस्त्रगालितं ।
नख घृतपाच्यं च पश्चात्सिलारसस्तका ॥

पुष्पवासं न्यसेद्रात्रौ राजयोग्यं च पित्तहा ।
वशीकरण सर्वास्त्रिजनवस्य मनोहरं ॥

टीका ॥ मांसी पलें ८ । बकुल म्हणता भोलसरिफुल पलें ८ । सेवंती पलें ८ । लवंगा पलें ८ । आंबे हलदि पलें ८ । गांठिवना पलें ८ । मरुवा पलें ४ । नख पलें ४ । सेलज पलें ४ । दवना पलें ४ । ब्रह्मी पलें ४ । सेलारसु पलें ४ । कर्पूर पलें १२ । चांपेकलि पलें १२ । भद्रमुस्ता पलें २० । पत्रक पलें २ । पुनावे पलें २ । कोष्ट पलें २ । हालदि पल १ । जाईफल पल १ । गेरू पल ·॥· । नख तुपें तलौनि घालिजे ॥ वस्त्रगालित । तीनि वेल किजे ॥ मग सेलारसाची भावना दीजे ॥ फुलाचा वासु दीजे ॥ राजवस्य स्त्रीवस्य जनवस्य मनरंज बुका सर्वपित्तहरी ॥ २ ॥

Folio 31 — ॥ अथ कस्तुरीपरीक्षा ॥
— ॥ कस्तुरीची करणी ॥
Folio 32 — ॥ पुनरपि कस्तुरी करणी ॥
Folio 32b — ॥ अथ कर्पुर करणी ॥
— ॥ अथ जवादिची करणी ॥

Folio 33b — " कासेल तेल "
" तैल्यं चांबरकाचरी च महुला लोबान श्रीखंडकं। मांसि चागरकं " etc.

Folio 34a — " दूसरा काच मेलवणी "

Folio 35b — " केवडे फुलाचा वासु दीजे । उत्तम बुका होये । "

Folios 36–37 — Recipes for several varieties of बुका

Folio 37 — " सुगंध तैलं "

Folio 38 — " भोजराज कृत वादि "

Folio 39 — " ॥ अथ गंधराजु ॥ "

Folio 40b — " ॥ या नाव भूपालवल्लभु ॥ "

Folio 41a — " ॥ या नाव राजमनोहरु ॥ मानिनीमानभंजन-गंधराजु । होये । "

Folio 41b — " या गंधराजा नाव कंदर्पकोलाहलु ॥ ३ ॥ "
— " या गंधराजा नाव कामिनीमोहन "

Folio 42a — " या नाव मदनकामेश्वर "
— " या नाव जनांकुस । रामाप्राणहरू ॥ ७ ॥ "
— (" सर्वे जनांकुशो नाम कामिनीप्राणवल्लभाः ")

Folio 42b — " या नाव कंदर्पसेखर "

Folio 43a — " हा गंधराजु इन्द्रे निर्मिला (" तैलं देवेन्द्रनिर्मितं ") "

Then follow some more recipes for गंधराज, each ending with a certificate " उत्तम गंधराजु होये " or " गंधराजु चोखट "

Folio 45b — " अथ धूपाची करणी "
— " राजयोग्य धूप "

Folio 46a — " अनंगसुंदर (धूप) नाम इंद्रें निर्मिला "
— " या धूपा नाव कोलाहलु "

Folio 47 — " या नाव कुमारधूपु "
— " दिव्यवर्ति " (" उत्तमवातिया होति ")
— " या नाव सुंदरवर्ति "
— " या नाव भूपालवल्लभवाडि "

Folio 47b — " अथ उद्बति "

Folio 48 — " अथ ऊदमेलवणी "
— " सुगंध तैल "
— " काचा तेल "

Folio 49 — " ॥ इति बुका गंधराज आणि तेलिया गालिया तथा सुगंध तथा काचिया तेल तथा कस्तूरीची परीक्षा व करणी व जवादिची करणी तथा कर्पूरकरणी तथा धूपकरणी गोलिया तथा उदबत्ति यितुक मेलावा परिपूर्ण जाला असे ॥ ॥ इति गंधवाद्-संपूर्ण ॥ "

Folio 49a —

बुका	बुका	कस्तुरीकरणी	बुका	बुका
,,	,,	मृगनाभिकस्तुरी	,,	,,
,,	,,	भास्कर चोखट	,,	,,
,,	,,	जवादि	,,	,,
,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,,	अथ	काचेतेल	,,	,,
	कस्तुरीकरणी	काचतैल	,,	,,
		बुका		,,

Folio 49b —

बुका	जवाति	गंधराजु	गंधराजु	धूप	गंधराजु
,,	सुगंध	,,	,,	उद्बति	,,
,,	गंधराजु	,,	,,	टटिया	,,
,,	,,	,,	धूप	उद्बति	,,
इति सुगंध-तैलं	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
सुगंध जवादि शुद्ध	,,	,,	,,	धूपु	उद्बति
जवादि	,,	,,	,,	सुगंध	,,
,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	गालिया
	,,	,,	,,	गंधराज	भाषा गंधवादानुक्रमणिका
	मदनकामेश्वर	,,	,,		समाप्ता

The MS containing these two treatises viz. (1) the *Gandhasāra* and the *Gandhavāda* with *Bhāṣā* commentary appears to be about 200 years old, judging by the condition of the paper on which it is written and also its script. The questions about the authorship and chronology of these two treatises may now be discussed as follows ;—

(1) Is it possible to suppose that the treatise *Gandhavāda* is also the work of Gaṅgādhara, the author of the *Gandhasāra ?*

There is no definite evidence to answer this question in the positive or negative.

(2) Who is the author of the *Bhāṣā* or Marathi commentary on the *Gandhavāda* in Sanskrit?

This question also cannot be answered definitely though it is possible to suppose that the author of the *Gandhavāda* himself composed the Marathi commentary on his own work.

(3) What is the chronology of both these works and the *Bhāṣā* commentary?

All these three texts are certainly more than 200 years old. This inference based on the condition of the manuscript and its script finds corroboration from the old Marathi language of the commentary. At any rate the form of the Marathi language of the commentary will provide us some criterion to fix its chronology approximately. I note below some words and expressions from the commentary to enable scholars to fix its chronology :—

— येला (27)
— तूपें तलौनि (27)
— घालिजे, कींजे (33)
— वासु दीजे (27), भावना दीजे, (fol. 28), किजे (29), वालविजे (32)
— राजें ठाकुरु (34)
— उतरलिया मेलविजे (34)
— दारचिनी (35), दारूचिनी (36)
— चोखट (35)
— खोबरें जुनें (38)
— हातें मर्दौनि पाणि सांडिजे (40)
— खदिराचा डीकु (42)
— ऊद मेलवणि (48)
— होए, होये (28)
— जाए (30)
— भिजों दीजे (33)
— रसें वाटिजे (33)
— गंधराजु (43)
— तिलेल (45)
— तेणें भिजौनु कढै घालुनु (46)
— चोखटु (46)
— वातिया होति (47)
— चूर्णं करुनु खलिजे (47)
— सिलारसु मधु पाण्यें कालविजे (47)

Judging by the above forms of the Marathi language of the commentary I may tentatively assign this commentary to the latter half of the 15th century or the middle of the 16th century A.D.

The Marathi commentary is useful linguistically because it gives us the vernacular equivalents for some of the Sanskrit terms

in the text of the *Gandhavāda*. In the MS of the *Gandhasāra* some tables of aromatic materials are recorded on some folios. I cannot say if these tables form part of the text of the *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara. I reproduce these tables below as they contain both Sanskrit and vernacular terms :—

Folio 7a —

सूक्ष्मैला	लवंग	चंदन	सौंफ	मोथ
तज	कूठ	एलावालुक	जायिफल	चंद्रत्वक्
जायिपत्री	वालाक	कुंकुम	नागकेसर	पुष्प कंकोल
हिरडे	रोहिस	धणिया	लवंगत्वक्	स्थूलैला
पत्रक	नीली	चोरपुष्पी	रेणुक	पद्मक

Folio 9b —

पंचक	कूठ	नली	एकांगी	तगर
शैलज	मुरा	मुस्ता	चोरपुष्पी	मांसी
वाल	उशीर	तेजवती	नागकेसर	बोल
कचूँर	लताकस्तूरी	विहाणी	कपूँर	प्रियंगु
सौंफ	मदन	रोहिस	मरुव	पत्रक

Folio 11a —

मांसी	हिरडे	नागकेसर	गडिंवन	स्थैलेला
पत्रक	मुरा	कूट	मुस्ता	वालक
शटी	तज	एकांगी	पद्मक	सिह्ला
सौंफ	रेणुक	तगर	लगस	त्विचपत्र
उशीर	विहाण	नख	एलावालु	चंपक

Folio 11 b —

प्रियंगु	हरीतकी	शटी	लवंग
शौफ	नागकेसर	उशीर	स्थूलैल
सूक्ष्मैला	मरीचकंकोळ	कूट	जाइपत्री

Folio 12a —

चंदन	जाइपत्री	कंकोल	लवंगत्वक्	जाइफले
पद्मक	कूट	सिह्ला	तर्ज	नख
खदास	मुरा	इंद्रत्वक्	हिरडे	एला
कुंकुम	एलावालुक	लवंग	नागकेसर	अगुरु
गाठिवन	बोल	कर्पूर	शटी	मांसी

Folio 16a —

अगरु	चंदन	देवदारु	सुरभी	सिह्ला	मांसी	मुरा
वालक	कूट	मुस्ता	राल	लक्षा	गुग्गुलु	श्रीवरस
वाल	कुंदुरु	सल्लकी	शैलज	कुंकुम	नागकेसर	हिरडे
गंठीवना	वचा	मरीचकंकोल	जातीकोष	जाइफल	पद्मक	स्थूलैला
तालिस	तमाल	शटी	नख	सूक्ष्मैल	खदास	कर्कट
लवंग	सरेस	दमन	मरुव	अशोक	महासुगंध	चंद्रत्वक्
	सोफ	गंधमुक्त	प्रियगु	लावत्वक्	एलावालुक	पत्रज

Folio 20b —

कोष्ट १	मुरा ६२	पद्मक १०	सारिवा ४४	मोथ ५	हिरडे ५०	चोर २३	पत्रक ४२
लोध १८	के.सर ४७	कचूर ४	एकांगी ६३	वाला २२	खर्जुरको ४३	अगरु ६	लता ५१

उशीर ६१	वर्णलतो १७	प्रियंगु ६४	तगर ३	एलावालुक ४४	मांसी २१	बले ५२	बोलु ७
सूक्ष्मैला १५	कंकोल ६०	धणिया २९	सौंफ २६	श्रीवास ९	कुंदुरु ५६	गुगुलु	सालै ४०
गंधमुस्ता २२	जाइपत्री ३५	लवंग १६	चन्द्रत्वक् ५७	राल २८	नखी २७	नख १०	देवदारु ५२
लंवगत्वक् ५९	जाइफल १४	पुष्पकंकोल ३२	रोहिस ३०	दमन ५५	अशोकी १२॥	मरुवा ३९	वचा २६
बोल ३४	रेणुक ३०	तज ५८	सूक्ष्मैला १३	सरसी ३८	लाक्षौ ३७	तमालपत्र ५४	सुरभी ११
तेजवती ६१	नली २	महामोध ४५	चंपक २०	व्याघ्रनखी ४९	शेखर ८	सूल ४१	त्वक्यत्री २१

Folio 27a —

वर्तिः	पद्मा	पर्वत	पुत्री	देवी
गौरी	युक्ता	सज्जन	रक्ता	विद्धा
चंद्रा	कांता	भीषण	केशी	चंडा
विद्धा	प्रोक्ता	वल्लभा	सक्ता	शुद्धा

The foregoing tables with the exception of the last one are perhaps intended to help the actual manufacture of perfumes. They give at a glance the several aromatic ingredients and their suggested combinations. The elaborate table on folio 20b specifies the proportions of these ingredients. It is for the Indian manufacturers of perfumes to understand their exact significance and compare these proportions with those now in practice.

I now close this paper by noting below the names of materials mentioned in the Marathi commentary on the *Gandhavāda* :—

Folio 27 — श्रीखंड, अगरु, नख, जायपत्री, मांसी, सैलज, तालीसपत्र, वाल, भोल, पाचि, अंबरु, तज, येला, लवंग, कोष्ट, तूप, फुलांचा वासु, बुका, श्रीगंध.

Folio 28 — बकुल, सरिफुल, सेवंती, आंबेहलदि, गांठिवना, मरुवा, सेलज, दवना, ब्रह्मी, सेलारस, कर्पूर, चांपेकलि, भद्रमुस्ता, पत्रक, पुनावे, हालदि, जाइफल, गेरु, कर्पूर, जटामांसी, बाबरी, तगर, ताली, छलिरा, दवणा, चंपा, पुनाव, चंदन, कर्पूर, आडिं, गांठीवना, गहुला, चौंपे, मुस्ता, अंबर, लोबान, तज, तेलिया, बेरी, बाबरि, कस्तुरी, जवादि.

Folio 29 — " पुती म्हणता आडिं ", " नत म्हणता गांठीवना ", गहुले, भोलसरी, कालावाला, पुनावा, " त्वचा म्हणता छलिरा, " " चंडा म्हणता छड, " मुत्ति म्हणता टांक, " " तृटि म्हणता येला, " कांचरी, कबाब, नलिका, कचोरी, कृष्णागरु, " पलास्या म्हणति तेलिया, " " पुति म्हणता आंडि, " तड, तगरु, भोल, लोबान, देवदारु, पत्रज, गुह्या,

Folio 30 — " पैतिक म्हणता अगरु ", " तेल्या, धूम्र म्हणता लोबान ", पाचि, बकुलपुष्प, पुनाग, छलीरा, एला, कालावाला, बोल, चंदनयेलिया, तवक्षी, कोसं, " आगुढपुष्प म्हणता दवना ", निवेला, तवक्षीर, आंडि, सेवंतिफुल, " हा बुका सिंघणे[1] निफजविला. "

Folio 31 — दवणा, कोष्ठ, चाफा, कचूर, भोलसरी, चांपेकलि, " नत म्हणता तगरु ", " गोधा म्हणता गहुले ", काचरी, नाभिकोश

1. " This *Bukā* powder owes its origin to सिंघण, " who is possibly the Yādava king *Siṅghaṇa* (A. D. 1210-1247). The reference to सिंघण is also found in the text of *Gandhavāda* which reads — " यो बूका सिंघणे निपायों राजवस्य करू मे हुगवायों. " Evidently both the *text* of the Gandhavāda and its *Marathi Commentary* are *later than* A. D. *1300 or so*.

In the *Rasasaṁketakalikā* of Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa (A.D. 1475-1509) a physician called भैरवानन्द is said to have administered क्रव्यादरस to King सिंहण :—

" सिंहणक्षोणिपालाय भूरिभोज्यप्रिये रसम् ।
दत्तवान् भैरवानन्दो भूयो ग्रामाष्टकं ददौ ॥ "

(Vide my paper on the " *Dates of the Works of Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa*," *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, pp. 6-15). Siṅghaṇa collected many physicians round him. A भिषगग्रणी called माधव composed an inscription for this King — Vide p. 75 of *Sources of Medieval History of Deccan*, Vol. I (1930) by G. H. Khare.

म्हणता कस्तुरीचे खोलडे ", मांकेरसु, रातांजन, जायिपल, कंक्रोल, पिंपलीमूल, पीठवनि, पोइस.

Folio 32 — अजामूत्र, बेलाचामो, कस्तुरीकोसले, देवदारू, चोपडा, कुंकुमकेसर, महिषीमूत्र, शुद्धमृगी, मोचरसु, गोरोचन, कटुकी, केवडे काथ, मोचरसु, तुप, मधु, " चुना सेर ", लोबान, राल, (" हातें रगडिजे "), शुद्धसिलारसु, कंदकर्पुर, " राजान तांदुलाचा भातु रांधिजे, " " केलिपत्र आथुरुनि वरि ढालिजे। माउतें केलिपत्रें दडपिजे। दाबण बहुत घालिजे " - " उदयभास्कर. "

Folio 33 — गुह्या, चोपडा, मेण राठी श्वेत, सोमलु, पीवाला, चूना, फटकी, केतकी दलें, जवादि, मस्तकि, जवादिची आंडीं, मेणतेल, शुद्धबीज.

Folio 34 — सतपत्र, जायल, करबाल, जवदाणा, गंधराज, तिलेल, मालतिपुष्प, " काचकुंपिये ठेविजे ", काचेलतेल, शुद्धतैल, शुंठि, गुग्गुल, धणे, जीरें.

Folio 35 — भोलश्री, तजनलिक, मरीच, कंकोल, पत्रज, कापूर, (" चोखट बुका होये "), दारचिनी, छलिरा, कचूर, चांपेलफुल, भद्रमोथ, चंदनसेन, छली, छिलारसु, जवमापरमे.

Folio 36 — भोलसरी, आंबेहलदि, लवंगकाडी. कोसं, मोथ, कबाबा, बंबर, गुह्यावा, तवक्षिर, चांपा, अखोट, तेल्या, बोलश्री, चंदनपापडा.

Folio 37 — चंदनश्वेपली, लोबानु, तवक्षिर, करंबाल, जवदाणा.

Folio 38 — हिरडे, लाखभेट, राकाली, गुलु, " कांवलेनि गालुनि घेइजे "— " भोजराजकृतवादि ", नवनीत खोलडे, खोबरें जुनें, मोचरसु, सद्यघृत, मधु, चूना, कालीराल; जवादिसुद्ध, पोयिंसरातिं.

Folio 39 — " काचपात्रि धांरिजे ", मेण चोखट, जुनें खोबरें, " सृक् म्हणता लाख ", चंपेकली.

Folio 40 — " तोंडी वेलणी झांपणी दीजे ॥ वेलणी सिछिद्र ॥ ", " मोहर बरवी कीजे ", लोखंडाची आडणी ", " रानसेणी तथा कोलिसे भरिजे "; काचपात्रि, सद्यतूप, धूप, " श्लक्ष्ण म्हणता सिलारस ", " चोल्या म्हणता लोबान ", पातालयंत्रे काढिजे, " अरण्यतुलसी म्हणता बाबरी," " पीतगंध म्हणता अगरु ", " उल्बिण म्हणता लोबानु " — " वसंत कुसुमाकर. "

Folio 41 — " सिसंक ", " पीत म्हणता अगरु ", " तिलज म्हणता तेल ".

Folio 42 — सांब्राणी, कचुर, हिरडा, सिसंपा, नलिकातज, खदिराचा डिकु, मृगीचर्म म्हणता खोलडे " मैल, " क्रिमिज म्हणता लाख ", हलदि, जाईमोगरा, तेल्य.

Folio 43 — ब्रम्ही, साखर, बबेरी, देवदारु चोपडा, जायिपत्री, सहात, सीसैकाठी, खोलडे, भाजणी, तेल्या, लवंगकाडी, पद्मक, सिरीस, छछिरा, सीसामा, चोपडा, नावात, मेणराटी.

Folio 44 — सहात, घीउतेल, हिरडेदालि, सांब्रायणी, छलीरा, सीस, हरडा, गोंद, पुल, हलदी, " देवदारू, सेर दीडु १॥· ", गुलु, साखर, केवडा, चांपेल.

Folio 45 — चंदनगाभा, " नालकार्यंत्रे अथवा पातालयंत्रे चढवावे, " देवदारु चोपडा, जाइचें फुल, घृत, भाजणी, चोखट, सुरडी, जुनि, जन्नी, नाबात, " ब्रम्ही तोले २, " नागकाकिडीचिया रसा. "

Folio 46 — " हेम म्हणता अगरु ", क्रिमिजंतु म्हणता लाख ", पत्रज, घलीर.

Folio 47 — हिंगुल, काख, काथ, त्यतु, खैराचा डीकु, " चणे प्रमाणें वटी कीजे, " मोथ.

Folio 48 — चानीकस्तुची, धायफुल, येलावालुक, प्रियंगु, जायपत्री, रेणुकें, पद्मक, काकडसिंगी, दुरालभा, कमलफुल, दफते आणि कलाख, मंजीठ, लोध, चासनीखि कस्तुरी, कापूरवाला, केसर, येरंडी नगज, धणिये, करंबालु, जीरा, दवणा, नागकेसर, पाचि.

The foregoing analysis of the Marathi commentary reveals in detail the variety of aromatic and other materials that were used in Medieval India for the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumery. Additional points furnished by this analysis are the following :—

(1) Sanskrit and other terms and their equivalents are recorded as follows :—

" हेम म्हणता अगुरु," " क्रिमिजंतु म्हणता लाख."

(2) Bhojarāja mentioned on folio 38 in the expression भोजराजकृतवादि " is evidently King Bhoja of Dhara (*c.* A.D. 1050).

(3) *Siṅghaṇa* referred to on folio 30 as the originator of a बुका powder is possibly identical with the Yādava King सिंहण (A.D. 1210—1247).

(4) It appears that glass-vessels were used in connection with the manufacture of perfumery. काचकुपि or glass-bottle is mentioned on folio 34. काचपात्र or a glass-vessel is referred to on folios 39 and 40.

(5) A piece of woollen blanket was used as a strainer (" कांब-ळनि गाळुनि घेइजे- " *Folio 38*).

(6) As regards the पातालयंत्र (Folios 40 and 45) and the नालका-यंत्र (Folio 45) referred to in the commentary please see Plate IV (21 and 22) in the *Short History of Aryan Medical Science*, by Thakore Saheb of Gondal, London, 1896.

(7) There are references to *Cinnamon* as दारुचिनी (Folio 35) and दारुचिनीं (Folio 36). *Hobson-Jobson* (by Yule and Burnell, 1903) states that *Darcheenee* is a Persian word meaning *China-stick*. It records usages of *dar-chini*, dated A.D. *1563* and *1621*.

(8) There are references to the word " खोबरें " in the commentary (Vide Folio 38 — " खोबरें जुनं ") meaning " the dried kernel of the cocoanut " which is called in English *Coprah* [vide *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 253-254 where we get dated usages of the word like — *Copra* (A.D. *1563, 1578*); *Chopra* (A.D. *1584*), etc.].

In view of the data recorded above I am inclined to fix the date of the *Gandhavāda* and its Marathi commentary between A.D. *1350 and 1550* tentatively. This date is consistent with the reference to King Siṅghaṇa (A.D. 1210-1247) and the old forms of the Marathi language, not to say the present condition of the MS and its script. I hope that the students of historical linguistics and the students of the history of Perfumery industry of medieval India will fully exploit the rich contents of these new sources for their study viz. the (1) *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara and the (2) *Gandhavāda* with Marathi commentary.

46. An Adyar Manuscript of Janārdana's Commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa Intermingled with Meanings of the Text—words in the old Gujarāti Language ‡

In my note on Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* published in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*[1] I tried to fix the limits for his date, viz. A. D. 1192 and and 1385 and also examined a MS of this commentary in the Library of the B. B. R. A. Society (No. B. D. 131) which is fragmentary and which was not known to Aufrecht. I also referred in my note to a MS of Janārdana's commentary on the *Meghadūta* deposited in a temple at Cambay and described by Peterson in his *Third Report* (p. 324). It was also pointed out that only one MS of Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* has been recorded by Aufrecht,[2] viz. " B. 2. 100 " but this is not available for study.

No complete MS of Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* has yet been available to me, and hence I am eager to avail myself of any MSS of Janārdana's works that could be noticed in different MSS catalogues or would be reported by scholars hereafter. Since writing the note about Janārdana above referred to I obtained on loan through the courtesy of the Director of the Adyar MSS library another fragmentary MS of Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* (Eastern Section, No. 36– F. 42). This MS contains Janārdana's *Bhāṣya* on the *Raghuvaṁśa* for Sargas XII to XVIII and to a certain extent supplements the B. B. R. A. Society MS No. B. D. 131 referred to above. One great peculiarity about the Adyar MS is that it contains explanations in *Gujarāti* of certain words and expressions of the text.

‡ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 359–365.

1. Vol. I (1934), pp. 199–201.

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 487[a].

Mr. T. M. Tripathi in his learned Introduction to the *Tarkasaṁgraha* [1] of Ānandajñāna (= Anandagiri = Janārdana) surmises that Ānandagiri or Janārdana was probably a native of Gujarat. He further states that he is ' tempted to identify ' him (Janārdana or Ānandagiri) with Paṇḍita Janārdana, the author of a commentary on the *Meghadūta called* जनार्नंदनं and a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa.* [2] Janārdana consulted previous commentaries of Āsaḍa (A. D. 1192), Vallabha (A. D. 1163) and Sthiradeva. The peculiarity of these commentaries is that besides giving explanations and occasionally figures of speech and parallel passages they are intermingled with meanings of the text-words in the (old) *Gujarāti* language also. These appear to be early atttempts of Ānandagiri.

Though I cannot subscribe in toto to the contents of the foregoing paragraph from Mr. Tripathi's valuable introduction to the *Tarkasaṁgraha* I can vouch them in certain respects only on the strength of the Adyar MS of the commentary of Janārdana on the *Raghuvaṁśa.* For example the Adyar MS contains *Gujarāti* explanations intermingled with Sanskrit commentary throughout the MS as will be clear from the following extract of the colophon of this MS :—

" प्रतिकृतरचनाभ्योदूतसंदर्शिताभ्यः ।
समधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसंतानकामैः ॥
अधिविविदुरमात्यैराहृतास्तस्य यूनः ।
प्रथमपरिगृहिते श्रीभुवौ राजकन्याः ॥ "

राजकन्यास्तस्य यूनः श्रीभुवौ लक्ष्मीपृथिव्यौ अधिविविदुः । सपत्न्यौ चक्रुः । राजकन्या तेह युवा तरुणराहिं श्रीलक्ष्मी भू पृथ्वीऊपरिपरिणी । किं भूते प्रथमपरिगृहीते । पहीलूं परिगृहीत स्वीकरी छइं । किं भूताः । अमात्यैः । आहृताः । अमात्यप्रधानि आहृत आणी छइं । अपरं । प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यः समधिकतररूपाः । चित्रलिखितरूपेभ्यः समधिकतरं रूपं यासां ताः । चित्रलिखितप्रतिमा तु समधिकतर अतिहिं उत्कृष्टरूप छइं । किं भूताभ्यः दूतसंदर्शिताभ्यः । दूतेस्‌संदर्शत देषाडी

1. *Gaikwar Oriental Series*, No. III, Baroda, 1917, page viii.

2. Mr. Tripathi states that he has fragments of this commentary in his possession. ' There is of a later origin another similar commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* giving also explanations in *Gujarāti* by Śāmala, son of Luṇiga, a Nāgara Brahman by caste श्रीमन्नागरपाटवोऽतिनिपुणः श्रीलुणिगस्याभवत्......MS dated A. D. 1612. '

छइं। किं भूतैः शुद्धसंतानकामैः। विशुद्धसंततीच्छुभिः। शुद्धयोग्य संतान संछता छइं॥ ५५॥ महार्थोपमालावरत्नप्रसूतौ र...णां महाकाव्यसंपूर्णौं गंभीरे जनानंदनो नंदनार्थं बुधानां तदष्टादशे भाष्ये सेतुं बबंधः॥ श्रीः॥ शिवमस्तु॥"

The above extract containing vernacular explanations side by side with Sanskrit commentary is typical of the entire Adyar MS and hence there is reason to believe that the author of the vernacular explanations and of the Sanskrit commentary is one and the same person viz. Janārdana. This inference is supported by the MS of *Meghadūtabhāṣya* of Janārdana described by Peterson in his *Third Report*, p. 325, where, as pointed out by Mr. Tripathi the following Sanskrit and vernacular explanations of some text-words have been recorded :—

"विगलितशुचौ विगलितो गतः शोको ययोः तौ विगलित गिउ शुच् शोच छइ जेह्वराहिं अत एव हृष्टच्त्तिौ सानन्दमानसौ etc."

Without subscribing to Mr. Tripathi's proposed identification of *Janārdana* or *Ānandajñāna* or *Ānandagiri* with Janārdana, the commentator of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Meghadūta*, we may agree with him in his surmise that our commentator was a resident of Gujarat and wrote a mixed Sanskrit-Gujarāti commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Meghadūta*.

Not being a student of old or modern Gujarāti myself, I am unable to assess fully the value of the vernacular portion of the Adyar MS. Its importance to a student of Gujarāti philology is obvious from the fact that Janārdana wrote his commentary between A. D. 1191 and 1385. This was a period when the vernaculars were looked down upon. Ānandabodha (about A. D. 1150)[1], a great writer on Advaita philosophy, incidentally refers to the two vernaculars viz. the *Canarese* and the *Gujarāti* as "अप्रसिद्ध" in his celebrated work the *Nyāyamakaranda.*[2] As Janārdana wrote his commentaries after A. D. 1191 and before A. D. 1385 and as he adopts a bilingual method of explanation, the vernaculars, and in particular the *Gujarāti* language, must have attained a better status than that apparent in Ānandabodha's reference to the *Canarese* and the *Gujarāti* language referred to above.

1. See my note in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, p. 232.

2. *Nyāyamakaranda* (*Chowkhamba Sans. Series*, 1907) p. 253 : "किं अप्रसिद्धाभिः कर्णाटलाटभाषाभिः अभिभाषसे भवान्,"

According to Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya [3] ' modern *Gujarāti* like *Marāṭhī* begins about 1500 A. D. ' and if this statement is correct the *Gujarāti* used by Janārdana in his present commentary represented by the Adyar MS will have to be considered as *old Gujarāti*, because Janārdana's date falls between 1191 and 1385 *A. D.* Perhaps a glossary of Sanskrit words with their old *Gujarāti* explanations as found in the Adyar MS fragment (about 173 pages) will reveal the nature of the language current in Gujarat in Janārdana's time. But such a study is outside the scope of this paper.

We now proceed with our analysis of the Adyar MS. The MS begins with folio 242. It is, therefore, clear that the first 241 folios of this valuable MS have been lost. The portion of the commentary which begins on folio 242 pertains to Canto XII as we find the following verse concluding this canto on folio 250 :—

" कालिदासकृतावर्कवंशकीर्तौ कृतिप्रियां
व्याकृतिं द्वादशस्येमां विततार जनार्दनः ॥ "

Folio 268 is missing. Canto XIV begins on folio 269. The concluding verse of Canto XIV reads as under on folio 289 :—

" यत्रारभ्य दिलीपभूपतिपतिं तिग्मांशुवंशोद्भवं
राजन्यं रघुराजरत्नविलसत् श्रीरामनामाद्भुतम् ।
व्याचख्ये किल कालिदाससुकविः काव्ये कलौ कार्तिके
व्याचक्रेऽत्र चतुर्दशं मतिवशं सर्गं जनार्दनः ॥ "

Canto XV begins on folio 290 — with the following verse :—

" भक्त्या यत्पदनुग्रहं बलमलं विष्टभ्य विश्रंभते
निर्व्यासं स्वधिया मया तनुधियाथारभ्यते यद्रसात् ।
स्मृत्या सर्वमनीषितार्थवरदो देवो महेशात्मजो
निःप्रत्यूहमिदं समाप्यमखिलं सिद्धिं नयत्वाशु मे ॥ "

3. See C. V. Vaidya's article on '*Gujarāti in relation to Marāṭhī*' in the *Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference*, Baroda (1935), pp. 1075-1083 — Hemacandra's grammar furnishes written evidence of the form of *Gujarāti* in the 12th century A. D. The words Gujarat and *Gujarāti* had not come into existence in the days of Hemacandra. North *Gujarat* was called सारस्वतमंडल and the South *Gujarat* was called लाट both by राजशेखर and by Alberuni. The name गुर्जरभूमि first begins to appear about 1220 A. D. — (page 1077).

Folios 292–302 are missing. Chapter XV continues on folio 303 and ends as under on folio 319 —

" श्रीमद्राघवराजस्य चरिते काव्येऽस्य काव्यांबुधे
संसत्सत्कविकालिदासरचिते स्फूर्जद्गुणालंकृतेः ।
प्रख्यातोपकृतौ जनार्द्दनकृतौ प्रत्यक्षगुर्वीकृतौ
व्याख्यायां शममत्रजगाम दशमः सर्गोऽत्र पंचाधिकः ॥ "

Folios 336 to 338 are again missing and Canto XVII begins on folio 339. Folios 346 and 347 are also missing. Folio 353 is missing and some chapter appears to begin on folio 354 with the following verse :—

" भक्त्या यत्पदनुग्रहं बलमलं विष्टभ्य विश्रंभते
निर्व्यासं स्वधिया तथा तनुधियाथारभ्यते यद्रसात् ।
स्मृत्या सर्वमनीषितार्थवरदो देवो महेशात्मजो
निःप्रत्यूहमिदं सभाष्यमखिलं सिद्धिं नयत्वाशु मे ॥ "

This verse is identical with the verse introducing Canto XV as quoted above.

The concluding verse of Canto XVIII reads on folio 365 as follows :—

" महार्थोपमालावररत्नप्रसूतौ
र......णां महाकाव्यसंपूर्णधौ
गंभीरे जनानंदनानंदनार्थं
बुधानां तदष्टादशे भाष्ये सेतुं बबंधः ॥ "

On folio 365[b] — the following endorsement shows the name of the owner of this fragment — रघुवंशटीका गोविंददशपुत्रस्य तृ (त्रु) टितेयं.'' Obviously गोविंद दशपुत्र obtained the present MS in a fragmentary condition. Another endorsement in bold hand and different ink on folio 365[b] but written breadthwise records *Saṁvat* 1768 as under :—

" स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नृपविक्रमार्कसमयातीत संवत् १७६८ वर्षे आषाढ वदि २ बुधके "

It is difficult to say if *Saṁvat* 1768 (= A.D. 1712) is the date of the Adyar MS. Perhaps the endorsement might have been added by some one later. At any rate it proves that the Adyar MS is older than A.D. 1712 or roughly we may say that it is about 250 years old.

References made by Janārdana to earlier works and authors in the portion of his commentary represented by the Adyar MS are :—

(1) कुमारसंभवे — folio 262.
(2) श्रीरामायणे उत्तरकांडे — fol. 273.
(3) श्रीमहाभारते — fol. 274.
(4) माघकाव्ये — fol. 278.
(5) नैषधे — fol. 283.
(6) भागवते दशमस्कंधे — fol. 283.
(7) रामायणं — fol. 308.
(8) अष्टांगयोगज्ञानेन — fol. 318 ; योगयोगीश्वर जैमिनी तु अष्टांगयोगयामी — (fol. 361).
(9) यदुक्तं — " जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः etc.. " — fol. 325
(10) तथा चोक्तं अभिनंदकाव्ये [1] — (fol. 283).

" अकारणं सत्यमकारणं तपो
जगत्रयस्यापि यशोप्यकारणं ।
अकारणं रूपमकारणं गुणाः
पुराणमेकं नृपु कर्मकारणम् ॥

This verse is identical with verse 65 of Canto IV of the *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda [p. 35 of the Baroda (1930) edition].

(11) स्मृतौ — " ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते तूत्थाय चिंतयेदात्मनो हितम् etc. " — fol. 339.
(12) यदुक्तं — " दुर्मन्त्रान्नृपतिर्विनश्यति यतिः etc., " — fol. 348.
(13) यदुक्तं — " सर्वे गुणाः कांचनमाश्रयन्ते etc. " — fol. 349.
(14) उक्तं च — " मधुरं वद कल्याणि लोको हि मधुरप्रियः " — fol. 356.

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1. Abhinanda or Gauḍa Abhinanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, wrote the कादंबरीकथासार and योगवासिष्ठसार. He was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara *Circa* A. D. 900 (F. W. Thomas' Introduction to *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, p. 20). Gauḍa Abhinanda is different from Abhinanda (son of Śatānanda) who wrote the रामचरित. The अभिनंदकाव्य referred to by Janārdana is identical with रामचरित which deals with the history of Rāma. The date of Abhinanda, the author of रामचरित, was hitherto unknown (see Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 135) but Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Shastri in his learned introduction to the edition of the *Rāmacarita* (Gaikwar Ori. Series, No. XLVI, 1930, Baroda) has proved that Abhinanda, the author of the रामचरित; was the court-poet of king Devapāla alias Haravarṣa Yuvarāja (between 800 and 900 A. D.) — page xxi. See also Dr. V. Raghavan's note on the *Rāmacarita* (Annals, Vol. XVI, pp. 141-2).

(15) यदुक्तं — " अयशो यस्य लोकेऽस्मिन् पुंसश्चरति शाश्वते etc. " — fol. 360.

(16) यदुक्तं — " एकमेव यदा ब्रह्म सत्यमन्यद्विकल्पितम् etc. " — fol. 360.

(17) उक्तं च ज्योतिषे —

" सिंहो यथा सर्वचतुष्पदानां
तथैव पुष्यो बलवानुडूनां ।
चंद्रे विरुद्धेऽप्यथ गोचरेऽपि
सिद्धंति कार्याणि कृतानि पुष्ये ॥ "

(18) Folio 364 — उक्तं —

" वृद्धेऽपि वयसि ग्राह्या विद्या सर्वात्मना नरैः ।
यद्यपि स्यान्न फलदा सुलभा चान्यजन्मनि ॥ "

There are many more anonymous quotations in the present MS than those recorded in the above list of references. On the whole Janārdana is not in the habit of naming the author from whose works he quotes a stanza or two occasionally. Almost all the references noted above are taken from comparatively old works and hence they don't furnish any definite chronological clues for narrowing down our present limits for Janārdana's date viz. *A.D.* 1191 and 1385. The quotation from अभिनंदकाव्य i.e. रामचरित by अभिनंद given by Janārdana and identified by me above is chronologically in harmony with the above limits because the date of अभिनंदकाव्य falls between 800 and 900 *A.D.*

Since my note on the Janārdana's commentary was published Dr. V. G. Paranjpe of the Fergusson College has published his critical edition of the *Meghadūta*[1] with the commentary of स्थिरदेव based on a rare MS found in the Mandlik Collection of the Fergusson College, Poona, bearing the date *Saṁvat* 1521 (= A.D 1465). Janārdana mentions स्थिरदेव by name in the line " स्थिरदेववल्लभासहकृतानि भाष्याण्यनेकरचनानि " (Cambay MS) as pointed out by me in my previous note. I shall now point out that he has modelled one of his verses on स्थिरदेव's verse in the beginning of his commentary. In fact he has repeated स्थिरदेव's verse almost verbatim as will be seen from the following comparison :—

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1. *Meghadūta* with Sthiradeva's commentary, edited by Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, M.A., D.Litt., Poona; 1935, Price Rs. 2.

स्थिरदेव's comm. on the मेघदूत (Mandalik MS)	जनार्दन's comm. on the मेघदूत (Cambay MS)
तस्य प्रसन्नगंभीरात्प्रबंधाम्भोरिवाम्बुधेः । उद्धर्तुं स्तोकमप्यर्थं व्याख्या नः प्रभविष्यति ॥ ४ ॥	तस्य प्रसन्नगंभीरात् प्रबंधाम्भोरिवाम्बुधेः । उद्धर्तुं स्तोकमप्यर्थं व्याख्या मम भविष्यति ॥

About the date of स्थिरदेव Dr. Paranjpe observes :— 'Sthiradeva lived in times when critics were under the influences of the Alaṁkāra school. He has quoted passages from भामह, दण्डी, रुद्रट and उद्भट .... he must be placed at the *end of the 9th century* or *at the outset of the tenth*'. If this date for स्थिरदेव is correct it would make स्थिरदेव a contemporary of अभिनंद, the author of the रामचरित (800 to 900 *A.D.*) which जनार्दन quotes in his commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*.

47. Aruṇadatta and Hemādri, the Commentators of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya ‡

Mr. K. A. Padhye in his *Life of Hemādri* (in Marāṭhī) published in 1931, (Bombay) p. 43, while dealing with the works of Hemādri, the minister of Kings, Mahādeva and Rāmacandra of Devagiri, makes the following statement about the relative chronology of Hemādri and Aruṇadatta, who wrote the commentaries on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II called the *Āyurvedarasāyana*, and *Sarvāṅgasundarā*, respectively :—

Page 34, lines 21-22— " In the commentary by *Aruṇadatta* on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* no mention of Hemādri appears to have been made " (translation ours).

The above statement presumes among other things that Hemādri was prior in point of date to Aruṇadatta. This presumption of Mr. Padhye is definitely wrong because Aruṇadatta and Hemādri flourished about A. D. 1220[1] and 1260[2] respectively. Obviously, therefore, Aruṇadatta could not refer to a medical writer of Hemādri's repute even if he had desired to do so, as such a reference would result in an anachronism. Perhaps Mr. Padhye was not aware of this chronology of the two commentators. Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Kane have recorded sufficient evidence for the dates " about A. D. 1220 " and " A. D. 1260 " for Aruṇadatta and Hemādri respectively. I shall, therefore, record in this note some additional evidence in support of these dates. This evidence is furnished by the following extracts from Hemādri's *Āyurvedarasāyana*[3] and the *Sarvāṅgasundarā* of Aruṇadatta :—

(1) *Aruṇadatta* — " तथा, मधु-माद्वींकं, मैरेयं-खर्जूरासवं "

‡ *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. III, Pt. III, pp. 26-27.

1. Hoernle : *Osteology*, Intro. p. 17.

2. P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 354.

3. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with commentaries of Aruṇadatta and Hemādri, ed. by Paradkar-shastri, N. S. Press, Bombay, page 136, (forms kindly supplied by the Editor).

(2) *Hemādri* — " मधु-क्षौद्रम् ' मार्द्वीकम् ' इत्यरुणदत्तः
" मैरेयो ' धान्यासवः ' इति चन्द्रनंदनः ' खर्जूरासवः '
इत्यरुणदत्तः "

From the comparison of the two extracts recorded above it is clear that Hemādri mentions Aruṇadatta by name and quotes from him and further Hemādri's quotation from Aruṇadatta's text stands identified, proving thereby that Hemādri is quoting from the *Sarvāṅgasundarā* and from no other work ascribed to any other namesake[1] of Aruṇadatta. The difference of about 40 years between the dates of Aruṇadatta and Hemādri explains the possibility of a junior author quoting from a senior contemporary of repute. It also appears from the above extract that by the time Hemādri composed his *Āyurvedarasāyana*, Aruṇadatta had already attained some reputation as a commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. It is not, however, clear whether Aruṇadatta and Hemādri were contemporaries even for the smallest period of their lives as mere mention of a writer's name cannot prove this point.



1. Vide Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 30 — Aruṇadatta, a lexicographer and grammarian is quoted by Ujjvaladatta and Rāyamukuṭa (A. D. 1431), see *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, P. 119. A work on architecture called *Manuṣyālaya Candrikā* is also ascribed to Aruṇadatta (see *Oppert's Catalogue*, 2658, 2942, 6103). The identity or otherwise of these namesakes of the author of the *Sarvāṅgasundarā* is still a matter for investigation.

48. Date of Vimalabodha's Commentary on the Mahābhārata called the Viṣamaślokī — after 1150 A. D.‡

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in his recent article[1] on the commentators of the *Mahābhārata* states that Arjunamiśra mentions Vimalabodha and Vimalabodha cites Devabodha and hence we get the series : *Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Arjunamiśra.* As the date of Vimalabodha's commentary has not yet been fixed by scholars I propose in this note to analyse a Ms of his commentary called the *Viṣamaślokī* viz. No. 84 of 1869–70 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, referred to by Dr. Sukthankar in his article mentioned above. This Ms consists of about 88 folios and bears the date Śaka 1724 (= A. D. 1802). It was copied at Poona by one Kṛṣṇabhaṭ Śivarāma Śivaṇekar from some original, which he complains (in the colophon) was extremely incorrect. Vimalabodha refers to the following authors and works in his commentary :—

(1) " निघंटभाष्यनिरुक्तानि "– fol. 1, 85.
(2) वैशंपायनटीका – fol. 1.
(3) देवस्वामिमत – fol. 1, 12, 15, 23, 24, 31, 54, 59.
(4) देवबोधप।दाः – fol. 2.
(5) मेधातिथिः – fol. 2.
(6) निघंटु – fol. 2, 43. निघंट – fol. 12.
(7) विमलबोधपादाद्याः – fol. 2.
(8) वाराहपुराण – fol. 2.
(9) भविष्ये – fol. 3.
(10) आगमे – fol. 3.
(11) ब्रह्मांडे – fol. 4.
(12) भट्टजनमेजयाचार्य – fol. 12, 70.
(13) वेदनिघंट – fol. 12.
(14) ब्रह्मवैवर्त्ते – fol. 13, 81.
(15) सूत्रकारः – fol. 22.
(16) स्मृतिकारैः – fol. 23, 25.
(17) अथर्वणश्रुतेः – fol. 25.
(18) षडंगयोग – fol. 25, 81.
(19) कापिलाः – fol. 26.
(20) मंडूकोपाख्याने – fol. 27.
(21) विक्रमादित्यः – fol. 30.
" आरालिकः सूचनको हस्तिनां दमकस्तथा "

‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XVII, pp. 394–397.

1. *Annals*, Vol. XVII, p. 194.

(22) भोजः - fol. 31 (Gujarati Press Edition of the *Virāṭaparvan*, p. 59 quotes this passage).
(23) सनत्सुजाते - fol. 48.
(24) श्रुतिः - fol. 47.
(25) पूर्वनिबंधकृद्भिः - fol. 47.
(26) विशालाक्षः - fol. 48.
(27) चाणक्येन - fol. 48.
(28) कलिंगटीकायाम् - fol. 48.
(29) कर्मसमुच्चयपक्ष - fol. 48.
(30) योगसूत्रम् - fol. 52.
(31) पुराणे पंचलक्षणे - fol. 58.
(32) वैशेषिकाः - fol. 59.
(33) मनुना - fol. 61, 63.
(34) नीतिशास्त्रे - fol. 61, 64.
(35) कौटिल्यः - fol. 61, 62.
(36) भोजराजेन व्यवहारमंजर्याम् - fol. 63.
(37) धारेश्वरादिभिः अपि निबंधकैः - fol. 64.
(38) " इति महापौराणिकोपाध्यायश्रीत्रिविक्रमकृतौ महाभारतविषमपद्य तात्पर्यार्थविवरणटीकायाम् शांतिपर्वणि राजधर्मश्लोकाः समाप्ताः " - fol. 35.
(39) गीतायाम् - fol. 66.
(40) योगसारे - fol. 67.
(41) सांख्यप्रक्रिया - fol. 67.
(42) कल्पसूत्रे - fol. 67.
(43) कपिलेन - fol. 69.
(44) जनकपंचशिखसंवादे-fol. 70.
(45) सूत्रकृता - fol. 70.
(46) विक्रमाजित (विक्रमादित्य ?) - fol. 70.
(47) ब्रह्मपुराणीय - fol. 70.
(48) जमदग्निवचनात् - fol. 71.
(49) सूत्रकृता - fol. 71.
(50) योगशास्त्रे - fol. 71.
(51) छंदोगपरिशिष्टे - fol. 72.
(52) वृत्तिकारेण - fol. 72.
(53) योगशास्त्रविदाम् - fol. 72.
(54) नारदः - fol. 74, 77.
(55) सरस्वतीकंठाभरणे - fol. 74.
(56) जैमिनिना - fol. 74.
(57) नीतिशास्त्रज्ञाः - fol. 76.
(58) शुकेन - fol. 76.
(59) निरुक्त - fol. 78.
(60) " काश्यपीयं विद्या उपभुक्तविषनाशिनी " - fol. 78.
(61) प्रातिशाख्यपञ्जिकायाम् -fol.78.
(62) आथर्वणी श्रुतिः - fol. 80.
(63) रसायने - fol. 85.

" गंधमादन पार्श्वे या सिद्धजंबुरिति श्रिता । अमृताख्यं फलं तस्य जरारोगविनाशनं ॥ "

In the above references the colophon on fol. 65 quoted by me does not appear to have formed part of Vimalabhodha's commentary and this conclusion is proved by its absence in another Ms of Vimalabodha's commentary viz. No. 167 of 1887-91 of the Govt. Mss Library, where on folio 49 we have the following brief colophon " एते राजधर्मस्थाविषमाः श्लोकाः. " Evidently the colophon on folio 65 of Ms No. 84 of 1869-70, which ascribes definitely the authorship of " महाभारततात्पर्यार्थविवरणटीका " to one त्रिविक्रम (styled as " महापौराणिकोपाध्याय ") is wrongly inserted in the present Ms. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* does not mention any commentator of the name त्रिविक्रम as the author of a commentary described in the

above-mentioned colophon. In the list of 22 commentators on the *Mahābhārata* given by Dr. Sukthankar in his *Epic Studies*[1] no commentator of the name त्रिविक्रम has been recorded.[2]

We now come to the question of the chronological limits for Vimalabodha's commentary. Dr. Sukthankar has already given us the series "*Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Arjunamiśra*" which states the relative chronological position of the three commentators. In the list of references recorded above, the references to "धारेश्वर" on folio 64, to "भोजराज" and his "व्यवहारमञ्जरी" on folio 63 and to "सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण" on folio 74 enable us to fix one terminus to the date of Vimalabodha's commentary. As king Bhoja of Dhārā is assigned to a period – 1010 A. D. to 1055 A. D.[3] and as A. D. 1062 is considered as a limit for his date[4] we may not be wrong in fixing *about 1150 A. D.* as one terminus for the date of Vimalabodha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.

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1. *Annals*, Vol. XVII, p. 185.

2. Whether त्रिविक्रम was another name of Vimalabodha in the *gṛhasthāśrama* (householder's life) is a matter for investigation. We may cite as an analogy the name जनार्दन, which was the name of Ānandajñāna, the author of the *Tarkasaṁgraha* (G. O. Series, Baroda) in the *gṛhasthāśrama*.

3. S. K. De : *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 147.

4. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 153, foot-note 2 — "Bhoja was alive later than 1060 ; so also Kalhaṇa vii, 259 treats him as alive in 1062."

49. References to Persian Oil in Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadeva - Carita and in the Ārya-mañjuśrī - Mūlakalpa — Between c. A. D. 500 and 1100 ‡

In the Marathi Dictionary *Sabdakośa* (by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve, Poona, 1938, p. 2601) we get the following information about *Rock oil* or *Kerosene oil* :—

" राकेल — घासलेट ; मट्टीचें तेल
(Rock = खडक + oil = तेल) "

Page 1088 — " घासलेट — केरोसीन तेल ; घास्तेल ; राकेल
(Gas = वायु + तेल)

These entries create an impression that Rock-oil or Kerosene oil was unknown to Indians at any stage of their history till the British advent.

In the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* we get the following entries about this oil and allied terms :—

Page 1746 — *Rock oil*. native naptha.

Page 1309 — Naptha — (1572) — Latin and Greek — perhaps of Oriental origin. A name originally applied to an inflammable volatile liquid (a constituent of asphalt and bitumen) issuing from the earth in certain localities, etc.

Page 1081 — Kerosene — (1854) — A mixture of liquid hydrocarbons obtained by the distillation of patroleum ; also from coal and bituminous shale ; extensively used as a lamp-oil ; the usual name is *paraffin oil* or *paraffin*.

Page 1428 — Paraffin oil — Any one of several oils obtained by distillation of coal, patroleum, etc., and used as illuminants and lubricants ; also called simply *paraffin*, *Kerosene* or *petroleum*.

The above entries furnish no historical information about the *Rock oil* or *Kerosene oil*, with which I am concerned in this paper.

In the Marathi Encyclopedia called the *Jñāna-Kośa* (by Dr. S. V. Ketkar) Vol. 19 (1926) Poona p. (र) 39 we get some information about the *Rock oil* as follows :—

‡ *Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 15-17.

" *Rock-oil* has been in use from very ancient times. In China it was used for lamps and as fuel from ancient times. In Egypt it was used for mummies. In Biblical mythology Noah's ark is said to have been painted with tar produced from rock-oil.

On our side the rock-oil is found in *Burma* and *Persia*. At present we have rock-oil fields in the Panjab."

In the above remarks we don't find any information about the knowledge of the Rock-oil, if any, possessed by Indians in ancient or mediæval periods of history.

On *31st August, 1946*, my friend Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Superintendent, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi, wrote to me as follows :—

" The *Vikramāṅkadeva-Carita* of Bilhaṇa was first published by Dr. Bühler in the Bombay Sanskrit Series.........In a new edition of this book from Benares I find in Canto IX, verse 20, a reference to Pārasīka oil (पारसीकतैलाग्नि). I interpret it as clear reference to *Kerosene oil* obtained from Persian oil-fields which, it appears, was being imported into India in the *11th Century A. D.* I have written a short note on this.........I shall feel extremely obliged if out of your extensive reading you could kindly tell me if you have come across any other reference to Persian oil similar to this. The *Śloka* in the Benares edition reads : —

" अचिन्तनीयं तुहिनद्रवाणां श्रीखंडवापी पयसामसाध्यम् ।
अमूत्रयस्पत्रिपु पारसीकतैलाग्निमेतस्य कृते मनोभूः "

This verse is identical with verse 20 of Canto IX of Bühler's edition (B. S. Series, 1875), p. 74. There is only one variant in its second line, viz., " परं मनोभूः " for " कृते मनोभूः " but the reference to पारसीकतैलाग्नि is not affected by this variant."

I was very much interested in Dr. Agrawala's scholarly inquiry and promised to note down any other reference to Persian oil in sources early or late during the course of my cultural studies. Recently I carried out a cursory perusal of the Sanskrit Buddhist text called the *Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* (Ed. by Ganapati Sastri in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1920). Fortunately on page 83 of this edition I found a reference to तुरुष्कतैल to be used for lamps as an alternative to गव्यघृत or ghee from cow's milk as the following extract clearly shows :—

" ज्येष्ठं पटं तत्रैव देशे तस्मिन्स्थाने पटस्य महतीं पूजां कृत्वा सुवर्णरूप्यमयैः ताम्रमृत्तिकमयैर्वा प्रदीपकैः तुरुष्कतैलपूर्णैः गव्यघृतपूर्णैर्वा प्रदीपकैः प्रत्यग्रवस्त्रखण्डाभिः कृतवर्तिभिः लक्षमेकं पटस्य प्रदीपानि निवेदयत् । सर्वाणि समंसमन्तात् समनन्तरप्रदीपितैः प्रदीपमालाभिः पटस्य रश्मयः निश्चरन्ति । समनन्तर निश्चरितै रश्मिभिः पटः समन्तज्वालमालाकुलो भवति । उपरिष्टाच्चान्तरीक्षे दुन्दुभयो नदन्ति । साधुकारश्च श्रूयते "

In this extract the worshipper is asked to carry out the worship of *paṭa* (a sacred piece of cloth). He is then to tear off the *paṭa* into numerous shreds with a view to making these shreds into wicks for a lac of lamps to be lighted. These lamps may be of *gold*, *silver*, *copper* or *earth*. They should be filled either with *turuṣka* oil or cow's ghee.

I am of opinion that the *turuṣka taila* mentioned in the above extract is possibly identical with *pārasīka taila* mentioned by Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadeva-Carita* composed about A. D. 1085. In this connection I may point out that the Kashmirian commentator of *Suśruta*, viz., Dallaṇa, who flourished about *A. D. 1100* has used the word *turuṣka deśa* in the sense of Persia while explaining the term *aśvabalā* in *Suśruta*. According to Dallaṇa *aśvabalā* is identical with "*Hispittha*" known in "*turuṣka deśa*", *i.e.*, Persia. In my paper[1] on *aśvabalā* I have pointed out that the word "*Hispittha*" is identical with the *Persian* word "*Ispist*" or "*Aspist.*" In view of this evidence we can equate the *Pārasīka taila* of Bilhaṇa (A. D. 1085) with the *turuṣka taila* of *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* which appears to be earlier than A. D. 900 as it was translated into Chinese between A. D. 980 and 1000 and into Tibetan in the 11th century A. D.[2] According to Marcelle the work belongs to the 2nd century A. D.[3] Even if such an early date for this work is not accepted we can safely put this work earlier than A. D. 900 and consequently the reference to *turuṣka taila* mentioned in it is more than 200 years earlier than that to *Pārasīka taila* made by Bilhaṇa about *A. D. 1085.*

In view of the continuous contact of India with Persia from early times it is easy to explain how some *Kerosene oil* or *Rock-oil* from Persia got imported into India and was actually used for lamps as vouched by the Sanskrit Buddhist text composed prior to A. D. 900 and by Bilhaṇa's poem of the 11th century A. D. I hope Dr. V. S. Agrawala and other scholars interested in the history of the *Rock-oil* will examine this question thoroughly and see how far my suggestion about the identity of *Turuṣka oil* with *Pārasīka oil* is correct. For the present I am convinced that some rock-oil was imported into North India between say A. D. 500 and 1100 and was possibly used as lamp-oil, being free from objections laid down against the use of fats of animals by some of our texts on *Dharmaśāstra*.

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1. See *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Bombay) July, 1946, pp. 67-80.
2. Vide p. 397 of *History of Indian Literature*, by Winternitz, Vol. II, Calcutta.
3. Ibid, p. 635.

50. Date of Vaṅgasena, the Author of the Cikitsāsāra-saṁgraha — Before A. D. 1200 ‡

In a very informative article on the *Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal*, published in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, page 159, Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta makes the following remarks about Vaṅgasena, the author of *Ākhyātavyākaraṇa* and *Cikitsāsāra-Saṁgraha*[1] :—

> 'Although of uncertain date, Vaṅgasena must not be mistaken, as is sometimes done, as a recent writer, for two of the Manuscripts of his *Cikitsāsāra-Saṁgraha*, found in the Deccan, are dated in 1376 *Saṁvat* or 1319-20 A.D.[2] and he must, therefore, belong to *the 13th century at the latest*' (italics ours).

These remarks open the question of Vaṅgasena's date and I am sure Mr. Das Gupta will supply us with more data from Vaṅgasena's works bearing on his chronology during the course of his studies. My object in writing this note is to record the data found by me, in the light of which I am inclined to believe that Vaṅgasena belongs not '*to 13th century at the latest*' but to *12th century at the latest*.

Hemādri, the author of the *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*, who wrote his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II during the reign of King Rāmacandra[3] of Devagiri (1271 to 1309 A.D.) men-

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‡ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 535-543.

1. Vide Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 548 — where Vaṅgasena, the author of *Ākhyātavyākaraṇa* and Vaṅgasena, the author of *Cikitsāsāra-Saṁgraha* are apparently distinguished. He is quoted in Lauhapradīpa (W., p. 301) and by Bhāvamiśra (Oxf. 311b). His work on medicine is commented on by Vaidyanātha.

2. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report*, 1883-84, p. 86 and R. G. Bhandarkar, Dec. College MSS Catalogue, p. 144, No. 352.

3. *Vide* verses 1 to 9 of Chapter I of *Āyurvedarasāyana* of Hemādri. Verse 6 reads as follows :—

(*Continued on next page*)

tions and quotes from Vaṅgasena. Hemadri wrote his *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi* during the reign of King Mahādeva, the predecessor of King Rāmacandra. The period of Mahādeva's reign is put between A.D. 1260 and 1270 and Hemādri was a minister and keeper of records under both these Devagiri Kings.[1]

I shall now record Hemādri's references to Vaṅgasena in his *Āyurvedarasāyana* :—

(1) *Nidāna-Sthāna, Chap. 11, verse* 33 — The commentary reads--

" वङ्गसेने (ज्वराधिकारे[2] श्लो० ४८४–५०४)
निद्रोपेतमभिन्यासं क्षिप्रं विद्याद्धतौजसम् ।
आचितामाशयकफे सन्निपातज्वरे दृढे ॥
... ...
... ...
न वा प्रभासते किञ्चिदभिन्यासः स उच्यते ।
प्रत्याख्येयः स भूयिष्ठं कश्चिदेवात्र सिध्यति ॥ " इति "

(2) *Nidāna-Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 15 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (राजयक्ष्माधिकारे श्लो० ६)
' भक्तद्वेषो ज्वरः श्वासः कासः शोणितदर्शनम् ।
स्वरभेदश्च जायन्ते षड्रूपे राजयक्ष्मणि ॥ ' इति "

(*Continued from previous page*)

" हेमाद्रिर्नाम रामस्य राज्ञः श्रीकरणेष्वधि ।
ननूभौ भगवन्निष्टषाड्गुण्यकरणेष्वधि ॥ ६ ॥ "

Hemādri's commentary has not been so far published but an edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with Aruṇadatta's and Hemādri's commentaries is being edited by Mr. Paradkar Shastri for the N. S. Press, Bombay.

1. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 854–859.

2. This identification is by Mr. Paradkar Shastri, to whom my thanks are due for supplying me with printed forms of his edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (in the press). This passage from Vaṅgasena occurs on p. 452 of this edition.

(3) *Nid. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 45 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (हृदयरोगाधिकारे श्लो० १-४)

" अत्युष्णगुर्वम्लकषायतिक्त-श्रमाभिघाताध्यशनप्रसङ्गैः ।
सञ्चिन्तनैर्वेगविधारणैश्च हृदामयःपञ्चविधः प्रदिष्टः ॥
दूषयित्वा रसं दोषा विगुणा हृदयं गताः ।
हृदि बाधां प्रकुर्वन्ति हृद्रोगं तं प्रचक्षते ॥ "
इति हृद्रोगनिदानम् । "

(4) *Cikitsitasthāna*, Chap. I, verse 2 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० १४१) —

" ज्वरस्य पूर्वरूपेषु वर्तमानेषु बुद्धिमान् ।
... ...
... ...
सर्वं त्रिदोषजेषूक्तं यथादोषं विकल्पयेत् । '' इति ।

(5) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 17 — Commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (?) —

" वैयात्याद्यधिकोऽप्यत्र भेदः कर्तुमिहेच्छति
... ...
यवक्षारान्वितो क्काथो धान्यपटोलयोः । " इति "

(6) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 23 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० १६६) —

" कार्यं न बाले वृद्धे वा " इति "

(7) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 54 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २२७)—

." पञ्चमूली बलारास्ना.........पिबेद्वातज्वरापहम् " इति "

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २४१) —

" पटोलयवधान्याकमधुकं.........कासासृक्पित्तवीसर्प-
श्वासान् हन्ति वमीरपि ॥ " इति "

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २६४) —

" त्रिफला त्रिवृतामुस्तं.........प्लीहानं हन्ति
हिक्कां च बालानां च प्रशस्यते । " इति । "

(8) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 59 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २९२)—

" बलाभार्ग्यमृतैरण्डचन्दनोशीरपर्पटैः ।

... ...

एष सिद्धः कषायः स्याद्वातपित्तभये ज्वरे ॥ " इति "

(9) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 63 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० ३३५)—

" सभूनिम्बामृतादारु.........पटोलशुण्ठीयवपिप्पलीनाम् ॥ " इति "

(10) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 67 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वरा० श्लो० ३९२ and श्लो० ४४३)—

" दशमूलस्य निष्काथः.........संज्ञानाशविमोक्षणः " इति "

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्व० श्लो० ४९० and ५०३)—

" दुर्गेम्भसि यथा मज्जद्राजनं.........तन्द्रीनाशनमुत्तमम् । " इति "

(11) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 83 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वरा० श्लो० ४१६)—

" यवकोलकुलत्थैस्तु.........कण्ठहृद्वक्त्रशोधनः ॥ " इति "

(12) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 94 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० ७३१)—

" कल्याणकं षट्पलं.........ज्वरघ्नं प्लीहनाशनम् । " इति "

(13) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 101 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० ७२७)—

" मधुकारग्वधद्राक्षा.........अनुबन्धभयाज्वरः । " इति "

(14) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 128 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० २३१, २५९, २८०)—

" शर्करादाडिमाभ्यां च.........कर्तव्यः कवलग्रहः । " इति "

(15) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 130 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने त्वभ्यङ्गतैलान्युक्तानि (ज्वराधिकारे श्लो० ६२८, ७७७, ७९१)—

" लाजामधुकमञ्जिष्ठा.........तेनाभ्यक्तो विमुच्यते । " इति "

(16) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 135 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वरा० श्लो० २५८) —

" जिह्वातालुगलक्लोम.........मधुसैन्धवसंयुतम् ॥ " इति "

(17) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 166 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्व० श्लो० ५७३) —

" शैलूषमण्डनरजः पुरुषानुरूपं.........हरति रञ्जितसूत्रबद्धम् ॥ " इति "

(18) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. I, verse 173 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (ज्वर० श्लो० ५४१) —

" औषधीगन्ध.........सर्वगन्धकृतैर्भिषक् । " इति । "

(19) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. II, verse 35 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (रक्तपित्ताधिकारे श्लो० ४६, ४८, ६९, ९३) —

" तालीसचूर्णयुक्तः.........रक्तपित्तविनाशनः । " इति "

(20) *Cikit, Sthāna*. Chap. II, verse 44 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (रक्तपित्ताधिकारे श्लो० ९९, १२६, १४१, १६१, १६७, १९३) —

" वृषस्य यन्त्राङ्कुरपत्रशाखा.........मुद्गया ॥ " इति "

(21) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. II, verse 44 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (रक्त० श्लो० ६६, ६८, ७४) —

" द्राक्षया फलिनीभिर्वा.........दाडिमैः ॥ " इति । "

(22) *Cikit. Sthāṇa*, Chap. II, verse 50 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (रक्त० श्लो० ८१) —

" नासाप्रवृत्तरुधिरं.........आनाहाख्यं गदं जयेत् । " इति । "

(23) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 32 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (कासाधिकारे श्लो० ३०) —

" बलाद्विबृहतीद्राक्षा.........शर्करामधुयोजितम् । " इति "

(24) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 44 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (कासा० श्लो० ४०) —

" मुद्गामलाभ्यां यवदाडिमाभ्यां.........कफरोगहन्ता ॥ " इति । "

(25) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 67 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (कासाधिकारे श्लो० ४७) —

" कुष्ठं तामलकी.........ध्रुवमास्ये विधारितम् ॥ " इति । "

(26) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 80 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (कासाधिकारे श्लो० ९३) —

" चूर्णं ककुभसमुत्थं.........रक्तपित्तहरम् ॥ " इति "

(27) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. III, verse 167 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (कासा० श्लो० ६५, ६६) —

" शुभदेशसमुद्भूतं.........घृतमेतत् ॥ " इति "

(28) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. IV, verse 9 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (श्वासाधिकारे श्लो० ३०) —

" स्नेहबस्तिं विना.........आदिशन्ति ह ॥ " इति । "

(29) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. IV, verse 22 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (श्वासा० श्लो० ७५) —

" शतं सङ्गृह्यभार्ग्यास्तु.........नाशयेत्तमकं तथा ॥ " इति । "

(30) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. IV, verse 55 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (श्वासा० श्लो० ५६)—

" सौवर्चलयवक्षार.........कासश्वासौ व्यपोहति ॥ " इति । "

(31) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. IV, verse 59 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (हिक्काधिकारे श्लो० १८) —

" प्राणावरोध.........धूमः पीतो न संशयः ॥ " इति । "

(32) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 4 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने तु (राजयक्ष्मादिकारे श्लो० ३०) —

" बलिनो बहुदोषस्य.........मलरेतसी ॥ " इति । "

(33) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 27 — commentary —

"वङ्गसेने तु (राज० श्लो० ८५) —

"गुडूची सारिवाह.........वृष्टिमान् ॥" इति।"

(34) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 33 — commentary —

"वङ्गसेने (राज० श्लो० १२१, १३५) —

"छागमांस तुलां गृह्य.........पित्तोद्रेके प्रशस्यते ॥" इति।"

(35) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 34 — commentary —

"वङ्गसेने (राज० श्लो० ३६, ८५) —

"धान्याकपिप्पलीविश्व.........यक्ष्महराः ॥" इति।"

(36) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. V, verse 53 — commentary —

"वङ्गसेने (?) —

"जम्बूवाम्रपत्र.........कलहंसकं नाम्ना ॥" इति।"

(37) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 21 — commentary —

"वङ्गसेने (छर्द० श्लो० ४८, ५७) —

"अश्वत्थवल्कलशुष्कं.........वैश्वानर इवाहुतिम् ॥"

(38) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chapter VI, verse 33 — commentary —

"वङ्गसेने (हृदयरोगाधिकारे श्लो० १०) —

"क्वाथः कृतः.........लवणश्च पेयः ॥" इति।"

(39) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 48 — commentary —

"वङ्गसेने (हृदयरोगा० श्लो० १८) —

"अर्जुनस्य त्वचा.........पित्तहृद्रोगनाशनम् ॥" इति।"

(40) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI. verse 55 — commentary —

"वङ्गसेने (हृदयरोगा० श्लो० २८) —

"सूक्ष्मैलामागधीमूलं.........सृक्शमयस्युदीर्णम् ॥"

(41) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 57 — commentary —

"तत्र वङ्गसेने (शूलरोगाधिकारे श्लो० १) —

"दोषैः पृथक्.........कुलित्थान् स विवर्जयेत्"

(a long extract of 1 page).

(42) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 59 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (हृद्यरो० श्लो० ३८) —

" क्रिमिहृद्रोगिणं.........विडङ्गामयसंयुतम् ॥ " इति । "

(43) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 67 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (तृषाधिकारे श्लो० २४) —

" लाजोदकं मधुयुतं.........पिबेत्तृष्णार्दितैः ॥ " इति । "

(44) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 68 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (तृषा० श्लो० २२) —

" वातघ्नमन्नपानं.........गुडूच्याश्च "

(45) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 71 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (तृषा० श्लो० १८) —

" काश्मर्यं शर्करायुक्तं.........तण्डुलोदकम् "

(46) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 74 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (तृषा० श्लो० २३) —

" सजीरकाण्यार्द्र.........तृष्णाम् ॥ " इति । "

(47) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 82 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (तृषा० श्लो० ३७) —

" क्षतोद्भवां.........मधुमोदकं वा ॥ " इति । "

(48) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VI, verse 84 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (तृषा० श्लो० ४१) —

" मूर्च्छां.........विमुच्यते ॥ " इति । "

(49) *Cikit. Sthāna*, Chap. VII, verse 107 — commentary —

" वङ्गसेने (मूर्च्छाधिकारे श्लो० ३२) —

" महौषधामृता.........सितया च पथ्याम् । " इति "

Some of the 49 references to Vaṅgasena by Hemādri and quotations from his work are long extracts which show the nature and extent of Hemādri's indebtedness to Vaṅgasena. No complete commentary of Hemādri has yet been available and in the N. S.

Press Edition referred to in this paper the commentary available is only for (1) the *Sūtrasthāna*, (2) the first 6 chapters of the *Nidānasthāna*, and (3) the first 7 chapters of the *Cikitsitasthāna*. The references recorded by me in this paper are from this portion of the commentary only. If the entire copy of the *Āyurvedarasāyana* is recovered perhaps more references to Vaṅgasena may be traced in it. Out of the 49 references recorded above we have 3 from the *Nidānasthāna* and 46 from the *Cikistitasthāna* and none from the *Sūtrasthāna*, so far as my cursory perusal of the text goes.

This wholesale borrowing from Vāṅgasena's work proves in the first instance the popularity in the Deccan of Vaṅgasena, a Bengali writer according to Mr. Das Gupta, and secondly, it detracts much of the originality of Hemādri's commentary. This is but natural in the case of Hemādri, who had perhaps developed a habit for the compilation of texts from his predecessors' works after having compiled his *magnum opus viz.* the *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*. In spite of his towering intellect the literary works undertaken by him were too enormous in extent and scope for a busy minister of the state for the sustained display of originality and critical acumen in the entire field of his activity. To sum up: From the nature and extent of Hemādri's references to and quotations from Vaṅgasena's work, I am inclined to conclude that *Vaṅgasena* flourished in the *12th century at the latest*. At any rate he is earlier than A. D. 1200 as we must presume a difference of about 75 years between him and Hemādri (1260 A.D.).

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51. Date of Vyavahāranirṇaya of Varadarāja — Between 1100 and 1350 A. D. ‡

Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar in his Preliminary Note[1] to the Edition of the *Vyavahāranirṇaya*[2] of Varadarāja which is being published by instalments in the Brahma-Vidyā states that this digest of Hindu Law is "usually named third among the four digests (Nibandha) recognized by the Courts as forming the special authorities of the South Indian 'school' of Hindu Law." In view of the importance of this work for administrative purposes it has engaged the attention of South Indian scholars and of historians of the Dharmaśāstra and evidence has been gathered by them with a view to fixing the limits of the date to which the work can be assigned. Rao Bahadur Aiyangar in his elaborate Preliminary Note[3] to the Adyar edition of the Varadarājīya records the following dated references to this work :—

A. D. 1515 — Sarasvatīvilāsa quotes from the Varadarājīya.
,, ,, 1612 — Nirṇayasindhu quotes from the Varadarājiya
C. ,, ,, 1600 — Smṛtimuktāphala also quotes from the Varadarājīya.

On the strength of these references Rao Bahadur Aiyangar arrives at the following conclusion with regard to the date of the Vyavahāranirṇaya alias Varadarājiya.[4]

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‡ *Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa* (Poona), Vol. III, pp. 15-18.

1. *Brahmavidyā*, Adyar, Vol. I, Part 3 (October 1937) p. i.

2. The Adyar Edition is based on eight Mss of the work procured from Madras, Baroda, Mysore and Lahore. Aufrecht records many MSS of this work (Vide Cata. Catalo. I. p. 617 ; II,147; III,129.). The work is often styled Varadarājīya — Abridged under the title Vyavahāradarpaṇa in Telugu characters by V. Parabrahma Shastri and published at Madras in 1851 — Burnell translated the Section on Dāyabhāga and published it in 1872 (Mangalore).

3. *Brahmavīdyā* (October 1937) p. vi of the Preliminary Note to the Varadarājīya.

4. Ibid.

"It is not easy to determine the date of the *Vyavahāranirṇaya*. It is cited by the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* and *so far no quotation from it or reference to it in any work of earlier date has been traced.* But it quotes no writer later than *Vijñāneśvara*, the author of the *Mitākṣarā*." Rao Bahadur Aiyangar further mentions Prof. P. V. Kane's view about the date of the *Varadarājīya* as follows :—

"Mr. P. V. Kane would place Varadarāja, the author of the *Vyavahāranirṇaya* between A. D. 1450 and 1500.[1] His grounds are these. It is not referred to in the *Mādhavīyam and the Smṛticandrikā* which are South Indian digests ; and it must, therefore, have been composed after these works."

Rao Bahadur Aiyangar does not view with favour the argument of silence adopted by Prof. Kane but hopes that "within the limits furnished by the citation of Vijñāneśvara by Varadarāja and of the *Vyavahāranirṇaya* by Pratāparudra[2] in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (i. e. 1100 to 1500), a close approximation may perhaps be reached from an examination of the opinions and the substance of the work itself and the discovery of its relations to other works."

The above view-point adopted by Rao Bahadur Aiyangar appears to me to be the correct one especially in matters of chronology, which is the back-bone of history.

As however, Rao Bahadur Aiyangar has not given us any closer approximation to Varadarāja's date within the limits of A. D. 1100 to 1500, I propose to do so in this paper on the strength of evidence not hitherto recorded by any Indian or European scholar,[3]

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1. Vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, p. 263, and p. 413 note 1014.

2. Vide my article on the authorship of Sarasvatīvilāsa (*Cal. Ori. Journal*, Vol. II, p. 233-4.)

3. Sir Thomas Strange in his Elements of Hindu Law, 1825, II, 189 quotes from the Varadarājīya — F. W. Ellis intended to prepare a digest of Hindu Law as followed in Madras and for that purpose he wanted to use the Varadarājīya (Transactions of the Madras Literary Society I) — Rao Bahadur Aiyangar observes (pp. ix — x of Preliminary Note) — "The old opinions of Ellis and Burnell on which the references to the date and provenance of the Vyavahāranirṇaya in modern books on Hindu Law and in Judicial pronouncements are based must now be given up. It is a matter for regret that Jolly only

(*Continued on next page*)

who has dealt with the problem so far Kāṭayavema,[1] the commentator of the three dramas of Kālidāsa was the minister of Kumāragiri, king of Koṇḍavidu. Though Kāṭayavema often speaks of Kumāragiri as his patron he was in fact the brother-in-law of Kumāragiri, being the husband of Mallāmbīkā, daughter of Pota Reddy.[2] "Kāṭayavema was a powerful personality and Kumāragiri being aware of his power appointed him as minister and gave him Rajahmundry portion for the help rendered by him in establishing peace and order in his kingdom." [3]

It is natural that a minister and literateur of Kāṭayavema's reputation should study and quote from a work like the *Varadarājīya* which had attained some reputation as a work on Vyavahāra in his

(*Continued from previous page*)

repeated such unverified statement." (J. D. Mayne - *Hindu Law and Usage*, 1922, p. 28 ; J. Jolly *Hindu Law and Custom*, 1928, p. 86 ; West and Bühler - *Digest of Hindu Law*, 1919, p. 51.). The above references have been recorded here from Rao Bahadur Aiyangar's Preliminary Note for the guidance of those who want to go into the question of Varadarāja's date in detail.

1. Vide *Madras Triennial Cata.* 1910 - 1913 Vo. I. Part I. pp. 402 ff. Here in describing a Ms of Kāṭayavema's Commentary on the Śākuntala the compilers of the Catalogue observe " Kāṭaya Vemabhūpati, son of Kāṭayabhūpati by his wife Doddamba, who was the daughter of Vemabhūpati. The commentary was named after the author's wife's brother, Kumāragirirāja, who was the son of Annapota, son of the above-said Vemabhūpati and under whom the author served as a minister. This king is called Vasantarāja and ruled over Kumāragiri. He is said to have conquered a number of hill-forts whose names are given in a stanza in the extracts. The author belongs to the Reddi caste (Śudra) and appears to have lived about the close of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century. The stanzas giving the author's genealogy given in the extracts below do not seem to be contained in the MSS described in the India Office Library Catalogue and the Tanjore Palace Library Catalogue. "

2. Vide *Pathak Commemoration Volume* B. O. R. Institute, 1934 pp. 401 - 407. Article on Vasantarājīya by N. Venkatarao.

3. Ibid, p. 404.

time. Accordingly we find him in his commentary[1] on the *Vikramorvaśīya* mentioning this work and quoting from it as follows :—

" तथा च उक्तम् वरदराजीये राजधर्मेषु —

' दिवसस्याष्टमं भागं मुक्त्वा भागत्रयं च यत् ।
स कालो व्यवहाराणां शास्त्रदृष्टः परः स्मृतः
दिवसमष्टभागं कृत्वा प्रथमभागमग्निहोत्रार्थं ब्राह्मणतर्पणार्थं
च मुक्त्वा अनन्तरं भागत्रयं व्यवहारकाल ' इति "

If the above passage could be identified in the text of the Vyavahāranirṇaya (or Varadarājīya) that is now extant we can definitely say that Kāṭayavema is quoting from the Varadarājīya, the importance of which has been pointed out by Rao Bahadur Rangaswamy Aiyangar and which he is editing by instalments in the Brahmavidyā journal. Luckily for us the passage quoted by Kāṭayavema can be found on p. 4 of the portion of the text published in the Brahmavidyā Journal (issue for October 1937) and reads as follows :—

(व्यवहारपरिकरकाण्डम्)

" दिवसस्याष्टमं भागं मुक्त्वा कालत्रयं तु यत्
स कालो व्यवहाराणाम् शास्त्रदृष्टः परः स्मृतः

1. दिवसमष्टधा कृत्वा प्रथममग्निहोत्रार्थं ब्राह्मणतृप्त्यर्थं च मुक्त्वा अनन्तरं भागत्रयं व्यवहारकाल इति "

(Variants — 1. दिवसमष्टभागं कृत्वा प्रथमभागं अग्निहोत्रार्थं ब्राह्मणतृप्त्यर्थं मुक्त्वा – क MS).

2. धर्मं उक्त्वा – च MS ; ब्राह्मणसन्तर्पणानन्तरं च कृत्वा – छ MS).

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1. Vide p. 23 of *Vikramorvaśīya* edited with Kāṭayavema's commentary by Prof. Chārudeva Shastri, Lahore, 1929. Besides his commentaries on the three dramas of Kālidāsa Kāṭayavema commented on the Amaruśataka. A Ms of this commentary is available in the D. A. V. College Library, Lahore. On p. 5 of the edition of the commentary of Kāṭayavema on Vikramorvaśīya we find Kāṭayavema referring to his commentary on the Śākuntala " उक्तं शाकुन्तलव्याख्याने । ". Kāṭayavema dedicates his commentary to his patron Kumāragiri by calling it " Vasantarājīya. " Vasantarāja was the popular name of Kumāragiri on account of his love for Vasanta festivals. A merchant by name Avachi Tippaya Setti had the monopoly of supplying all the articles necessary for the Vasanta festivals of Kumāragiri (Vide p. 57 of Sources of Vijayanagara History, 1919, by S. K. Aiyangar).

The foregoing extract together with its variants shows the identity of Kāṭayavema's quotation with the passage as found in the extant text of the Varadarājīyam and hence the date of Kāṭayavema gives us a definite limit to the date of the Varadarājīyam, the subject of this paper.

Now the date of Kāṭayavema has already been fixed by scholars because it is dependent on and associated with the date of his patron King Kumāragiri alias Vasantarāja. The Reḍḍi King Ana Pota died in A. D. 1366 and his son Kumāragiri, being a minor, the kingdom passed to Ana Vema, who was also known as Dharma Vema. Anavema reigned till 1383 and was succeeded by Kumāragiri, who reigned for a short period. Kumāragiri was a contemporary of Harihararāya of Vizianagar dynasty. Of the three Harihararāyas, Harihara II, who ruled from 1377-1404 A. D., seems to be the contemporary of Kumāragiri. Pandit Prabhakar Sastri assigns Kumāragiri a period of nearly nine years from 1391-1400 A. D. while the late Rao Bahadur K Veeresalingam Pantulu states in his Lives of Poets (Vol. I - revised 1917, p 430) that Kumāragiri reigned from 1383 to 1400. Dr. N Venkatarao from whose article we have taken the foregoing information states that Kumāragiri lived between 13,5 and 1400 and that he reigned for a period of 7 years.

As Kumāragiri's date is confined to the last quarter of the 14th century and as Kāṭayavema was his minister, we can safely say that Kāṭayavema flourished about 1385 A. D. We have also seen that Kāṭayavema has quoted from the Vyavahāranirṇaya and mentioned it by its popular title *Varadarājīya*. This quotation has further been identified by us in the extant text of the Varadarājīya, thus proving the genuineness of the quotation. It would, therefore, be reasonable to conclude that the Varadarājīya had become an authoritative work in Kāṭyavema's time (i. e. 1385 A. D.). If this position is accepted we can definitely fix A.D. 1350 as a new later limit for the date of Varadarājīya, the earlier limit being A. D. 1100 as fixed by Rao Bahadur Aiyangar on the strength of the reference to Mitākṣarā in the Varadarājīya. It will thus be seen that the present paper pushes back the date of the Varadarājīya from A. D. 1500 to about 1350 A. D. a period of about 150 years. The new limits for this date, would, therefore, be 1100 to 1350 A. D. and not 1100 to 1500 as fixed by Rao Bahadur Aiyangar.

In view of Kāṭayavema's reference to the Varadarājīya the view of Prof. P. V. Kane about the date of the Varadarājīya becomes untenable. According to this view as stated by Rao Bahadur Aiyangar, Pro. P. V. Kane would place Varadarāja between 1450 and

1500 A. D. for the reason that Varadarāja is not referred to in the Mādhavīya and Smṛticandrikā. Rao Bahadur Aiyangar has already expressed his suspicion about the argument of silence on which Prof. Kane has based his view. The present paper not only fully justifies this attitude of Rao Bahadur Aiyangar but also establishes new limits for the date of Varadarāja viz. A. D. 1100-1350.

In the present paper I have relied for the date of Kāṭayavema on the studies of other scholars. It would, however, be useful to conclude this paper by recording some epigraphic references to Kāṭayavema in support of the dates assigned to him already.

The inscriptional references to Kāṭayavema and his family as recorded by Mr. Rangacharya in his *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*[1] are as follows :—

(1) A grant[2] of Kāṭayavema of Rajahmundry dated Śaka 1333 (= A. D. 1411) Khara, Kārttika Paurṇami. This grant was made by Kāṭayavema, the minister of Kumāragiri of Koṇḍavidu who received from his master the eastern country of Rajahmundry for his distinguished services. The genealogies of both Kumāragiri and Kāṭayavema are given and the inscription is thus of great value in connecting the two Reḍḍi lines. The object of the grant was the village of Mallāvaram (named after his wife Mallāmbikā, who was sister of Kumāragiri). (The genealogies are the same as in Kāṭayavema's commentary on the Śākuntala called Kumāragirirājīyam) See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, pp. 318-27 where Mr. Ramayya Pantulu edits the inscription.

(*2*) Record[3] dated Śaka 1332 (= A. D. 1410) containing the gift of a village by Kāṭama-Reḍḍi Vema Reḍḍi.

The names of the wives of Kāṭama Reḍḍi viz. Tallasānammangāru and Mallasānammangāru are registered. The record says that Kāṭama had also a son named Kumāragiri, who is called a reincarnation of the earlier Kumāragiri.

(3) A record dated Śaka 1308 (= A. D. 1386) containing a gift of gold by the Reḍḍi King Kāṭamareḍḍi Vemireḍḍi for providing

1. A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency by V. Rangacharya in 3 vols.

2. Ibid, Vol. II 1919, pp. 713-714.

3. Ibid, pp. 975-6.

the temple at Simhāchalam with garlands for the merit of Kāṭama-reḍḍi and his wife Doddāsāni.

(4) A record of the time of Reḍḍi King Vīrabhadra (of the Rajahmundry branch) by the King who was the son of Allāḍa, son-in-law of Kāṭaya-Vema and husband of Anitalli.

The foregoing epigraphic references to Kāṭayavema ranging from A. D. 1386 to A. D. 1411, covering a period of his life in which he attained some power and celebrity, leave no doubt about his date arrived at by other scholars and referred to by me already in this paper. In view of these epigraphic references the later limit of A. D. 1350 fixed by me for the date of the *Varadarājīya*, which is quoted by Kāṭayavema, stands amply confirmed.

52. The Commentary of Caturbhuja Miśra of Kāmpilya on the Amaruśataka and its Chronology — Between A. D. 1300 and 1600 ‡

Aufrecht[1] records a few MSS of a commentary on the *Amaruśataka* called the *Bhāvacintāmaṇi* by Caturbhuja Miśra. Two[2] of these MSS belong to the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. As the chronology of this commentary has not been studied by any scholar I propose to analyse these two MSS available to me and record some data which may enable me to fix some limits for the date of this commentary.

The commentator bows to god Hari at the commencement of the commentary.[3] In the concluding verse[4] he gives us the place of his residence *viz.*, "कांपिल्य" which needs to be identified.

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‡ *Adyar Library Bulletin* (1943), Vol. VII, pp. 69–74.

1. *CC I*, 28— " Oudh, 1877, 16. "

CC II, 5— " Rgb 321 " = *No. 321 of 1884-87* (B. O. R. Institute).

CC III, 7 — " Bd. 365 " = *No. 365 of 1887-91* (B. O. R. I.) — Out of the *three* MSS recorded by Aufrecht *two* belong to the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

2. These are :—*No. 321 of 1884-87* and *No. 365 of 1887-91*. These MSS have been described by me on pp. 24-26 of my *Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Vol. XIII, Part I (B. O. R. I.), 1940.

3. *MS No. 321 of 1884-87 begins* :—" श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।

एकं चुंबति यो पयोधररसं गृह्णाति संश्लिष्यति
प्रायोन्यामपरां प्रसादयति यः संप्रेक्ष्यते यं मुहुः ।
कस्याश्चिच्च कुचग्रहं प्रकुरुते संसेवते योनिशं
शृंगारंत्विति तं नमामि सततं गोपालबालं हरिं ॥ १ ॥"

4. *Ibid*, folio 42. This verse reads as follows :—

" कांपिल्ये स्वर्धुनीनीरपूरतीरनरस्थिते ।
चतुर्भुजेन वसता भावचिन्तामणिः कृतः ॥ "

During the course of his commentary Caturbhuja Miśra (= *CM*) points out several *Alaṁkāras* contained in the *Amaruśataka* stanzas. Some of them are :

अनुप्रास — fol. 2.
उपमा — fol. 2, 16, 26.
दीपक — fol. 2, 26, 42.
अनुशयाक्षेप — fol. 2.
अनुमान — fol. 4.
सहोक्ति — fol. 5, 12, 17, 21, 41.
परिवृत्ति — fol. 6.
विशेषोक्ति — fol. 6.
अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा — fol. 7, 18, 31, 33, 36, 42.
स्वभावोक्ति — fol. 8.
जाति — fol. 8, 18, 27, 34, 38, 41.
विशेषोक्ति — fol. 9, 16.
भ्रांतिमान् — fol. 9, 21.
विषम — fol. 10, 15, 23, 31, 35.
समुच्चय — fol. 10, 29, 30, 41.
विशेष — fol. 10, 20.
विभावना — fol. 11, 12, 32, 37.
सूक्ष्म — fol. 11.
समाधि — fol. 13.
पिहितम् — fol. 13.
" मध्यांतदीपकालंकारौ " — fol. 15.
असंगति — fol. 17.
आक्षेप — fol. 17, 35, 39.
अवसर — fol. 18.
लेश — fol. 19.
स्वभावाख्यानं — fol. 19, 24.
व्याजोक्ति — fol. 23, 30, 35.
यत्नाक्षेप — fol. 23.
परिकर — fol. 25.
समम् — fol. 25.
तद्गुण — fol. 26.
पर्यायोक्त — fol. 27, 39.
यथासंख्यम् — fol. 29.
" चतुराविरोध " — fol. 31.
प्रश्नोत्तरम् — fol. 32.
सामान्योक्ति — fol. 33.
स्वभावन् — fol. 33.
कर्तृदीपम् — fol. 37.
उपदेशाक्षेप — fol. 40.
उत्प्रेक्षा — fol. 40.

While pointing out some of the above *Alaṁkāras CM* quotes their definitions such as :—

Fol. 4 — " यत्र बलीयः कारणमालोक्याभूतमेव भूतमिति ।
भावीति वा तथान्यत्कथ्यते तदप्यनुमानं ।। "

Fol. 8 — " स्वभावोक्तिस्तु डिंभादेः स्वक्रियारूपवर्णनं । "

Fol. 10 — " कर्तुः क्रियाफलावाप्तिर्नैवानर्थः कश्चिद्भवेत् । स विषमः"

,, " तत्सिद्धिहेतावेकस्मिन् यत्रान्यस्तत्करं भवेत् समुच्चयोसौ "

Fol. 11 — " क्रियायाः प्रतिषेधेपि फलव्यक्तिर्विभावना "

,, " इंगिताकारलक्ष्योर्थः सौक्ष्म्या सूक्ष्म इति स्मृतः "

Fol. 13 — " समाधिः सुकरं कार्यं कारणांतरयोगतः "

„ — " यत्रापि प्रबलतया गुणः समानाधिकरणमसमानं ।
अर्थांतरं विदध्यादाविर्भूतं च तत्पिहितं ॥ "

I desist from quoting other definitions for want of space. The commentary quotes from earlier works and authors noted below :—

अमरः — fol. 3, 6, 11, 14, 21, 22, 23, 31, 32, 36, 37, 41, 42.

हलायुधः —fol. 4.

विश्वः — fol. 7, 20, 23, 33, 34, 38.

संगीते[1] — fol. 22.

The lexicon विश्व quoted by *CM* was composed in A. D. 1111.

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1. This extract reads as follows on Folio 22 of MS *No. 321 of 1884-87* (See also folio 28 of MS *No. 365 of 1887-91*).

दृष्टिलक्षणानि संगीते यथा —

1 — ' सत्त्वमुद्रिरतीदृष्टिर्दृष्टाविकसितास्थिरा ।
2 — मुहुश्चला स्थिरापार्श्वविलोकनी बहिरन्मुखी ॥
3 — गूढावलोकनी शीघ्रनिवृत्ता च विलोकनात् ।
4 — शंकायां शकिता दृष्टिस्ताभिशंकसूरिणा ॥
5 — मध्या निर्गमनोद्युक्ता भाति विस्फारितौ पुटौ ।
6 — तारके चंचले यस्याः सा स्याद्दृष्टिर्भयान्विता ॥
7 — चकितद्विपुटस्निग्धतारकात्यंतलोहिता ।
8 — रूक्षा भृकुटि भीमोग्रा रौद्रा दृष्टिरुदाहृता ॥
9 — स्थिरोवृत्तपुटां रूक्षां किंचित्तरलतारका ।
10 — भृकुटी कुटिलां दृष्टिं क्रुद्धां ब्रूते हरप्रियः ॥
11 — अथवा सापराधेपि भर्त्तर्य्येवं मानं त्यजन्ति, etc.

In Chapter VIII of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Kāvyamālā No. 42, 1894), p. 89 we find the subject of दृष्टिलक्षणानि dealt with in detail. Compare lines 1, 8 and 10 in the above extract with the following lines in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (p. 89) :—

" सत्त्वमुद्रिरती दृप्ता दृष्टिरुत्साहसंभवा ॥ ५७ ॥ "
" रूक्षा स्थिरोद्गतपुटा निष्टब्धोद्वृत्ततारका ।
कुटिलभृकुटिर्दृष्टिः क्रुद्धा क्रोधेऽभिधीयते ॥ ५६ ॥ "

The work on संगीत quoted by *CM* has evidently drawn its material from the above Section of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

while हलायुध quoted on folio 4 is the author of the lexicon अभिधान-रत्नमाला composed about 950 A. D.[1]

I have pointed out elesewhere[2] that Arjunavarmadeva, whose dates are A. D. 1211 - 1215, quotes the following stanza from the *Āryā-Saptaśatī* in his commentary on the *Amaruśataka* [Vide *Page 12* of Kāvyamālā No. 18 (*Amaruśataka*)] :—

" यदुक्तं गोवर्धनाचार्येण —

अन्यमुखे दुर्वादो यः प्रियवदने स एव परिहासः ।
इतरेन्धनजन्मा यो धूमः सोऽगुरुसमुद्भवो धूपः ॥ "

As Govardhanācārya was a contemporary of Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītagovinda*, who was a court-poet at the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (A. D. 1185-1206) Arjunavarmadeva was practically a junior contemporary of Govardhanācārya. Consequently the two contemporaries may be said to belong to the period A. D. 1150-1220. Arjunavarmadeva quotes the above verse of Govardhanācārya in his comment on stanza 8 of the *Amaruśataka*. This very verse is quoted by *CM* in his *Bhāvacintāmaṇi* on this stanza. *CM*, however, does not mention Govardhanācārya. He merely quotes the verse as follows on folio 5 of *MS No. 321 of 1884-87* :—

" यदुक्तं । अन्यमुखे.........सोगुरुमयोधूप इति "

It appears from the above quotation that *CM* had before him Arjunavarmadeva's commentary on the *Amaruśataka*.

The foregoing evidence may warrant an inference that *CM* composed his commentary *Bhāvacintāmaṇi* after c. A.D. 1250. The later limit to the date of this commentary is furnished by the date Saṁvat 1726 (= A. D. 1670)[3] of a MS of this commentary at the

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1. Vide p. 414 of Keith : *Sanskrit Literature*, 1928.

2. Vide my paper on "A New Approach to the Date of Jayadeva" etc. (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh*, 1944, pp. 171–175.)

3. The Colophon of the MS reads as follows :—

" कांपिल्ये स्वर्धुनीनीरपूरतीरनरस्थिते ।
चतुर्भुजेन वसता भावचिंतामणिः कृतः ॥ १ ॥

(*Continued on next page*)

B. O. R. Institute *viz. No. 365 of 1887-91.* This MS also contains the stanza from the *Āryāsaptaśatī* referred to above. It occurs on folio 6 of this MS. We are thus in a position to fix the limits for the date of the commentary of *CM* between about A. D. 1250 and 1600.

Kāmpilya mentioned by *CM* as his native place is possibly identical with *Kampil* 28 miles north-east of Fattegad in the Farrakhabad district of the United Provinces. It is situated on the old Ganges[1] between Budaon and Farrakhabad as stated by Nandolal Dey (p. 88 of *Geogr. Dictionary*, 1927).

There is a town in the Hospet *taluk* of the Bellary District called *Kāmpli* on the bank of Tungabhadrā river.[2] I cannot say if this town has any connection with कांपिल्य, the native place of Caturbhuja Miśra.

The editor of the *Amaruśataka* mentions five commentators[3] of this poem but this number does not contain the name of *CM*, the author of the *Bhāvacintāmaṇi*.

It remains to be seen if any commentators of the *Amaruśataka*, posterior to *CM*, refer to him in their commentaries.

(*Continued from previous page*)

अमरुक कविना रचितं शृंगारशतं यथामति मयैतत् ।
व्याख्यातं भो रसिका आस्यां वुविवृद्धये भवतां ॥ २ ॥
अमरुकशतकस्येयं टीका संशोध्यतां बुधैः ।
परोपकारकरणशुद्धांतकरणाहितं ॥ ३ ॥
....................सं १७२६ सावणसु १ ....॥ "

1. The expression " स्वर्धुनीनीरपूरतीरनरस्थिते " as applied to कांपिल्य by *CM* supports the identification of कांपिल्य with *Kampil* on the old Ganges स्वर्धुनी = स्वर्गङ्गा.

2. Vide p. 721 of *Indian Companion* by G. H. Khandekar, Sept. 1884 (Law Printing Press, Poona).

3. Vide p. 2 of Intro, to *Kāvyamālā 18* (*Amaruśataka*) — The Commentators mentioned are :— (1) अर्जुनवर्मदेव, (2) वेमभूपाल, (3) रुद्रमदेव, (4) रविचन्द्र, (5) सूर्यदास and (6) शेषरामकृष्ण — Aufrecht mentions a few more as follows :

CC I, p. 28 — कोकसंभव, ज्ञानानंद कलाधरसेन, नंदलाल, रामरुद्र, शंकराचार्य, हरिहरभट्ट.

CC II, p. 5 — देवशंकरभट्ट, वीरनारायणभूपाल, रुद्रमदेव.

There are some anonymous commentaries mentioned by Aufrecht.

53. Date of the Rājavinoda of Udayarāja, a Hindu Court-poet of Mahamūda Begaḍā — Between A. D. 1458 and 1469 ‡

Dr. Bühler acquired for the Government of Bombay in 1875 a MS[1] of a work called the *Rājavinoda* dealing with the life of Sultan Mahamud Begadhā[2] of Ahmedabad which he calls " quite a

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‡ *Journal of the University of Bombay*, 1940, Vol. X, Part 2, pages 101–115.

1. This MS is *No. 18 of 1874-75* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

2. *Vide* Commissariat: *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I (1938) p. 130– Begadā was born in A.D. 1445. He was named Fateh Khan. He was Sultan of Gujarat for 53 years (1458-1511). I note below the dates of some incidents of his reign as given by Commissariat :—

A.D. 1467-70 — Junagadh War.
,, 1472 — Invasion of Cutch and Sind.
,, 1473 — Dwarka taken : its temple destroyed.
,, 1479 — Foundation of Mahamudabad on the Vatrak.
— Conquest of Ranpur.
,, 1465 — Mahmud sent his army to the northern Konkan to capture the forts of Bahrot and Parner and the seaport of Daman.
— Mahmud's General Alp Khan destroys Parsi Colony of Sanjan (either about 1465 or later in 1491 A.D.).
,, 1482–84 — Champaner War — Mahmud invests Pavagadh for 20 months.
,, 1484 (November) — Mahmud takes Pavagadh by storm.

(*Continued on next page*)

literary curiosity" in his short description of the MS as found in his *Report on Sanskrit MSS* (*1874-75*).[1] As this description does not do any justice to this rare poem by a Hindu court-poet of the celebrated Sultan Begaḍā, I propose to analyse the only MS of it acquired by Bühler with a view to making its contents accessible to the students of the history of Gujarat in general and of the Sultans of Gujarat in particular.

(*Continued from previous page*)

„ 1491-94 — Incursions of Bahadur Gilani of the Bahamani kingdom on the Gujarat Coast — Gilani defeated and slain.

„ 1508 — Mahmud installs his candidate on the throne of Khandesh.

„ 1508-9 — Naval conflict at Chaul and Div with the Portuguese.

„ 1511 (23rd November) — Mahmud died in his 67th year. A little before his death Mahmud received presents from the Delhi Sovereign (p. 207).

1. As this historical poem has not been published by any scholar interested in the history of Gujarat, Dr. Bühler's note on it written 64 years ago has become almost historical and is well worth reproducing here :—

" *No. 18* — The *Rājavinoda* ' The Amusement of the King ' or *jarabakshapātaśāhi* — *Śrī Mahamuda-Suratrāṇa Caritra* " The Life of Sultan Mahmud " (Begadhā of Ahmedabad) by Udayarāja is quite a literary curiosity. The author who declares himself to be the son of Prayāgadāsa and the pupil of Rāmadāsa celebrates Mahmud popularly reported to have been the most violent persecutor of Hindus and Hinduism as if he were an orthodox Hindu King. He calls him the crest jewel of the royal race (*Rājanya Cūḍāmaṇi*) as if he were a Kṣatriya and he asserts that Śrī and Sarasvatī attend on his footsteps, that he surpasses Karṇa in liberality, and that his ancestor *Muzaffar Khan assisted Kṛṣṇa against Kali.* The Carita is divided into seven sargas. *The first* (ślokas 29) entitled " Surendra's and Sarasvatī's Colloquy " (Surendra-Sarasvatī-Saṁvāda) is introductory and relates how Brahmā sent Indra to look after Sarasvatī and found her in the halls

(*Continued on next page*)

The MS of the *Rājāvinoda* (No. 18 of 1874-75) consists of 28 folios (each folio being 10 inches × 4½ inches in size and each page containing 8 lines, with about 31 letters to a line). It begins as follows :—

" ॥ ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥ श्रीजगत्कर्त्रे नमः ॥

जगत्कर्त्ता विजयते करुणावरुणालयः ।
राजरूपेण रमते यः प्रजानुग्रहेच्छया ॥ १ ॥

राजन्यचूडामणि मत्युदारमाशास्महे श्रीमहमूदसाहिं ।
कलानिधेर्यस्य पदं श्रयेते सरस्वती श्रीश्च समानमेव ॥ २ ॥

एतच्चरित्रे क्व लभेत पारं पदेपदे हंत मतिःस्खलंती ।
उदारकीर्त्तेर्महमूदसाहेस्तावद्गुणानेव गुरूकरोमि ॥ ३ ॥

अमुष्य राज्ञां परमेश्वरस्य पूजोपहाराय मयोपनीतः ।
कवित्वपुष्पांजलिरेष रम्यः संतस्तदामोदभरं भजंतु ॥ ४ ॥

उत्कर्षमालक्ष्य सदैव लक्ष्म्याः सौभाग्यलाभान्महमूदसाहेः ॥
उत्संगमुत्सृज्य पितामहस्य सरस्वती क्ष्मावलयं प्रपन्ना ॥ ५ ॥"

The first *Sarga* ends as follows :—

" श्रीमान् साहिमुदप्फरः समजनि श्रीगूर्ज्जरक्ष्मापति-
स्तस्मात्साहिमहंमदस्संमभवत्साहिस्ततोऽहंमदः ।
जातः साहिमहंमदोऽस्य तनुजो गायासदीनाख्यया
ख्यातः श्रीमहमूदसाहिनृपतिर्जीयात्तदीयात्मजः ॥ २९ ॥

(*Continued from previous page*)

of Mahmud Shah and how she sang the praises of Mahmud. *The second* (vaṁśānukīrtana — ślokas 31) gives the genealogy of Mahmud beginning with Muzaffar Khan. The statements made appear to be historically correct. *The third* (sabhāsamāgama – ślokas 33) describes Mahmud's entry into the Darbar hall. *The fourth* (sarvāvasara – ślokas 33) relates what princes and people were received in the Darbar. *The fifth* (saṁgītaraṅga–prasaṅga — ślokas 35) describes a Nāch given by the Sultan. *The sixth* (Vijayayātrotsava — ślokas 36) and the Seventh (Vijayalakṣmīlābha – ślokas 37) are devoted to a rhapsodic description of Mahmud's warlike exploits. The frequent allusions to the Pādishah's liberality make it probable that the author either had received or hoped to receive Dakṣiṇā from him. "

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजजरबक्सपातसाहश्रीमहमूद्सुरत्राणचरित्रे राजविनोदे महाकाव्ये सुरेन्द्रसरस्वतीसंवादो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥ श्रीः ॥ "

The above verse giving the genealogy of the Sultans of Gujarat in four lines is found recorded before the Colophons of each of the 7 *sargas* of this poem. I shall now compare this genealogy with the genealogy recorded in the Dohad Stone Inscription of Mahamūd (Begaḍā), dated V. S. 1545, Śaka 1410 (= A. D. 1488), recently edited by Dr. H. D. Sankalia.[1]

Rājavinoda (Between A. D. 1458-1511 A. D.)	*Dohad Inscription* A. D. 1488
(1) साहि मुदप्फर (A. D. 1392 - 1410)	(1) शाहि मुदाफर
(2) साहि महंमद्, *son* of No. 1 (तस्मात् समभवत्)	(2) महंमद्, *son* of No. 1 (तत्पुत्रः)
(3) साहि अहंमदः (A. D. 1411 - 1442) after him (ततः)	(3) अहंमद्, in his family (तस्यान्वये प्रसूतः)
(4) साहि महंमद्, *son* of No. 3 (अस्य तनुजः जातः) — (A. D. 1442-1451)	(4) साह महम्मद्, *son* of No. 3 (तस्मादभूत्)
(5) महमूद्साहि, son of No. 4 (तदायात्मजः) — (A. D. 1458-1511)	(5) साह महमूद् in his family (अन्वये जातः)

It would be seen from the above comparison that the two genealogies agree so far as four generations are concerned. There appears to be some disagreement with regard to महमूद (Begaḍā) who is described as तदीयात्मजः with reference to his predecessor महंमद in the *Rājavinoda* while in the Dohad Inscription we are told that महमूद (Begaḍā) was born in his family (जातः अन्वये), *i. e.*, of साह महम्मद, his predecessor. Students interested in this genealogy may examine both these genealogies more closely and see how

1. *Epi. Indica*, Vol. XXIV, Part V, Jan. 1938, pp. 212 ff.

far they could be reconciled with the genealogy of these Sultans given by the Muslim historians.[1]

In the Dohad inscription (verse 7) the title ग्यास (दीन) appears to have been applied to महमूद (Begaḍā), but this impression cannot be supported by the text of the verse in its proper grammatical sequence according to which the two lines could be read in prose order as follows :—" श्रीग्यास (दीन) प्रभोः अन्वये साह श्रीमहमूद्वीरनृपतिः (विख्यातः उदारचरितः वीर्यवान्) जातः." Similarly the prose order of the last 2 lines of verse 29 of Canto I of the *Rājavinoda* would read as follows :—

" अस्य (= अहंमदस्य) तनुजः साहिमहंमदः जातः, गायासदीनाख्यया ख्यातः, तदीयात्मजः श्री महमूद्साहिनृपतिर्जीयात् "

According to this prose order the epithet गायासदीन[2] (= The Aid of the Faith) becomes applicable to महंमद and not to महमूद (Begaḍā). The following verse of the *Rājavinoda* further supports my interpretation :—

Foliio 6a — " आनंदनः सुमनसामथ नंदनोऽभू-
द्भाग्यश्रियां निधिरहंमदपातसाहेः ।
गायासदीन इति साहिमहंमदेन्द्रः
क्षोणिभुजां मुकुटघृष्टपदारविंदः ॥ १४ ॥ "

In this verse साहि महंमद is called गायासदीन in a clear manner. Again on folio 6, verse 20 clearly states that महमूद (Begaḍā) was the son of महंमद :—

" तस्यात्मजः किल महंमदपातसाहेः । श्रीमानयं विजयते महमूद्साहिः etc."

I shall now record all references to places and persons mentioned in the *Rājavīnoda* to enable scholars to study the historical

1. See *Epi. Indica*, Jan. 1938, p. 214 — Dr. Sankalia has recorded the following genealogy based on Muslim Sources :—

(1) *Muzaffar Shāh* (Muzaffar I), (2) *Ahmad Shāh* (Ahmad), (3) his son, *Muhammad Shāh* (Muhammad), (4) his son *Kutub-ud-din* (Quṭ b-ud-din Ahmad Shah), (5) *Daud* (Dā'ūd) and (6) *Mahmūd* (Mahmūd I), second son of Muhammad Shāh.

2. *Vide* Dr. Sankalia's remarks on this epithet in *Epi. Indica* Jan. 1938, p. 216.

material in the poem more closely. These references are as follows :—

अंगाधिपः, Fol. 12.

अल्पषा (खा) न,[1] Fol. 5.

अहंमद (साहि), 4, 8, 11.

(Ahmad invaded Malwa in A. D. 1419 and compelled Hūshang to take refuge in Māṇḍu fort).

अहंमदेन्द्र, 6, 5, 28, 15, 19, 22.

अहंमद पातसाहेः, 6.

(Ahmad invaded Malwa again in A. D. 1422 when Hūshang had gone to raid Orissa but could not capture Māṇḍu fort.)

इन्द्रप्रस्थ, 5

उदयराज, the author of राजविनोद महाकाव्य, 28.

कछमहीपु, 5.

कन्यकुब्जः, 14.

कर्णाटकः, 12.

कर्णाटकीटाः, 26.

कर्णाटलाटादयः, 26.

कलिंगनाथः. 12.

कामरूप (देशपतिः), 13.

काश्मीरमंडलपतिः, 14.

कुंभकर्ण, 13.

(Rana Kumbha of Mewar is here described as serving महमूद (Begaḍā). Kumbha was defeated by महंमद earlier).

गायासदीन, 4, 6, 15, 19, 22, 28, (महंमदेन्द्र), 8, 11,

गूर्जरक्ष्मा, 6, 27,

गूर्जरक्ष्मापति, 28, 12, 15, 19, 22, 4, 8, 11.

गूर्जरपातसाहेः, 4.

गूर्जरवीर, 19.

गूज्जरदेश, 5.

गौडचूडामणिः, 26.

गौडेश्वरः, 26.

जरबक्सपातसाह, (an epithet of Mahamud Begaḍā) 4, 8, 11, 15, 19, 28, 22.

त्रिलिंगसुभटाः. 12.

दक्षिणनृप, 26, 13.

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1. Verse 5 of *Sarga* II refers to the confinement and release of one अल्पषान (= अल्पखान) by मुदफ्फर (A.D. 1392-1410) as follows :—

" मुमोच बंदीकृतमल्पषानमनल्पवीर्यं बलवत्तरो यः ।
वंशास्ततो मालवराजबंदिमोक्षं पदाख्यं विरुदं वहन्ति ॥ ५॥ "

अल्पखान of the above verse appears to be the same as Hushang Shāh of Malwa whose confinement and reinstallation is referred to in *Bombay Gazetteer* (History of Gujarat), Vol. I, Pt. I, (1896), pp. 234–235. About A.D. 1408 *Alp Khan*, son of Dilāwar Khan of Malwa poisoned his father and ascended the throne with the title Sultan Hushang Ghori. Muzaffar I invaded Hushang and besieged Dhar. Hushang was captured and given in charge of Shams Khan. Hushang remained one year in confinement. He was released and reinstalled by Muzaffar about A.D. 1409.

1. Mahamūda is called पातसाह in the following colophon of *A.D. 1460* : — " संवत् १५१६ वर्षे १५ रवौ मृगशीर्षनक्षत्रेऽद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपुरपत्तनेपात० श्री महंमूदविजयराज्ये पं० मुनितिलकगणि — पं. उदयसारगणिभ्यां शोधितमिदं परं तथापि विद्वद्भिः शोध्यं " (*Vide* p. 361 of ***Patan Mss Catalogue***, Vol. I, Baroda, 1937).

The *Rājavinoda* ends as follows :—

Folio 27–28 —

" एतत्ते महमुद्साहचरितं लोकोत्तरं सर्वतः
कीर्तिस्तंभमिषादुदंचितभुजा व्याख्याति पृथ्वी स्वयं ॥ ३१ ॥

असमसमरकेली संगमायासभाजां
क्षितिप तव भटानां भग्ननानारिपूणां ।
मलयमरुदिदानीं चंदनामोदवादी
प्रियसुहृदिव मृद्नात्यंगमालिंग्य खेदं ॥ ३२ ॥

स्फुरति विरहभाजां दुःसहोऽयं वसंत-
स्तरुणजनमनंगो बाणलक्षीकरोति ।
इति हि परभृतानां वाक्कुहूकारगर्भा
त्वरयति नृपपांथान्प्रेयसीसंगमार्थं ॥ ३३ ॥

कनकशिखरवद्भिर्मञ्जरीपुञ्जितास्तै-
र्नवकिशलयसंगाकृष्टकौशेयशोभैः ।
प्रतिदिशमुपचिन्वन् गूर्जरक्ष्मापलक्ष्मीं
रचयति सहकारैस्तोरणानीव चैत्रः ॥ ३४ ॥

घनतरमकरंदैः स्नापितापल्लवौघैः
कलितललितवासाः प्रोल्लसद्दिङ्मुखश्रीः ।
स्फुटकुसुमपरागैः सांद्रकाश्मीररागै-
र्नृप तव ऋतुलक्ष्म्यालंकृता गूर्जरक्ष्मा ॥ ३५ ॥

अपि बहुतर दूरादुत्सवं लोचनानां
वरणशिखररूढैः केतनैर्वर्द्धयंती ।
नृपतुरगरयेण प्रापितासंन्नदेशा-
जनयति मुदमुच्चत्तोरणा राजधानी ॥ ३६ ॥

एनां प्रविश्य नगरीं परमर्द्धिपूर्णा
द्वारावतीमिव रमारमणः प्रकामं ।
नानाविधान्यधिवसन्मणिमंदिराणि
राजन् रमस्व तरुणीभिरुदारमूर्त्ते ॥ ३७ ॥

संभाविता करपरिग्रहणेन सम्यक्-
सौभाग्यमेतु भवता नृपरत्नगर्भा ।
श्री पातसाहमहमूद पितेव पुत्रान्
प्रेम्णाधिकेन परिपालय भृत्यलोकान् ॥ ३८ ॥

एवं विधानि वचनानि कवीश्वराणां
कर्णामृतानि कलयन्नृपचक्रवर्ती ।
सौवर्णवृष्टिभिरधःकृतकर्णकीर्ती [1]
राज्यश्रियाभिमनया रमते प्रकामं ॥ ३९ ॥

श्री संगमेऽपि सुविवेकपुरस्कृतायाः
कीर्त्तिप्रशस्तिकरणादनृणीभवंत्यां ।
आज्ञावशेन व......सामधिदेवतायाः
काव्यं मया विरचितं महमूदसाहेः ॥ ४० ॥

प्रयागदासस्य तनूद्भवेन श्रीरामदासेन कृताभियोगः
व्यधत्त काव्यं महमूदसाहेः सदोदयायोदयराजनाम्ना ॥ ४१ ॥

............विभांति या वदन...यावच्चसप्तर्षयो
यावद्दीप्यति सप्तसप्तिरमल...यावच्चसप्त...र्यवाः ।
यावत्सप्तधराधरापुनरिमाः पुर्यश्च सप्तोत्तमाः
काव्यं श्रीमहमूदसाहिनृपतेस्तावज्जनैर्गीयताम् ॥ ४२ ॥

श्रीमान् साहिमुदफ्फरः समजनि श्रीगूर्ज्जरक्ष्मापति-
स्तस्मात्साहिमहंमदः समभवत्साहिस्ततोऽहंमदः ।
जातःसाहि महंमदोऽस्य तनुजो गयासदीनाख्यया
ख्यातः श्रीमहमूदसाहिनृपतिर्जीयात्तदीयात्मजः ॥ ४३ ॥

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1. Cf. Dohad Inscription verse 7 — "कर्ण्ण विक्रमभूपतिं च जितवान् शास्त्रार्थसारे गुरुः." Mahamud is also called "उदारचरित" and दातातिवी-(र्या) न्वित : (verse 8).

इति श्री महाराजाधिराज जरबक्सपातसाहि श्रीमहमूद् सुरत्राणचरित्रे राजविनोदे[1] श्रीमदुदयराजविरचिते[2] महाकाव्ये विजयलक्ष्मीलाभो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः ॥७॥ संपूर्णं चेदं काव्यं ॥ श्रीः ॥

वितरति सतां प्रसन्नः सहस्रमयुतं च लक्षमथकोटिं ।
महमूद्साहनृपतिः पूरयति प्रार्थनामेकः ॥ १ ॥

श्री रामेनात्मनपठनार्थमिदं पुस्तकमलेखि ॥"

I leave it to the experts in the field of the mediaeval history of Gujarat to identify the author of the present poem in contemporary records, Hindu or Muslim. Udayarāja appears to have been a court-poet of Mahamūd Begaḍā in view of this *mahākāvya* in praise of his patron in a rather lavish manner. It is remarkable that Sultan Mahamūd Begaḍā of notorious bigotry[3] should patornize Hindu pandits like Udayarāja. The *Rājavinoda* poem must have been composed when Mahamūd was in the hey-day of his political glory. Two broad limits for the date of this poem are A. D. 1458 and 1511 which cover up the entire period of 53 years of Mahamūd's reign. We must now try to narrow down these chronological limits on the strength of the dates of known conquests and exploits of Mahamūd. The territory of Malwa being on the borders of Gujarat, there are numerous references to it in the present poem. It would be useful for purposes of chronology if these references are examined as they are likely to yield useful chronological data for narrowing down the limits for the date of the *Rājavinoda viz.* A. D. 1458 and 1511.

The pitiful condition to which the King of Mālava was reduced

1. The title राजविनोद for the present poem is similar to the title रामविनोद composed by राम for Rāmadāsa, a former minister of Emperor Akbar in A.D. 1613-14 (*vide* p. 159 of *Bibliography of Mughal India* (1526-1707 A.D.) by Professor Sri Ram Sharma, K. P. House, Bombay, 1939).

2. *Ibid.* p. 95 — A writer of the name *Udairāj* is mentioned as a contributor to the collection of letters known as *Mujmu 'a-i-Munshiyāt* (MS in State Library, Rampur). He appears to be a later writer.

3. Mahamūd forced his tributary and obedient Chief Mandalak of Girnār to embrace Islam (*vide Humayūn Bādshāh* by Dr. S. K. Banerji, 1938, p. 112, and *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 305).

by Mahamūd Begaḍā is described in Sarga VII, verse 29 (folios 26-2/) :—

" त्यक्त्वा लुंठितदेशकोशविषयो द्राग्दुर्ग्रमानग्रहं
राजन् जीवितमात्रलाभमधुना कांक्षत्यसौ मालवः ॥ २९ ॥ "

Has this verse any reference to the military help given by Mahamūd against Mahamūd Khilji of Malwa in A. D. 1462 and 1463 when the latter attacked Nizam Shah, the King of the Deccan ?

Verses 10 and 11 of Canto IV (folio 13) refer to दक्षिणनृप as also मालवमंडेश :—

" वेषं विशेषरुचिरं दधतादरेण
हस्तारविंदसमुदंचितचामरेण ।
राजा विराजतितरां परिहृष्यमाणो
गोष्ठीषु दक्षिणनृपेन विचक्षणेन ॥ १० ॥

एतस्य चंडभुजदंडपराक्रमेण
निःशेषखंडितरणांगणशौंडभावः ।
सर्वस्वमेव निजजीवितरक्षणाय
दंडं समर्प्यति मालवमंडलेशः ॥ ११ ॥ "

The above verses describe the status of the दक्षिणनृप[1] and मालवमंडलेश at the court of Mahamuda Begaḍā. These verses form part of Canto IV which describes the princes and people received in Mahamud's Darbar.

(" राज्ञोऽस्य धरदत्तपदावकाशान्देशाधिपान्सदसि पश्य कृतप्रवेशान् " – IV, 1)

In VII, 28, of the Rājavinoda, the King of Malwa is again

1, Cf. दक्षिणदिक्पति in verse 8 of Dohad Inscription. Dr. Sankalia suggests that this reference to "Lord of the South" refers to the help Mahamūd gave to Nizam Shah of the Deccan against Mahamud Khilji of Malwa in A.D. 1462 and 1463. (*Epi. Indica* Jan. 1938, p. 216). In verse 10 of *Sarga* IV of the *Rājavinoda* दक्षिणनृप is called विचक्षण *i. e.* far-seeing or circumspect in his conversation with Mahamūd, while in verse 11 of the same *Sarga* मालवमंडलेश is represented in an attitude of complete surrender after being defeated by Mahamūd's valour. I am inclined to equate दक्षिणनृप of our poem with दक्षिणदिक्पति of Dohad inscription (verse 8). Another reference to दाक्षिणनृप in the *Rājavinoda* is found in VII, 26 :—" न दक्षिणनृपः भ(व ?) ति मेदपाठे मुदं । न विंदति न माद्यति स्वहृदये स दिल्लीपतेः etc."

referred to with scorn along with the people and Kings of other provinces of India :—

Folio 26 — " वंगा के क इमे त्रिलिंगसुभटा केऽमी महाराष्ट्रजाः
के वा मालवमेदपाटकुनृपाः कर्णाटकीटाश्च के । "

In II, 5, we have a reference to the exploits of मुदफ्फर[1] with reference to Malwa :—

Folio 5 — " मुमोच बंदीकृतमल्पषा(खा)नमनल्पवीर्यं बलवत्तरो यः ।
वंश्यास्ततो मालवराजबंदिमोक्षपदाख्यं बिरुदं वहन्ति ॥ "

In II, 11, we have the following reference to अहंमद's invasion of Malwa :—

Folio 5 — " हुशंगसाहेरधिवासदुर्गमाक्रामता मंडपमाग्रहेण ।
येनोच्चकैराचकृषे[2] करेण पदे पदे मालवमंडलश्रीः ॥ ११ ॥ "

Hushang Shāh of Malwa invaded Gujarat in A. D. 1411 and 1418 but was repulsed by अहंमद. In A. D. 1419 अहंमद invaded Malwa and defeated Hushang Shāh who took refuge in the fort of Mandu. अहंमद invaded Malwa second time in A. D. 1422 but did not succeed in capturing Mandu.

Sarga IV, verse 12 refers to Rāṇā Kumbha of Mewar as follows :—

Folio 13 — " यः पार्थिवः पृथुतरः खलु कुंभकर्णः
कर्णेन वर्णमुचितं सहते तुलायाः ।
सोऽयं करोति महमूदनृपस्य सेवां
दंडे वितीर्णवरभूरिसुवर्णभारः ॥ १२ ॥ "

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1. Muzaffar Shāh established independent Kingdom of Gujarat in A.D. 1396 by severing his allegiance to the Delhi Emperors. Compare *Rājavinoda* II, 2 (about मुदफ्फर) —

" दिल्लीपुराद्गूर्जरदेशमेत्य दधार यो मूर्द्धि सितातपत्रं ॥ २ ॥ "

2. Dohad Inscription verses 4 and 5 refer to अहंमद and his invasion of Malwa :—

" प्रतापसंतापितमालवेशः ।
वीरः सदा श्रीमदहम्मदेंद्रो " (v. 4)
and " जित्वा महीं मालवकाधिपस्य
जग्राह तद्देशधनं च पश्चात्" (v. 5)

Line 3 of the above stanza clearly tells us that *Kumbhakarṇa* is serving Mahamūda (Begaḍā) as a vassal. Evidently Rāṇā Kumbha must have been living when the *Rājavinoda* was composed. Let us, therefore, consider the chronology of Rāṇā Kumbha's reign in Mewar. The then King of Mewar or मेदपाट is styled as कुनृप by our author in the expression "मालवमेदपाटकुनृपा:" (folio 26) and this statement agrees with the reference to King Kumbhakarṇa in verse 12 quoted above.

Rāṇā Kumbha came to the throne in A. D. *1433.*[1] He was murdered by his son Udayakarṇa in *Vikrama Saṁvat 1525*, *i.e.*, *1469* A. D. As Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa is introduced into the Darbar of Mahamud, we must treat this mention of Kumbhakarṇa as a contemporary reference to this King prior to his death in A. D. *1469*. If this position is accepted, we must fix the date of the *Rājavinoda* between A. D. 1458, the year when Mahmud came to the throne, and A. D. 1469, the year of Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa's death.

If my date for *Rājavinoda viz.* "*Between A.D. 1568 and 1469*" is accepted, it would be easy to account for the absence of references in this poem to many of the exploits of Mahamūd Begaḍā which are found referred to in the Dohad Inscription of A. D. 1488, written about 2 decades after our present poem and which could be taken, to refer to events between A. D. 1458 and 1488, a period of 30 years.

At this stage of the discussion of the date and contents of the *Rājavinoda*, I am inclined to suggest a hypothesis about the probable identity of authorship for both the Sanskrit historical poem and the Dohad Sanskrit inscription in verse. The points of identity with regard to these two compositions may be noted below for comparison in parallel columns :—

1. See *History of Rajputana*, Vol. I (by J. S. Gahlot), Jodhpur, 1937, p. 207, where a portrait of Rāṇā Kumbha is reproduced from the original in London Museum. Duff's *Indian Chronology*, p. 265, states that Rājamalla, the Son of Kumbhakarṇa succeeded his father in A.D. *1474*. Mr. Gahlot gives *Saṁvat 1525—1530* as the period of Udayakarṇa's reign, Rajamalla succeeding Udayakarṇa in A.D. *1473* (*Saṁvat* 1530).

Rājavinoda of Udayarāja	Dohad Stone Inscription
(1) This composition is in *verse*.	(1) The inscription is also in *verse*.
(2) Language is *Sanskrit*.	(2) Language is *Sanskrit*.
(3) MS of *Rājavinoda* was acquired by Dr. Bühler from Gujarat.	(3) The Inscription comes from Dohad, 77 miles north-east of Baroda.
4) MS of the *Rājavinoda* is not dated but it appears to have been written (with पृष्ठमात्रs) say between A. D. 1500 and 1600.	(4) The Inscription is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1545, Śaka 1410 (= A. D. 1488, 24th April).
(5) *Rājavinoda* is contemporary with Mahamūda Begaḍa's regin (1458 to 1511 A. D.). According to my view this poem was composed *between A. D. 1458 and 1469.*	(5) The Inscription is also contemporary with Begaḍā's reign, being composed about 30 years after Begaḍā ascended the throne.
(6) *Rājavinoda* opens with a salutation to सरस्वती. Sarga I is a dialogue between सुरेन्द्र and सरस्वती. In fact the poem is sung by सरस्वती (IV, 32 — " महमूद् पातसाहे: अभिनववर्णने प्रसक्ता सरस्वती सरसपदानि व्यतानीत् ").	(6) The Inscription begins with a salutation to काश्मीर-वासिनी देवी *viz.*, सरस्वती, (*vide* Dr. Sankalia's foot-note 7 on p. 213, *Epi. Indica*, Jan. 1938). Dr. Sankalia states that the above goddess seems to be ब्राह्मी *alias* सरस्वती. In *Rājavinoda* सरस्वती is addressed as " ब्राह्मि " in verse 11 of *Sarga I*.
(7) The genealogy of Mahamūd Begaḍā in the *Rājavinoda* verse repeated at the end of all the 7 *Sargas* is :—	(7) The genealogy given in the Inscription is also the same, *viz.*, — मुदाफर-महंमद-अहंमद-महम्मद-महमूद. (I) (II)

Rājavinoda of Udayarāja	Dohad Stone Inscription
मुदप्फर–महंमद–अहंमद– महंमद–महमूद. (I) (II) This genealogy differs from that recorded in Muslim sources.	This genealogy differs from that given in Muslim sources as pointed out by Dr. Sankalia (*Epi. Indica* Jan. 1938, p. 214).
(8) *Rājavinoda* deals with the exploits of Mahamūda's four predecessors in *Sarga* II (30 verses), the rest of the poem being devoted to the description of the exploits of Mahamūd Begaḍā, say between A. D. 1458 to about 1469.	(8) The Inscription consists of 26 verses, out of which the first 6 verses deal with the deeds of Mahamūda's predecessors, while the remaining 20 deal with Mahamuda's reign from A. D. 1458 to A. D. 1488, the date of the Inscription.
(9) In verse 3 of *Sarga* I the author of the *Rājavinoda* states that the poem was composed to please Mahamūda (" पूजोपहाराय मयोपनीतः । कवित्वपुष्पांजलिरेष रम्यः "). Perhaps this poem was meant as an introduction with a view to getting into Mahamūda's favour.	(9) The composition of the Inscription is similar in point of presentation and appears to be the work of the author of the *Rājavinoda* after he had enjoyed continuous patronage of Mahamūda between the date of composition of *Rājavinoda* and A. D. 1488. The inscription records places and persons in addition to those in the *Rājavinoda* indicating that it is a late work of the same author.
(10) Mahamūda's predecessor अहंमद is styled " अहंमदेंद्र " in the *Rājavinoda* (folios, 5, 6,)	(10) The Inscription also styles अहंमद as " अहमदेंद्र " in verse 4.
(11) *Rājavinoda II*, 18, refers to the invasion of महंमद against Pavagadh :—	(11) Inscription refers to the success of महमूद Begaḍā in storming the पावकदुर्ग in

Rājavinoda of Udayarāja	Dohad Stone Inscription
" यस्य प्रतापभरपावकसंगमेन दग्धस्य **पावक**गिरेः शिखरान्तरेषु। प्रैक्षंत जर्ज्जरसुधाविधुराणि भस्म- राशि— प्रभाभि रिपवो निजमंदिराणि " Dr. Sankalia states that the attempt of महंमद to take the Pavagadh fort had failed (p. 321 - *Epi. Indica*, Jan. 1938).	November *1484* :— " जित्वा **पावक** (दुर्गं) पित्रारब्धं प्रतापतापूर्वं ॥ १० ॥ महमूदमहीपालप्रतापेनैव **पावकम्**। प्रविश्य ज्वालितं सर्वं वैरिवृंदं पतंगवत् ॥ ११ ॥ जीवंतं तत्पतिब(द्धवा) दुर्गं नीत्वा महाबल । चकार तत्पुरे राज्यं **महमूद** महीश्वरः ॥ १२ ॥ "
(12) Speaking of महंमद, the son of मुदफ्फर, the *Rājavinoda*, II, 10, refers to नंदपद and **पल्लिवन** :— (folio 5) :— " अद्याप्यहो **नंदपदा**धिनाथा- भल्लूकवर**पल्लिवने** भ्रमन्ति ॥९॥ " The rulers of नंदपद are described by the adjective " विभिन्नप्राकारसौधस्फुरद (दे)हमालाः" *i.e.*, "with their bodies shining by the white dust from the broken ramparts." The expression विभिन्नप्राकार shows that there existed a fort at नंदपद in the midst of पल्लिवन. This is an earlier reference to पल्लिवन in the time of मुदफ्फर's son महंमद.	(12) Dohad Inscription verse 18 refers to पल्लीदेश which is said to be governed by इमादल the chief minister of Begaḍā — " **पल्लीदेशाधिकारं च पुण्यं** पुण्यमतिस्तदा। दुष्टारिहृदये राज्यं दुर्गमेनं च- कार वै ॥ १८ ॥ " Dr. Sankalia tentatively identifies पल्लिदेश with Pāli in the Godhra *tālukā*. (This is a later reference to पल्लीदेश in Begaḍā's time. पल्लीवन and पल्लीदेश appear to be identical).
(13) The *Rājavinoda* refers to the title गायासदीन (folios 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, 19, 22, 28) and it is applied to महंमद, the father of Begaḍā (— " गायासदीन इति साहि महंमदेन्द्रः ").	(13) Dohad Inscription verse 7 states :— " श्री **ग्यास** (दीन) प्रभोः अन्वये साहश्री**महमूद**वीर नृपतिः..जातः" The epithet " ग्यास (दीन)

Rājavinoda of Udayarāja	Dohad Stone Inscription
	प्रभोः " is an epithet of महंमद्, the father of Begaḍā, according to my view. My view does not conflict with the title given to Begaḍā in coins and inscriptions, *viz.*, "*Nasīr-ud-duniyā Wa-ud-din* (= Defender of the Faith and the World). My view also agrees with the epithet "*Ghiyās-ud-din*" applied to Muhammad II (son of Ahmad I) in his coin legends. (*Vide* p. 216 of *Epi. Indica*, Jan. 1938).

The foregoing discussion based on a cursory study of the *Rājavinoda* and the *Dohad Inscription*, edited by Dr. Sankalia leads us to arrive at the following conclusions tentatively for the consideration of veteran scholars of the history of Gujarat :—

(1) Udayarāja, the son of Prayāgadāsa, was a Hindu court — poet of Mahamūda Begaḍā (1458 to 1511 A. D.).

(2) Udayarāja composed this Sanskrit *Mahā-Kāvya* in 7 Cantos dealing with the life of Begaḍā and his ancestors to please the great Sultan in the first decade of the Sultan's reign *between A. D. 1458 and 1469* according to my evidence.

(3) This same court-poet Udayarāja continued to receive the patronage from Begaḍā during the next two decades of the Sultan's reign and he took great interest in the genealogy and exploits of Begaḍā during the period of this patronage.

(4) From the brief comparison of points of identity and contact between Udayarāja's work (the *Rājavinoda*) and the Dohad Stone Inscription of A. D. 1488, an

impression is gathered that the Inscription is a brief but revised and up-to-date abstract in verse of the author's juvenile poem.

I would consider my labour in the preparation of this paper amply repaid if Dr. Sankalia or any other scholars interested in the mediaeval history of Gujarat edit this historical *kāvya*[1] of Udayarāja on the basis of the only MS discovered by Dr. Bühler and fully discuss all the historical implications of this rare contemporary *prabandha* composed by Sarasvatī as the author puts it.

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1. Aufrecht records no other MS of the *Rājavinoda* except the one I have used in this paper (*CC I*, 502). Krishnamachariar refers only to this MS in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* Madras, 1937, pp. 271, 433.

54. Date of Jagaddhara, the Commentator of the Mālatīmādhava and other works— Between A. D. 1300 and 1400 ‡

According to Aufrecht,[1] Jagaddhara composed the following works mentioned against his name :—

"जगद्धर — Son of Ratnadhara, son of Vidyādhara, son of Gadādhara, son of Rāmadhara (Rāmeśvara), son of Vedadhara (Vedeśvara), son of Caṇḍeśvara

— देवीमाहात्म्यटीका.[2]

— भगवद्गीताप्रदीप, L 2138 (CC I, 392).

— मालतीमाधवटीका.[3]

— रसदीपिका मेघदूतटीका, L 1966.

‡ *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IX, Part 2, pages 116–125.

1. *CC I*, 195—Aufrecht makes the following entry regarding the namesake of जगद्धर who was also son of रत्नधर :—

" जगद्धर, son of Ratnadhara, grandson of Gauradhara, of Kashmir :
अपशब्दनिराकारण gr.
बालबोधिनी कातन्त्रवृत्ति
quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha
on *Stutikusumāñjali* 5, 6,"

2. *CC I*, 261 — " L 2400, — Oudh VIII, 4 " } See also India Office MS No. 3566.

3. *CC I*, 453 — " IO 158, 943, 1316.
— Oxf. 136*a* — Ben. 37.
— L 2137 — Oudh X, 6.
— K 72 — Burnell 170*b*
— B 2, 120 — Bühler 554.

CC II — " Govt. Ori. Libr., Madras, 69 "

CC III — " A K 545 (inc.). Bd 437 "

—तत्त्वदीपिनी[1] वासवदत्ता टीका quoted by Śivarāma on Vāsavadattā.

—वेणीसंहारटीका[2] — (N. S. Edn.)

Jagaddhara also composed the following works in addition to those recorded above :—

मेघदूतटीका,[3] मुद्राराक्षसटीका,[4] सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणटीका,[5] (N. S. Edn.); संगीतसर्वस्व,[6] गीतगोविंदटीका.[7]

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1. *CC I*, 566 — " Oxf. 156*b*, L 1981, Ben 35, K 76, Burnell 162*a*, Oppert II, 2291, 2746, 3797, 4145, 6009."

See also *Adyar II*, p. 2*a* ; *Madras Des. Cata.* 12421, 12422; *Tanjore Des. Cata.* 4017-19 ; *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII, 5387.

2. *CC I*, 603, — " I. O. 1503, W. p. 163, Oxf. 146*a*, K 74.

3. *Vide*, Auf. *CC I*, 466 — " रसदीपिका " by Jagaddhara, L 1966.

4. *Madras Triennial Cata.* R. No. 3768 (1919 - 1922 — Part IV — 1928) in Devanāgarī characters.

5. *Vide*, Auf., *CC II*, 167 — " Stein 64, 275 (pariccheda 4). " Dr. V. Raghavan informs me : " Jagaddhara has commented on Bhoja's सरस्वतीकंण्ठाभरण. Kāvyamālā edition of this work contains his commentary for Ch. IV. The first three chapters of the work in the edition carry a commentary by one रत्नेश्वर. I am very much inclined to think that this रत्नेश्वर is none else than Jagaddhara's own father. " धर " and " ईश्वर " both occur as suffixes : *e.g.*, रत्नधर or रत्नेश्वर and देवधर or देवेश्वर (in Jagaddhara's genealogy). If that were really so, we know that रत्नेश्वर wrote his commentary on the सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण at the command of king रामसिंह and our identification of this king रामसिंह might help to fix Jadgaddhara's date. "

6. *Vide*, infra — my remarks on संगीतसर्वस्व.

7. जगद्धर wrote a commentary on the गीतगोविन्द of जयदेव. There are 4 MSS of this commentary in Maithili characters recorded as Nos. 41 and 41A, 62 and 118 in the *Catalogue of Mithila* MSS (Vol. II, 1933, Behar and Orissa Res. Soc., Patna), pp. 45, 66 and 121. No. 41 is dated Śaka 1699 = A. D. *1777*. No 41A is dated Śaka 1681 = A. D. *1759*. Jagaddhara states that he has used many

(*Continued on next page*)

According to the statement in the *Madras Triennial Catalogue*,[1] Jagaddhara's " other works are वैद्यसर्वस्व,[2] वसन्तोत्सवकाव्य,[3] संगीतसर्वस्व and चण्डिकाटिप्पणी." [4]

Mr. Krishnamachariar[5] records the following information about Jagaddhara :—

" वसंतोत्सव (a lyrical poem) by जगद्धर (son of Ratnadhara who also wrote *Saṅgītasarvasva* and commentary on मुद्राराक्षस)." [6]

(*Continued from previous page*)

earlier commentaries on the *Gītagovinda* in the preparation of this commentary :—

" नानाटीकास्समालोक्य विचिन्त्य सुचिरं हृदा ।
गीतगोविन्दटीकेयं क्रियते श्रीजगद्धरैः ॥ " (v. 2.)

See also *Madras MSS Cata.* Vol. *XX* (1918) p. 7997 — MS *No. 11966* (सारदीपिका on गीतगोविंद) in *Canarese* characters and MS *No. 11967* of the same work in *Telugu.* See also MS R. *No. 16057*.

1. Part IV (1928), p. 5578 — remarks on MS No. *3768*.

2. No MS of वैद्यसर्वस्व is recorded in catalogues.

3. No MS of this work is known.

4. In the मुद्राराक्षसटीका (Madras MS R No. *3768*, p. 5379) जगद्धर refers to his चण्डिकाटिप्पणी (" तस्य श्रीशजगद्धरस्य कवितुः श्रीचण्डिकाटिप्पणीकर्तुः. " etc.

5. *Classical Sans. Literature*, Madras 1937.

6. *Ibid.* p. 357 Dr. V. Raghavan informs me that " Jagaddhara in his commentary on the मुद्राराक्षस quotes the work वसंतराजशकुन written under चंद्रदेव of Mithila. This may help to fix some date. " According to Aufrecht (CC I, 556) वसंतराजभट्ट, son of विजयराज, younger brother of शिवराज, wrote शकुनार्णव or शाकुन by request of चंद्रदेव of मिथिला. As शकुनार्णव is quoted by Mallinātha (about A. D. 1425) it must have been composed before A. D. 1350 or so. Professor H. D. Velankar states : "Vasantarāja's *Śākuna* was used in his अद्भुतसागर (begun in 1168 A. D.) by King Ballālasena of Gauḍa who had also written his *Dānasāgara* in that same year ", — (p. 130 of *B. B. R. A. S. MSS Cata.* I, 1925). If this statement is correct, we get about 1150 A. D. as one limit to the date. of वसन्तराज. King " चंद्रदेव "

(*Continued on next page*)

"वेणीसंहार, commentary by जगद्धर (Ed. Poona). For his genealogy given here, see also in XXI, 8332. He was the son of Ratnadhara and grandson of Vidyādhara, all learned in the Śāstras. He held two umbrellas as a man of scholarship. His poetry is excellent as seen from introductory verses to his commentary on *Vāsavadattā* and *Mālatīmādhava*."[1]

"जगद्धर was son of Ratnadhara and lived somewhere *about 15th Century, A. D.* He commented on *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Mālatīmādhava* and other plays and wrote *Śivastotra* and *Saṅgītasarvasva*."[2]

The *Saṅgītasarvasva* is "quoted profusely by रुचिपति and राघवभट्ट"[3].

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of Mithilā referred to by Aufrecht has probably his origin in Peterson's remark (*Ulwar Cata.* p. 84, No. 1977) that the author, "wrote by request of चंद्रदेव of मिथिला." The stanza referring to the King reads as follows in the *IO Cata.* V, 1896, p. 1109 :—

" अभ्यर्थितोऽतियत्नात् कृतबहुमानेन वंगदेवेन ।
व्यरचयदसौ तदर्थं शाकुनमन्योपकृतये च ॥ ५ ॥ "

Variants corresponding to "वंगदेवेन" in the above stanza in the MSS examined by me from the B. O. R. Institute (Govt. MSS Library) may be noted below :—

(1) No. 58 of 1869-70, dated Śaka 1599 (= A. D. 1677), folio 1 reads "वंगदेवेन."

(2) No. 314 of Viś. I reads "वंगदेयन."

(3) No. 347 of 1879–80, dated Saṁvat 1561 (= A. D. 1505), reads "चंगदेवेन."

These readings throw some doubt on Peterson's "चंद्रदेव of Mithila."

1. *Classical Sans. Literature* (Krishnamachariar), p. 614.

2. *Ibid.* p. 863, Section 1023.

3. *Ibid.* p. 863, footnote 3. Aufrecht (CC I, 686) states that *Saṅgītasarvasva* is quoted by Jagaddhara on वेणीसंहार and by Vāsudeva on *Karpūramañjarī*. On p. 114 of Jagaddhara's commentary on *Veṇīsaṁhāra* (N. B. Godbole, Poona), we read "तदुक्तं संगीतसर्वस्वे-

(*Continued on next page*)

I have proved in my paper[1] on Rāghavabhaṭṭa that he flourished between A.D. 1475 and 1500. If, therefore, he quotes profusely from a work called the संगीतसर्वस्व and if this work is identical with the one represented by the Nepal MS described by M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri, in his Preface to the Nepal MSS catalogue, we may fix A.D. 1475 as one terminus to the date of Jagaddhara.[2]

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प्रशस्तपदविन्यासा, etc. ". Jagaddhara in his commentary on the सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण (Kāvyamālā, 1934- K. M. 94) mentions संगीतसर्वस्व as his own work (p. 546).

" तदुक्तं मत्संगीतसर्वस्वे ‡ —

मधुराकुञ्चितान्ताच सभ्रूक्षेपा च सस्मिता ।
समन्मथविकारा च दृष्टिः सा ललिता मता ॥ इति "

(Dr. V. Raghavan has noted this reference on p. 19 of *Later Saṅgīta Literature* — Jour. of Music Academy, Madras). M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri records a MS of संगीतसर्वस्व in his *Cata. of Nepal MSS* (Calcutta, 1905), p. xlii (Preface):—

" *Saṅgītasarvasva*, p. 67, No. 1536 ज, in Newari character. The work was known only in quotations (see p. 686b, CC I). It quotes from the following works :— संगीतवल्ली, संगीतशेखर, नाट्यलोचन, संगीतकल्पवृक्ष, दशरूप, रत्नकोष and भरत. The work is by जगद्धर who quotes it in his commentary on वेणीसंहार. "

‡ Jagaddhara quotes this very verse in his commentary (p. 53- 1876) on the *Mālatīmādhava* introducing it as " यदाह. " Dr. Raghavan informs me that संगीतसर्वस्व is quoted by जगद्धर frequently in his मुद्राराक्षसव्याख्या, Madras MS (pp. 6, 14, 24, 124, 132 and 156). It is also quoted by him in his सरस्वतीकंठाभरणव्याख्या.

1. See *Calcutta Oriental Journal, III*, pp. 177-184. Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Śākuntala* (p. 4 of M. R. Kale's Edn., 1913) quotes from the *Saṅgītasarvasa* :—

" संगीतसर्वस्वे तथोक्तेः —

वर्तनीयतया सूत्रं प्रथमं येन सूच्यते ।
रङ्गभूमिं समाक्रम्य सूत्रधारः स उच्यते ॥ इति "

2. The author रुचिपति who is said to quote profusely (in अनर्घराघवटीका) from the संगीतसर्वस्व of जगद्धर " wrote under the patronage of भैरवेन्द्रदेव of Mithilā about the *end of the 15th century* " (*vide*, p. 245 of Hara Prasad Shastri's *Cata. of Kāvya MSS*, Vol. VII, (R. A.

(*Continued on next page*)

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his edition of the *Mālatīmādhava* (1875) with Jagaddhara's commentary gives us two sure limits for the date of Jagaddhara, *viz.*, (1) *A.D. 1111*, the date of *Viśva* or *Viśvaprakāśa* lexicon quoted by Jagaddhara and (2) a dated MS of Jagaddhara's commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* bearing the date *A.D. 1708* and between these two points he tries to fix the following chronological series :—

(A.D. 1111) विश्व ——→ मल्लिनाथ ——→ मेदिनीकर ——→ जगद्धर — MS of मालतीमाधवटीका by जगद्धर (A.D. 1708).

I now find another *dated MS* [1] of Jagaddhara's commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* bearing the date *Saṁvat 1721 = A.D. 1665*. We have, therefore, to fix Jagaddhara's date between *A.D. 1111 and A.D. 1665*.

We have seen above that Rāghavabhaṭṭa (A.D. 1475-1500) quotes from a work called the संगितसर्वस्व which is presumably identical with the संगीतसर्वस्व of Jagaddhara represented by the Nepal MS.[2] If this identity is correct, we are in a position to take

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S. B., Calcutta, 1934). रुचिपति appears to have been a contemporary of राघवभट्ट who also quotes from जगद्धर's संगीतसर्वस्व. If the work संगीतसर्वस्व quoted by these two contemporaries is identical with that of जगद्धर, we may fix A. D., 1450 or so as one terminus to the date of this commentator of the मालतीमाधव.

1. *Vide* p. 244 of *Kāvya MSS*— Vol. VII, by Hara Prasad Shastri; R. A. S. Bengal, Calcutta, 1934. MS No. 5300.— " संवत् १७२१ बर्षे कार्तिक वदि ४ अष्टमी दिने रविवारे। सकलपंडितचक्रवर्त्तिचूडामणिपण्डित श्री १९ शान्तिविमलगणि तत्शिष्यगणिकल्याणविमलेन अलेखि ॥ व ॥ चम्पावती नगरीमध्ये."

2. *Vide* p. 67 of *Cata. of Nepal* MSS by H. P. Shastri and Bendall, Calcutta, 1905 :—

" सङ्गीतसर्वस्वम्।

(अन्त खण्डितम्) जगद्धरकृतम्। अक्षर—नेवारी।

प्रारम्भवाक्यम्। ॐ नमो नृत्यनाथाय।

स्वर्गङ्गायमनी पठीयति तलिद्दीपीयति द्योस्तलं

....

नाट्यदर्पणसङ्गीतवल्लीसङ्गीतशेखरम्।

नाट्यलोचनसङ्गीतकल्पवृक्षौ निरूपयन्॥

दशरूपं रत्नकोषं भरतोक्तादिकं तथा।

सङ्गीतसर्वस्वमिदं तनोति श्रीजगद्धरः॥ " इत्यादि

back the date of Jagaddhara from A.D. 1665[1] to A.D. 1450 or so. We have now to see if we can push back this date earlier than A.D. 1450.

Jagaddhara appears to have composed a work called रसिकसर्वस्व as in his commentary on the *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, he quotes from it as follows :—

Page 429 (*Kāvyamālā*, 94, 1934)—

" तदुक्तं मद्रसिकसर्वस्वे—

प्रवासगमने देयाः स्नेहसंस्कारका नखाः ।
चिरोत्सृष्टेषु रागेषु प्रीतिर्गच्छेत्पराभवम् ॥
रागायतनसंस्मारि यदि न स्यान्नखक्षतम् ।
रेखास्तिस्रश्चतस्रश्च वक्रा वक्राकृतिर्नखः ॥ इति ॥ "

Dr. S. K. De[2] mentions a work on poetics called रसिकसर्वस्व (cited by Nārāyaṇa on *Gītagovinda*, V. 2).

Rāṇā Kumbha of Mewar (A.D. 1428–1459) in his commentary रसिकप्रिया on the *Gītagovinda* quotes from a work called रसिकसर्वस्व.[3] If this रसिकसर्वस्व is identical with the रसिकसर्वस्व mentioned by Jagaddhara as his own work, we may be in a position to take back the date of Jagaddhara from A.D. 1450 to A.D. 1400 or so, if not earlier. Unfortunately, however, no MS of Jagaddhara's रसिक-सर्वस्व or of any other work of that name has been so far discovered, and we are unable to verify this point any further.

Fixing A.D. 1400 as one probable limit for Jagaddhara's date, let us see if we can advance forward from the limit " A.D. 1111 " for this date fixed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. It is proposed to bring this limit forward from A.D. 1111 to about A.D. 1250 so that Jagaddhara's date may be tentatively fixed between A.D. 1250 and 1400.

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1. There is a Maithili MS of जगद्धर's commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* which is dated Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat 553 = A.D. 1671 (see p. 141 of *Cata. of Mithila MSS*, Vol. II, 1933). Another Maithili MS of this commentary (*ibid*. p, 140) is described as dated " *San 1164 Sāl* " which may be equivalent of A.D. 1764 or 1756.

2. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 326 — This reference is the same as is recorded by Aufrecht, CC I, 4976.

3. *Vide*, pp. 44, 47, 48 of Nirṇaya Sāgar Press Edition, 1899.

Jagaddhara in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* (v. 2 at the beginning of the commentary) states that in composing the present commentary he has made use of a previous commentary (" अवलोक्य टीकां "). As the name of the commentator is not mentioned in this statement, it is difficult to say what earlier commentary was used by him in the preparation of his own commentary. Fortunately for us we are now in a position to prove what commentary[1] was used by Jagaddhara. This commentary is no other than Harihara's commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* represented by a single MS in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has been described by the late M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri.[2] The date of the MS is recorded in the catalogue as A.D. 1216 but this appears to be the date of composition. At any rate the date of Harihara must lie between A.D. 1150 and 1216 as Harihara quotes from Mammaṭa (A. D. *1100*).[3]

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1. In 1939 I procured for Professor N. A. Gore M.A. of the S. P. College, Poona, a transcript of MS of the commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava* from the original in Newari script, No. 1564 with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Professor Gore is preparing a special paper on the subject of Jagaddhara's *verbatim* and other borrowing from this commentary.

2. *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya Mss*, Vol. VII (1934), pp. 242-43 ; MS No. 5299 — " Date N. S. 336 = A.D. 1216 " - *Colophon* :-

" इति मिश्रश्रीमदमोघदेवात्मजमिश्रश्रीहरिहरविरचितायां मालतीमाधवप्रकरणटीकायां दशमोङ्कः । "

Post Colophon :—

" श्रीमान् हरिहरमिश्रो विषमे ग्रन्थेऽत्र बोधमाधातुं ।
व्यधितपराशरगोत्रः टीकां संक्षेपतो रुचिरां ॥
षड्वन्हिरामगे वर्षे पौषे शुक्रशवासरे ।
भृगुजे वामृते योगे राज्ये ह्यरिमल्लदेवीये ॥ etc. "

Arimalladeva referred to in the above extract was the founder of the Malla Dynasty of Nepal. He was also called *Arideva* (*vide*, p. 209 of H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, 1931). Dr. Ray notes three dates for this King :— (1) MS of सत्वबाधाप्रशमन, dated A.D *1201* ; (2) MS of कर्मक्रियाकांड, dated A.D. *1206*, (3) Cambridge MS of साधनसमुच्चय, dated A.D. *1216*. We have now to add the above MS of *1216*, A.D. to this list.

3. *Page 4* of transcript supplied to Prof. Gore. I am thankful to Prof. Gore for inviting my attention to this reference. Though

(*Continued from next page*)

As Jagaddhara has borrowed freely and at times *verbatim* from Harihara's commentary we may safely say that Jagaddhara flourished definitely after A. D. 1250. In view of this new evidence (not known to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in 1876) our limits would be as follows :—

(1) *Sure limits* : – A. D. 1250 and 1650 — 400 years.

(2) *Probable limits* : — A. D. 1250 and 1450 — 200 years.

(3) *Tentative limits* :— A. D. 1300 and 1400 — 100 years.

These tentative limits may now be discussed in the light of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's evidence of a tentative nature bearing on the date of Jagaddhara. This evidence consists of two items :—

(1) Priority of Mallinātha to Jagaddhara.[1]

and

(*Continued from previous page*)

Mammaṭa is not mentioned by name, the following quotation from the *Kāvyaprakāśa* given by Harihara is too well known to need any argument re. its authorship :—

" यदाहु :— काव्यं यशसे सर्वकृते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये ।
सद्यः परनिर्वृतये कान्तासंमिततयोपदेश युजे ॥ "

1. *Vide* p. xix of Preface to *Mālatīmādhava* (B. S. S. Edition): " At the beginning of the Seventh Act (p. 286) after explaining that the root प्रच्छ् with आ signifies " to take *one's leave finally* " or " *to bid adieu* ", he (Jagaddhara) tells us that the same root occurs in the *Maghadūta* and is explained by the commentator in the same way " (" आपृच्छिः संवादार्थ इति शाब्दिकाः । अत एवापृच्छस्व प्रियसखममुमिति **मेघदूतादौ टीकाकृता** तथैव विवृतमिति अवधेयम् । ") .....And since Jagaddhara speaks of one commentator only without giving his name he must be understood to have been aware of one commentary only so well-known to render a mention of the author's name superfluous. I, therefore, take it that he alludes to Mallinātha, who in his scholia on the poem does explain the root in the same way as Jagaddhara. *Mallinātha, therefore, lived before our scholiast* " ..." Another circumstance which indicates *Mallinātha's priority to Jagaddhara* is that while the latter quotes from *Medinī* every now and then, the lexicon is never referred to by Mallinātha. If the *Medinī* were composed before Mallinātha, we might certainly expect quotations from it somewhere in his vast commentaries. *Medinīkara, therefore, very probably lived after Mallinātha* and certainly before *Jagaddhara.* "

(2) Date of the lexicon of Medinīkara, mentioned and quoted by Jagaddhara in his comentaries.

The agrument advanced by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in support of his *supposed priority of Mallinātha to Jagaddhara* is not at all convincing. He argues that the root आपृच्छ् is explained in the sense of "bidding adieu" (संवादार्थे) by Jagaddhara, and in doing so he refers to a commentator on the *Meghadūta* as explaining this root in this sense while explaining the verse "आपृच्छस्व प्रियसखममुं," and as Mallinātha's comment on this verse explains this root in the sense alluded to by Jagaddhara, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar establishes the identity of this commentator with Mallinātha, though Jagaddhara nowhere mentions Mallinātha in his commentary. This line of argument can be refuted if we are able to find the explanation of the root आपृच्छ् in the sense under reference (संवादार्थे) in any other commentary on the *Meghadūta* preferably prior in date to Jagaddhara. Though I have not looked into all the commentaries on the Meghadūta, I have to point out that in the commentary of Cāritravardhana who flourished between A. D. 1191 and A. D. 1385[1] the root आपृच्छ् is explained in the way referred to by Jagaddhara, (*i. e.*, संवादार्थ), as will be seen from the following extract from *folio 10 of MS No. 345 of 1895–98* in the Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute):—

"आपृच्छस्व निजप्रस्थानाय संवादाय पृच्छतीप्सायामे-
तस्माल्लोटुमध्यमैकवचनम्"

In pointing out this संवादार्थ of the root आपृच्छ् I have no desire to press the conclusion on the attention of the reader that Jagaddhara refers to Cāritravardhana and not to Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*. This संवादार्थ of the root आपृच्छ् may be found in some of the other commentaries on the *Meghadūta*, but we need not pursue the point any further. It is, therefore, clear that Mallinātha's priority to Jagaddhara cannot be proved at least on the basis of unstable evidence recorded by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

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1. *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) XV, 109–111: my paper on the date of Cāritravardhana. According to *Bendall* (*British Museum Cata.* 1902, p. 91), "चारित्रमुनि (author of नैषधटीका), whose full name was चारित्रवर्धनमुनि, was a Jain writer, pupil of Kalyāṇarāja, himself a pupil of Jinahitasūri of the Kharataragaccha, (A.D. 1368)" According to this statement Cāritravardhana's date would be "about A.D. 1400," while the date of Mallinātha is A.D 1430.

If we accept A. D. 1400 as one limit to Jagaddhara, the supposed priority of Mallinātha to Jagaddhara would conflict with this limit. My friend Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras has recently published a paper[1] on the work, *Vaiśyavaṁśa-Sudhākara*, of Mallinātha which was written for Devarāya II of Vijayanagar, (A. D. *1422-1466*). If Jagaddhara flourished before A. D. 1400, he cannot naturally mention or quote from Mallinātha of later date, *i. e.* A. D. 1430 or so. As matters stand, however, it would appear that Jagaddhara is prior to Mallinātha if our limit of A. D. 1400 for Jagaddhara as suggested earlier in this paper is accepted and corroborated on independent evidence in addition to my evidence that the work रसिकसर्वस्व mentioned by Jagaddhara as his own work in one of his commentaries is possibly identical with the रसिकसर्वस्व mentioned by Rāṇā Kumbha, (A. D. 1428–1459) in his commentary on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*.

As regards the second item of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's evidence, *viz.*, the date of *Medinī* lexicon frequently quoted by Jagaddhara in his commentaries, we may state here the views of Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā :—

(1) Rāyamukuṭa (A. D. 1431) quotes *Medinī*.

(2) Padamanābhadatta, who wrote his *Pṛṣodarādivṛtti*[2] in A. D. 1375, quotes *Medinī* in his *Bhūriprayoga.*[3]

(3) There is no reason to doubt[4] the authenticity of Mallinātha's quotation on Māgha II, 65 (" इनः पत्यौ नृपार्कयोरिति मेदिनी ").

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1. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 111–117.

2 H. P. Śastri : *Notices of Sanskrit MSS* (second series), pt. I, p. 224. See *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. I (Baroda, 1928). Intro p. XL.

3. Aufrecht describes a MS of *Bhūriprayoga* (Catalouge of Oxford MSS, 1864, p. 192a) in which the following verse is found :—

" विश्वप्रकाशामरकोषटीकात्रिकांडशेषोऽज्वलदत्तवृत्तीः ।
हारावलीमेदिनिकोषमन्यच्चालोक्य लक्ष्मं लिखितं मयैतत् ॥ "

4. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (*Mālatī-Mādhava*, Preface XX, fn. §) states that this quotation containing a reference to *Medinī* is a later interpolation and thus supports his theory that *Medinīkara lived after Mallinātha*. My evidence tends to support a contrary view that Mallinātha (A. D. 1430) lived *after* Jagaddhara (before A. D.

(*Continued on next page*)

(4) The *Mankhaṭīkā* contains a quotation from *Medinī* ("कमिति प्रकृत्यमस्तके च सुखेऽपिचेति अव्ययप्रकरणे मेदिनी:") which if genuine would push back Medini's date to the *12th century* for the *Mankhaṭīkā* was written before the last quarter of the 12th century.

As Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā suggests the possibility of Medinī's date going back to the 12th century, our tentative limits, *viz.*, A. D. 1300 and 1400 for Jagaddhara's date do not conflict with this possibility. If we are able to locate Jagaddhara before A. D. 1375, before which year Medinī was composed as explained already, we may be able to push back the later limit for Medini's date before A. D. 1375. We must, therefore, await further efforts of scholars who will be in a better position to give us the exact date of Jagaddhara with the data laid at their disposal in the present paper.

(*Continued from previous page*)

1400) and also *after* Medinikara, who lived before A. D. 1375. These two views may be represented as follows :—

Bhandarkar's view *:—Mallinātha ⟶ Medinīkara ⟶ Jagaddhara*

My view :— Medinīkara ⟶ Jagaddhara ⟶ Mallinātha

(Before A. D. *1375*). (Before A. D. *1400*). (A. D. 1430)

55. Some new Evidence regarding the Date of Jagaddhara — Between A. D. 1275 and 1450 ‡

In my paper[1] on the Date of Jagaddhara, the commentator of the *Mālatīmādhava* and other works I discussed some new evidence and tried to narrow down the sure limits for his date given by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar viz. *A. D. 1111 and 1708*. My sure limits for this date as recorded in the above paper were A.D. *1250 and 1650*, while the probable limits were A. D. *1250 and 1450*. With a view to clarifying the chronological back-ground of the problem of Jagaddhara's date I record below in brief the evidence discussed in detail in my earlier paper.

A.D.	J = Jagaddhara. R. G. B. = R. G. Bhandarkar.
1111	Date of *Viśvaprakāśa* lexicon quoted by **J** (R.G.B.)
1150—1175	Date of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (of Rāmacandra) mentioned by **J** in his संगीतसर्वस्व (Nepal MS) — Vide my paper on *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* in *Jain Vidyā* (Lahore, 1941) Vol. I, pp. 21-26.
1150—1216	Date of Hariharamiśra's Comm. on मालतीमाधव. **J** has borrowed verbatim from this Comm. in his own Comm. on मा. माधव.
1375	Date of Padmanābhadatta who quotes " मेदिनिकोष " in his *Bhūriprayoga*. **J** quotes मेदिनि every now and then in his Comm. on मा. माधव (R. G. B.)
1420	Date of Mallinātha from whom **J** has borrowed some material (vide remarks below) — (M. R. Kavi)
1431	Date of Rāyamukūṭa who quotes मेदिनि, quoted by **J**.

‡ *Journal of S. V. Oriental Institute* (Tirupati), 1943, Vol. IV, pp. 71-73.

1. Vide pp. 116 — 125 of *Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IX, Part 2 (Sept. 1940)*.

A. D.	J = Jagaddhara. R. G. B. = R. G. Bhandarkar.
c. 1430	Date of Mallinātha, who quotes मेदिनि (on Māgha II, 65 - " इनः पत्यौ नृपार्कयोरिति मेदिनि ").
1428—1459	Rāṇā Kumbha mentions रसिकसर्वस्व in his Comm. on गीतगोविंद. This work is possibly the रसिकसर्वस्व mentioned by J as his own work in his Comm. on सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण (" तदुक्तं मद्रसिकसर्वस्वे ").
1475—1500	Rāghavabhaṭṭa quotes from संगीतसर्वस्व, which is possibly identical with संगीतसर्वस्व of J (Nepal MS) mentioned by him as his own work in his Comm. on स. कण्ठाभरण (" तदुक्तं मत्संगीतसर्वस्वे ").
c. 1475-1500	Rucipati in his Comm. on अनर्घराघवटीका, quotes profusely from संगीतसर्वस्व, which is possibly identical with the संगीतसर्वस्व of J.
1473	Date of Nepal MS of वासवदत्ताटीका by J (vide remarks below).
c. 1500	Date Śubhaṁkara, who mentions संगीतसर्वस्व of J. Śubhaṁkara is the author of संगीतदामोदर (M. R. Kavi).
1665	Date of Calcutta MS (R. A. S. B.) No 5300 of the मालतीमाधवटीका of J.
1670	Date of a MS of मालतीमाधवटीका of J at Bikaner.[1]
1708	Date of a MS of मा. मा. टीका of J used by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

The chronological conspectus given above shows at a glance the whole problem of Jagaddhara's date. I have included in it some new items which may now be discussed here :—

1. My friend Prof. N. A. Gore of the S. P. College, Poona, has given me the following particulars of this MS :— MS *No. 3208* in the Anupsing Library at Bikaner (मालतीमाधवटीका by जगद्धर) ends as follows :— " संवत् १७२६ समय श्रावण कृष्णाष्टम्यां लिखितं रूपसिंघेण ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नम: । "

This information was supplied to Prof. Gore by Mr. R. N. Harit the Librarian in a communication dated 18-8-1942.

(1) My probable limits for Jagaddhara's date viz. *A. D. 1250 and 1450* are now confirmed by the date of a Nepal MS[1] of the वासवदत्ताटीका of Jagaddhara. This MS is dated Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat 355 (+ 1118) = A. D. 1473.

(2) Mr. M. R. Kavi[2] makes the following remarks about Śubhaṁkara, the author of the संगीतदामोदर :—

> "शुभंकर himself mentions संगीतसर्वस्व of जगद्धर, *who draws some material from the commentary of* कल्लिनाथ (1420 A. D.) and also धूर्तसमागम a *prahasana* written to amuse the king of Nepal Harasingadeva of about 1420 A. D. Thus शुभंकर has to be assigned to about 1500 A. D."

If Mr. Kavi's statement about Jagaddhara's drawing some material from the commentary of कल्लिनाथ (1420 A. D.) is based on reliable evidence, the date of Jagaddhara may be said to lie between कल्लिनाथ (*A. D.* 1420) and A. D. *1473*, the date of Nepal MS of Jagaddhara's वासवदत्ताटीका referred to above.

Even if the priority of Kallinātha to Jagaddhara is not proved on definite evidence we can safely state that Jagaddhara flourished between about A. D. 1275 and 1473 on the strength of evidence gathered by me and recorded in the tabular statement given above.

P. S. — According to Dr. S. Vidyabhusana, Jagaddhara belongs to the Kāmeśvara dynasty of Mithila (1350 — 1515 A. D.). This view of Jagaddhara's date harmonizes with my evidence recorded in this paper. (Vide pp. 521 - 522 of *History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1921).

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1. Vide p. 15 of *Catalogue of Nepal Mss* by H. P. Shastri and Bendall, Calcutta, 1905— MS No. 447 — " वासवदत्ताटीका । जगद्धरेणरचिता । मैथिलमक्षरम् लसं ३५५. "

2. Vide p. 467 of *Annals* (S. V. Ori. Institute, Tirupati). Vol. II, No. 2.

Date of the Haṭhayogapradīpikā of Svātmārāma Muni ‡

Dr. J. N. Farquhar has dealt with "Muslim Influence" on indu religion in his *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*[1] and assigned it to a period between A. D. 1350 and 18'0 (Chap. VII). This chapter on "Muslim Influence" includes a note on the *Gorakhnāthis*[2] and their literature. The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*[3] a standard manual dealing with the theory and practice of the Haṭhayoga forms part of this literature as the Gorakhnāthis are great adepts in the practice of Haṭhayoga. Evidently, therefore, the date of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (= *HP*) according to Farquhar must lie between 1350 and 1800 A. D. though he regards the *HP* as the earliest of the three modern Haṭhayoga texts viz. the *HP*,[4] the *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā*[5] and the *Śiva Saṁhitā*.[6]

Dr. Farquhar's view about the modern character of the *HP*,

‡ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI (1940), pp. 306-313.

1. Published by Oxford University Press, London, 1920.

2. *Ibid.* , pp. 348-349.

3. *Iibid.*, p. 348 — Dr. Farquhar observes :— "On the *Haṭha-yoga* and the *Gorakṣa-śataka* which are mentioned above as works attributed to Gorakhnāth, three more modern works depend, the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* by Svātmārāma Yogīndra, the disciple of Śrī-nāth, the *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* and the *Śivasaṁhitā*. The first is the earliest of the three. The *Pradīpikā* and the *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* deal with the same subjects but only part of *Śivasaṁketa* is devoted to *Haṭhayoga* ; the rest of it is more like a treatise on Śāktayoga."

4. Text and Eng. Tr. in the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* (= *SBH*), Panini Office, Allahabad. Text and Eng. Trans. in TPH series, Adyar.

5. Text and Eng. Trans. in SBH. German Trans. in *Fakir and Fakirtum* by Richard Schmidt, Berlin, 1908. — Text and Eng. Trans. in TPH series, Adyar.

6. Text and Eng. Trans. in *SPH* by S. C. Vasu.

is further supported by the remarks of Dr. P. C. Bāgchi[1] on the list of the Mahāsiddhas[2] mentioned in the *HP*. These remarks read as follows :—

" Svātmārāma Yogīndra in his *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (I, 4 ff.) extols him, (i.e. Matsyendranātha) along with Gorakṣanātha as the first connoisseur of the science of Haṭha. In the same book is also given a list of the Mahāsiddhas who are believed to have controlled the influence of time by their spiritual attainments. The name of Matsyendra stands in that list, second only to Śrī Ādinātha i.e. Śiva. *This list does not seem to be very old as like all the late traditions it considers Mīnanātha as different from Matsyendra.* It contains the names of some Siddhas whom we know from the Buddhist tradition of the 84 Siddhas. Some of these names occur in this list in very currupt forms : e.g. Nāradeva for Nāḍapaṇḍita, Ṭiṇṭiṇi for Ḍheṇḍhaṇa, Virūpākṣa for Virūpā etc. This shows that the list of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā belongs to a period when the memories of the great Siddhas had already become old.*"[3]

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1. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* (Calcutta Sanskrit Series) 1934, Intro., p. 19.

2. I record for ready reference the list of Mahāsiddhas from the TPH (Adyar) edition of the *HP* :—

आदिनाथ (pp. 2, 8, 96, 202) ; आदिनाथेन शंभुना (p. 155) ; श्रीगुरुनाथं (p. 4) ; मत्स्येन्द्रगोरक्षाद्याः (p. 7) ; मत्स्येन्द्र (p. 2) ; शाबर (p. 3) ; आनंदभैरव (p. 4) ; चौरङ्गी (p. 5) ; मीनः (p. 6) ; गोरक्षः (p. 7) ; विरूपाक्ष (p. 8) ; बिलेशय (p. 9) ; मन्थान (p. 10) ; भैरव (p. 11) ; सिद्धिः (p. 12) ; बुद्धः (p. 13) ; कन्थडिः (p. 14) ; कोरण्टकः (p. 15) ; सुरानन्दः (p. 16) ; सिद्धपादः (p. 17) ; चर्पटिः (p. 18) ; कानेरी (p. 19) ; पूज्यपादः (p. 20) ; नित्यनाथः (p. 21) ; निरञ्जनः (p. 22) ; कपाली (p. 22) ; बिन्दुनाथः (p. 24) ; काकचण्डीश्वर (p. 28) ; अल्लमप्रभुदेवः (p. 29) ; घोडाचोली (p. 30) ; टिण्टिणिः (p. 31) ; भानुकी (p. 32) ; नारदेवः (p. 33) ; खण्डः (p. 34) ; कापालिकः (p. 35) ; योगशास्त्रविशारदः (p. 18) ; योगिपुंगवैः (p. 36, 58) ; वसिष्ठाद्यैः मुनिभिः (p. 19) ; मत्स्येन्द्राद्यैः योगिभिः (p. 19) ; मत्स्यनाथोदितं आसनं (p. 22) ; शिवेन कथितानि (८४ आसनानि) (p. 26) ; आचार्यैः (p. 64) ; आचार्याणां केषांचित् (p. 67) ; केषां चिन्मतं (p. 103) ; महासिद्धैः (p. 99); कापालिके खण्डमते (p. 140) ; हठतन्त्राणाम् (p. 130) ; मतांतरे (p. 184) ; पूर्वाचार्यैः महात्मभिः (p. 200) ; गोरक्षनाथेन (p. 201) ; केवलं हठकर्मिणः (p. 208) ; राजयोगमजानन्तः ।

3. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, Intro., p. 19. According to Dr. Bagchi (p. 32) Matsyendranātha (referred to in the *HP*) probably flourished towards the ***beginning of the 10th century A. D.*** in ***Candra-***

(*Continued on next page*)

Though both Dr. Farquhar and Dr. Bagchi regard the *HP*, as comparatively a modern work, no attempt has been made by them to fix the chronological limits for the *HP*. I shall, therefore, try to indicate these limits on the strength of data available to me.

The *HP* is represented by numerous Mss[1] in the different Mss libraries in the world and has been printed with Bengali and Hindi translations together with Sanskrit commentaries from Calcutta and Ahmedabad[2] besides the English translations from Adyar and Allahabad already referred to in this paper. These facts are sufficient to establish the popularity enjoyed by the work. The *HP* propounds a combination of the Haṭhayoga and the Rājayoga.[3]

(*Continued from previous page*)

dvīpa which is tentatively identified by him with *Sandvip* island in the deltaic region of Bengal. Matsyendranātha may have passed a part of his career in Kāmarūpa which then had risen to be a great centre of mysticism.

1. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* records the following Mss.— *Part I*, 753 — Jones 411. Cop. 9. IO 1725. L. p. 195. Oxf. 233b. Hall p. 15. L. 250. 766. 1513. K. 138. B. 4, 6. Ben. 66. Bik. 567. Haug 44. Katm. 5. NW, 416, Oudh XIV, 88. XVII, 54. NP. V, 198. Burnell 112a. P. 12. Bha. 221. H. 224. Oppert 1067. II, 2806, 5091. 6524. Rice 192. Peters 3. 391. BP. 304. Quoted by Rāmānanda, Oxf. 72b, by Sundaradeva, Hall p. 17.— *Commentaries*: —(1) by Umāpati NW. 434, (2) Jyotsnā by Brahmānanda L. 1513. Khn. 86, Oudh XIV, 88. (3) by Mahādeva, NW. 434, (4) by Rāmānandatīrtha NW. 436, (5) by Vrajabhūṣaṇa NW. 434 ,- *Part II, 181* — BL. 167. Fl. 85 (inc) GB. 119, Gov. Or. Libra. Madras 112. 10355, 1725. 3101. Oudh XXI, 126. Peters 4·23. Stein 133.— *Part III*, 155 — AK. 733. AS. p. 238. Bd. 615. CS. z. 164, Lz. 905, 906, 907 (Upadeśa 4). Peters. 6. 316. Tb. 75. *Commentary* by Brahmānanda Bd. 615. Tb. 75.

Des. Cata. of Madras Mss., IX (1910), Nos. 4391, 4392, 4393, 4394, 4395, 4396 ; *Des. Cata.* of *Tanjore Mss.*, XI (1931), Nos. 6710, 6711, 6712, 6713, 6714 ; *List of Ujjain Mss.*, 1936, p. 69. No. 1572 dated Śaka 1745 (= A. D. 1823), No. 1573 (commentary by Brahmānanda).

2. Vide p. 4914 (Remarks) of *Des. Cata. of Tanjore Mss.* XI (1931).

3. *HP* (TPH, ed.). p. 208.

Its author calls himself as *Svātmārāma*[1] and *Svātmārāma Yogīndra* styled as "*Śrī-Sahajānanda-Santāna-Cintāmaṇi.*"[2] No further information about the author or his *guru* is furnished by the *HP.*[3] We must, therefore, search for references to Svātmārāma and his *HP*, elsewhere.

In a work called the *Haṭharatnāvalī*[4] the author appears to refer to Svātmārāma, the author of the *HP*, in the following verse :—

हठविद्यां हि मत्स्येन्द्रगोरक्षाद्या विजानते ।
आत्मारामोऽपि जानीते श्रीनिवासस्तथा स्वयम् ॥ ३ ॥

Ātmārāma mentioned in this verse appears to be identical

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

3. In my article on the 'Uḍḍīyāna Bandha of Haṭhayoga' (*Journal of the Orissa Academy*, Vol. II, 1938, No. 1, p. 56) I have reproduced the following entry from the unpublished work of the late Vora Jatashankar Harajivan called the कविकाव्यकालकल्पना (p. 648):–

" स्वात्माराम योगि — संन्यासी, सहजानंदशिष्य, गृहस्थाश्रमना नाम मोननाथ, उमाशंकरपुत्रः (१) हठप्रदीपिका (हठयोगप्रदीपिका), श्लोक ५००, अध्याय ४, वि० सं० १६८७ मां करोछे, (२) वर्णदीपिका ॥ "

I have no means of knowing the evidence on which the above entry is based. It appears, however, that according to the above unverified statement the *HP* was composed in *Vikrama Saṁvat 1687* = A. D. 1631. We shall have to see if this unverified date of the *HP* is contradicted by any known references to the *HP* in works of prior dates.

4. Aufrecht *Cata. Catalo.* I, 753 — " हठरत्नावली — NP. V, 118. Quoted by Sundaradeva, Hall, p. 17.— By Śrīnivāsa, Burnell 112b. SB., 349. The remarks on Ms No. 6715 of हठरत्नावली (*Tanjore Cata.*, XI, 1931 p. 4923), in the Tanjore Mss Library read as follows :— "In the Introduction to the work he (the author) mentions himself as one of the four great advocates of Yoga along with Matsyendra, Gorakṣa, and *Ātmārāma*, as well-versed in all branches of knowledge, as an author of commentaries on *Śaśadharīya*, *Maṇikaṇṭhīya*, and one *Vedānta Paribhāṣā* (other than the work of Dharmarājādhvarin) and as the son of a great astrologer Timmajyautiṣika and Somāmbā. He styles himself as the conqueror of great logicians like Mahādeva Miśra. It may be inferred that he was an Āndhra Brahmin."

with Svātmārāma, the author of the *HP*. As the date of the *Haṭharatnāvalī* of Śrīnivāsa[1] has not been fixed, so far as I am aware, the above reference to Svātmārāma does not help us to fix any limit to the date of the *HP*.

A work called the *Śivatattvaratnākara* composed in A. D. 1709 (= Śaka 1631) appears to have made use of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*.[2] We may, therefore, fix A.D. 1709[3] as one terminus to the date of the *HP*. Let us now see if we can push back this limit of A.D. 1709 on the strength of reliable documentary evidence, especially the evidence of the dated Mss of the *HP*. The Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (Govt. Mss Library) contains about 10 Mss of the *HP*. One of these Mss. viz. No. 399 of 1895–1902 is dated *Saṁvat 1751* = A.D. 1695. This date, therefore, may enable us to push back the date of the *HP* say before A.D. 1650 or so. This chronological limit does not so far conflict with the unverified statement of Vora Jatashankar that the *HP* was composed in A. D. 1631.

The other terminus for the date of the *HP* according to Farquhar would be about A.D. 1350[4] as he includes the *HP* in the literature

1. Śrīnivāsa describes himself as follows in verse 2 at the beginning of his *Haṭharatnāvalī* :—

" वेदे वेदान्तशास्त्रे फणिपतिरचिते शब्दशास्त्रे स्वशास्त्रे
तन्त्रे प्राभाकरीये शशधररचिते न्यायरत्नार्णवेन्दुः ।
सांख्ये सारस्वतीये कणभुगभिहिते तत्त्वचिन्तामणिज्ञो
श्रीमज्ज्योतिर्विदग्रेसरनरतनुजो राजते श्रीनिवासः ॥ २ ॥ "

The logician Śaśadhara flourished about 1125 A. D. according to S. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 396).

2. *Des. Cata. of Madras Mss.*, Vol. X, p. 3908. " शिवयोगं शिवालोकं हठयोगप्रदीपिकाम्. " *The Śivatattvaratnākara*, an encyclopædic Sanskrit poem was composed by the Keladi chief, Basava Rāja, whose ancestors were subordinates of the emperors of Vijayanagara. The work was completed in A. D. 1709. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources, of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, 1919.

3. The India Office Ms No. 1836 of the *HP* was copied at Ahmedabad in Saṁvat 1759 (= *A. D. 1703*) — Vide *I. O. Cata.*, Part IV, 1894, p. 600.

4. This terminus of A. D. 1350 for the date of the *HP* is not quite improbable. The *HP* mentions मत्स्येन्द्र, चौरङ्गी, मीन, and गोरक्ष

(*Continued on next page*)

produced during the period of Muslim influence on Hindu religion (13:0 and 1800 A.D.). If Farquhar's view is correct the date of the *HP* must lie between A.D. 1350 and A. D. 1650, a period of 300 years. The *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānanda Sarasvatī contains numerous quotations from the *HP.*[1] According to my data Śivānanda's work stands midway between about 15(.0 and 1850 A.D.[2] The *HP* is also quoted by Sundaradeva in his *Haṭha-Saṅketa-Candrikā*[3] but

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who appear to be identical with Nāthapanthi Yogis of the same name. According to Mr. T. C. Das Gupta (*Aspects of Bengali Society*, Cal. Uni. 1935, p. 155) Nāthism was borrowed from Mahāyāna Buddhists and was current in Bengal about the 11th century A. D. In the songs of Raja Govindacandra composed in the 1st half of the 11th century (say between A. D. 1000 and 1050) Mayanāmati, the mother of Raja Govindacandra, is stated to have been "*initiated into mahājñāna by Gorakṣanātha*" and that she visited the *pāṭhaśālā* of Gorakṣanātha containing 1600 disciples (*Ibid.*, p. 188). If these references have any historical value they appear to make Gorakṣanātha a contemporary of Raja Govindacandra about 1050 A. D. and hence the date of the *HP* must be sought for after A. D. 1100 or so.

1. Vide the *Yoga Cintāmaṇi* Ed. by Haridas Vidyāvāgiśa, Calcutta Oriental Series. The quotations from the *HP*, are intıoduced by the name "हठप्रदीपिकायाम्" on the following pp. of the *Yoga Cintāmaṇi* :— 10, 14, 16, 31, 34, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47, 87, 88, 98, 106, 129, 131, 134, 136, 140, 142, 143, 147, 155, 157, 158, 211, 272 (Vide my article on this work in *Yoga,* Vol. IV, No. 26-28, p. 11).

2. *Yoga*, Vol. IV (Nos. 26-28), p. 14.

3. Hall : *Bibliography*, Calcutta, 1859, pp. 17-18 — Sundaradeva was the son of Viśvanātha Deva. They were of Kāśyapa gotra and were Marhaṭṭas of Benares. Sundaradeva's spiritual guide was Pūrṇānanda. The *Haṭha-Saṅketa-Candrikā* quotes from the following works :— **हठप्रदीपिका** or **हठदीपिका**, योगचंद्रिका, योगाचिंतामणि, सनातनसिद्धान्त, योगसारसमुच्चय, संकेतशिक्षा, योगसंग्रह, योगरहस्य, विरक्तासर्वस्व, नाडीशुद्धि, शक्तिबोध, शक्तिजागर, हठयोग by गोरक्षनाथ, पवनयोगसंग्रह, तन्त्रराज, सूतसंहिता, **हठरत्नावली**, शिवसंहिता, त्रिपुरासमुच्चय, कुंभकपद्धति, Sureśvarācārya's मानसोल्लास, स्वरोदय, जीवन्मुक्तिविवेक, सिद्धांतशेखर, योगतत्वप्रकाश or ०प्रकाशक, योगतत्त्वावली, योगशिखोपनिषद्, ईश्वरगीता, नंदिपुराण, आत्मपुराण, ब्रह्मविद्योपनिषद्, योगदीपिका, वायुसंहिता, योगयाज्ञवल्क्य, कालिकापुराण, जैगीषव्ययोगशास्त्र, अमृतबिंदूपनिषद्, योगसार, योगबीज,

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the date of this work being unsettled this reference has no immediate chronological value for our present inquiry. The dates of the commentators of the *HP* viz. Umāpati, Mahādeva, Rāmānandatīrtha being also unsettled we are unable to make use of their commentaries for fixing the limits for the date of the *HP*. Brahmānanda, author of the commentary *Jyotsnā* on the *HP*, is a late commentator as he was the disciple of one Meruśāstrin, who was alive in A.D. 1859.[1]

There is a treatise on Haṭhayaga in Hindi called *Jogapradīpikā*[2] by one Jaiyatarāma or Jayatarāma. It appears to have been composed in Saṁvat 1784 (= A.D. 1729). To what extent Jaiyatarāma's *Jogapradīpyakā* is indebted to Svātmārāma's *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* I am unable to say at present as I have not studied this Hindi treatise. Even if it is modelled on the *HP*, its date of composition viz. A.D. 1727 does not conflict with the date of the *HP*, as recorded by Vora Jatashankar viz. A.D. 1631.[3]

In the list of teachers recorded in the *HP*, one Nityanātha is mentioned as *Mahāsiddha*. If he is identical with Nityanātha

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हेमाद्रि, केरलतंत्र, नकुलीशयोगपारायण, ईश्वरीतंत्र, योगभास्कर, स्पर्शयोगशास्त्र, सिद्धसोपान रसप्रदीप, अमनस्क, सदाशिवगीता, ईश्वरमीननाथसंवाद, योगहृदय, तंत्रचूडामणि, and विद्यारण्य.

1. Aufrecht, *Cata. Catalo.* I, 388b. Vide also my article in *Yoga*, Vol. III (17-20) pp. 4-5 where I have recorded a list of works and authors quoted by Brahmānanda.

2. See Ms No. 117 of A 1883-84 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona — folios 101. This Ms ends as follows :

" संवत सतरासै असी अधिक चतुरदसज्ञान । आस्वन सित दशमी विजैपूर्ण ग्रंथप्रमान ॥७८०॥
इति श्रीजोगप्रदीप्यकायां जैयतरामेण विरचितायां समाधिवर्णन नाम अष्टमोखण्डसम्पूर्ण ।
शुभमस्तु ॥ "

Saṁvat 1784, *aśvina Sita Daśami* is equal to *Wednesday, 13th September, 1727* (*Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI. p. 257).

3. The dates of the Mss of works relating to Matsyendranātha and his school as noted by Dr. Bagchi (pp. 60 ff. of his Intro. to *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*) do not conflict with our limits for the date of

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Siddha the author of *tāntrika* and *vaidyaka* works[1] and in particular of the work *Ra aratnasamuccaya* which "agrees with the work attributed to Vāgbhata"[2] we can support the earlier terminus of A.D. 1350 for the *HP* presumed by Dr Farquhar in his *Outlines* etc. The *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, be it of Vāgbhaṭa or Nityanātha Siddha, belongs to about A.D. 1300 according to Dr. P. C. Ray[3] and it mentions the names of कपालि, सुरानंद, खण्ड, कापालिक, भैरव, मन्थानभैरव, (or मन्थान and भैरव) काकचण्डीश्वर, which are also found in the *HP*. All these teachers were probably experts in the रसविद्या or alchemy and हठयाग. According to Dr. Mukherji[4] Nityanātha Siddha is posterior to Dallaṇācārya who is assigned by scholars to the 12th century.[5] If this Nityanātha Siddha, the writer on alchemy to whom is attributed the authorship of the work *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, is identical with his name-sake mentioned as a teacher of हठयोग in the *HP*, the date of the *HP* must be assigned to a period after the 13th century i e. after A.D. 1300 or so and hence in the present state of our data we may fix A.D. 1350 as the tentative earlier

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the *HP* viz., *A. D.* 1350 and 1650. The works relating to Matsyendranātha and his school are :—

(1) श्रीकामाख्यगुह्यसिद्धि (2) अकुलागमतन्त्र — Nepal Ms dated A. D. 1671, (3) गोरक्षशतकम् — a Nepal Ms belonging to a late age, (4) गोरक्षभुजंगम् - Nepal Ms dated 1730 A. D., (5) गोरक्षसंहिता - Nepal Ms — Bengali writing of the 16th and 17th centuries (6) नित्याह्निकतिलकम् Ms dated *A. D.* 1395 — Vide H. P. Shastri's *Nepal Catalogue*. I, pp. 111-112 and II, pp. 70, 82). This Ms contains a list of teachers of the Kaula school as also their birth-places. मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ is mentioned in this list as Dr. Bagchi points out. The 14th teacher in this ist is from महाराष्ट्रदेश. His original caste was क्षत्रिय.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 295.

2. *Ibid*, p. 496 — रसरत्नसमुच्चय.

3. *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I, (1902) Intro. p. lvi — According to Dr. P. C. Ray the author of the *Rasaratna-Samuccaya* was contemporary of Roger Bacon who died in A. D. 1294.

4. *Journal of Āyurveda*, (Calcutta), July 1935, p. 17.

5. Vide 16 of Hoernle's *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907.

terminus to the date of the *HP*, the later terminus[1] being about A.D. 1650 as stated above on the strength of the dated Mss of the *HP*.

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1. Vijñānabhikṣu (*c*. A. D. 1550–1600) in his *Yogasārasaṁgraha* (Adyar Edn. 1933) refers to works on the Haṭhayoga on p. 39 as follows :— " आसननाडीशुद्ध्यादयस्तु हठयोगादि ग्रन्थेष्वशेषतो द्रष्टव्याः." I wonder if this reference has anything to do with the *HP*.

Nārāyaṇatīrtha the commentator of the *Upaniṣads* (between *1500 and 1700* A. D.) quotes from the *HP* at least four times (Vide p. 3 of my article in the *Bombay University Journal*, Vol. VII, part 2, Sept., 1938).

In the *Bodleian Library Cata.* by Winternitz and Keith, Vol. II (1905), p. 1306 there is a Ms (No. 1306) of the *HP*, the date of which is stated as " about the *middle of the 18th century*. We are here informed of the following translations and editions of the *HP* :—(1) Text with *Jyotsnā* Comm. Burdwan, 1890. (2) German trans. by H. Walter, Munich, 1893. (3) English trans. by Srīnivāsa Aiyangar, Bombay 1893. *Rudrayāmalatantra* (Oxford Mss, 1869, p. 89) refers to हठयोग as follows ;- हठयोगं प्रकथितमिदानीं शृणु तत्क्रमम्. The anthology *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (A. D. 1363) contains two chapters on हठयोग (Nos. 157 and 158) — See *Peterson's* Edn. I, 1888, p. 662. A work called " राज्ञां प्रतिबोधकं प्रकरणम् " (Ms *No. 67 of 1871–72*—B.O.R. Institute) quotes from the *HP* :— folio 20 — " गोप्रश्नमाह हठप्रदीपिकायां etc." This work mentions तमाखोश्चर्यं गं on folio 14 and is therefore ***later than A. D. 1600***. *HP* is again mentioned on fol. 26.

56. The Uḍḍīyāna Bandha of Haṭha-yoga †

The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*,[1] a standard text on **practical Yoga** or Haṭhayoga defines उड्डीयानबन्ध as under :—

" अथ उड्डीयानबन्ध :—

बद्धो येन सुषुम्णायां प्राणस्तूड्डीयते यतः ।
तस्मादुड्डीयनाख्योऽयं योगिभिः समुदाहृतः ॥ ५५ ॥

उड्डीनं कुरुते यस्मादविश्रान्तो महाखगः ।
उड्डीयानं तदेव स्यात् तत्र बन्धोऽभिधीयते ॥ ५६ ॥ "

" उड्डीयानो ह्यसौ बन्धो मृत्युमातङ्गकेसरी ॥ ५७ ॥ "

" सर्वेषामेव बन्धानामुत्तमो ह्युड्डियानकः ।
उड्डीयाने दृढे बन्धे मुक्तिः स्वाभाविकी भवेत् ॥ ५८ ॥ "

In the above verses the author of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* makes an effort to explain the terms उड्डीयान by connecting it with the Sanskrit root उड्डी (4-A) to fly up, soar. The H. P. is not a very old work[2] like the *Yogiyājñavalkyasaṁhitā*, which deals with

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† *Journal of the Orissa Academy* (Cuttack), Vol. II, pp. 55-68.

1. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1933, Part II, pp. 120 — 121 (text with commentary).

2. I have tried to explain the late character of the H. P. in an article on the *Date af Haṭhayogapradīpikā* contributed to the *Yoga Number* to be published by the Yoga Mandal, Benares. Subsequent to my sending this article to the Editors of this Journal I came a cross the following reference in a printed but unpublished volume called कविकाव्यकालकल्पना by Vora Jata Shankar Harajivan (pp. 689). For the compilation of this volume the author used not less than 5600 works. The information given in this volume is very valuable. Unfortunately the author has not documented his references and hence it is difficult to verify them. The author has used many Catalogues in English and Vernaculars and given dates for authors and their works in some cases. On p. 648 of this volume the following reference to

(*Continued on next page*)

deals with *aṣṭāṅgayoga* and hence its explanations of older yogic terms will have to be accepted with caution.

The commentary on the H. P. published by the T. P. House viz *Jyotsnā* of Brahmānanda is a very modern work, as Meru-śāstri, the *guru* of Brahmānanda was alive in A. D. 1859.[1] Consequently this commentator of the H. P. repeats the explanation of उड्डियान and जालंधर *bandhas* given in the H. P. text.

Other works connecting the term उड्डियान with उड्डी to fly are (1) वराह उपनिषद् and योगकुंडली उपनिषद्. Chap. V of the वराह उपनिषद् says that as प्राण is always flying up (उड्डीयान), so this बन्ध by which its flight is arrested is called उड्डीयानबन्ध. Chap. I of the योगकुंडली उपनिषद् says, because प्राणः उड्डीयते (goes up the Suṣumnā in this बन्ध it is called उड्डीयान (see *Serpent Power* by Arthur Avalon, p. 212, foot-note 4). Though in one of the early great Upaniṣads viz. the *Maitri Upaniṣad* (VI, 18-21) we have, as pointed out by Prof. Ranade[2] an adumbration of later *Haṭhayoga* practices, the above mentioned Upaniṣads viz. the वराह and योगकुंडली Upaniṣads are obviously late productions composed at a time when the esoteric character of the Haṭhayoga had been thrown into the background and the necessity of manuals dealing with the enlarged Haṭhayoga technique had been felt by the gurus and their pupils alike. Though the aim of the Upaniṣads was a practical one viz. the realization of the Godhead by means of yoga and though there are scattered throughout the Upaniṣads certain hints for such a realization as observed by Prof. Ranade (p. 336 of *Cons. Survey*, etc.) it is doubtful whether this practice had in the early times taken the highly evolved form in which we find it in the Hatha

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H. P. occurs :— " ४७४ — स्वात्मारामयोगी — संन्यासी, सहजानंदशिष्य, गृहस्थाश्रममा नाम मीननाथ, उमाशंकरपुत्र, (१) हठप्रदीपिका (हठयोगप्रदीपिका) श्लोक ५०० अध्याय ४, व. सं. १६८७ मां करोछे (२) वर्णदीपिका. "

We reserve for a separate study the verification of the statements made in the above entry.

1. See my article on the " Texts sanctioning the Study of Yoga by Women and their Chronology " pub. in *Yoga* monthly, Vol. III, pp. 17 — 20.

2. *Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*, p. 33— मै. उ. (Bib. Indica) Ed. by Cowell, p. 134 — " ऊर्ध्वगा नाडी सुषुम्नाख्या प्राणसञ्चारिणी ताल्वन्तर्विच्छिन्ना तया प्राणोङ्कारमनोयुक्तयोर्ध्वमुत्क्रमेत् । etc. "

tantras now extant. We shall have, however, to investigate the exact chronology of the two Upanisads, viz. the वराह and योगकुंडली which explain the term उड्डीयान by connecting it with उड्डी to fly.

The *Yogacintāmaṇi*,[1] a compilation of Yogic texts by Śivānanda Sarasvatī, which quotes from the H.P. contains the following verses regarding the उड्डीयान बन्ध[2] from other texts :—

Page 147 — दत्तात्रेय :— " आसनं सुदृढं बध्वा मूलबन्धं विधाय च ।
उड्डीयानं तथा बन्धं ततो जालंधराभिधम् ॥ "

योगबीजे :— " कुंभकांते रेचकादौ कर्तव्यस्तुउड्डीयानिकः । "

Page 130 — पवनयोगसंग्रहे — " शक्तिचालो मूलबन्ध उड्डीयाणं ततः परम् ।
जालंधराभिधो बन्धो विपरीतकृतिस्तथा ॥"

Page 120 — शिवयोगे — " स्वाधिष्ठानं ततश्चक्रं तत्र चातुर्दलाम्बुजम् ।
तदेवोड्डीयानं ध्यायेत् पश्चिमाभिमुखं शिवम् ॥ "

Page 121 — शास्त्रान्तरे तु — " तत्रोड्डीयानपीठेतु तं ध्यात्वा कर्षयेत् जगत् ।
तृतीयं नाभिचक्रं स्यात्तन्मध्ये भुजगीस्थिता ॥ "

No. 140 — ' द्वादशभुजरक्तवर्णओड्डियानस्वाधिष्ठानक्रममारीचीसाधनम् '.
" आदौ............भगवती अनेकविधपूजाभिः संपूज्य ... ...
.........वज्रभूमिं वज्रप्राकारादिकं ध्यात्वा तन्मध्ये श्री ओडि-
यानपीठं त्रिकोणमारक्तं etc. "

In the above quotations, the first three definitely refer to the उड्डीयान बन्ध of the H.P. and pertain to the Haṭhayoga proper while the last two taken from शिवयोग and शास्त्रान्तर appear to have a reference to Tāntric tradition as is clear from the expressions "उड्डीयानं ध्यायेत" and उड्डीयानपीठे तु तं ध्यात्वा." The Haṭhayoga practices appear to have a Tāntric[3] background and hence in a compilation of Yogic texts like the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, Tāntric works have

1. *Yogacintāmaṇi*, Calcutta Oriental Press, — see my article on this Work and its Date, *Yoga* Monthly, Vol. IV (1936), pp. 9 — 14.

2. Arthur Avalon in *Serpent Power* (Madras, 1924), p. 212, explains the term 'बन्धs' as 'bindings' i.e. certain physical methods of controlling प्राण.

3. Arthur Avalon in his "*Serpent Power*" (Madras, 1924), p. 2 states that the treatises on *Haṭhayoga* deal with *Tāntric* Yoga also.

been quoted from as the term "शास्त्रान्तर" may possibly indicate. At any rate the term "उड्डीयानपीठ" has its parallel in Buddhist Tantrism. *Sādhanamālā*,[1] containing a series of short works of Tāntric authors, belongs to the Vajrayāna School of Buddhism, which "introduced the worship of śaktis in Buddhism for the first time."[2] According to Tāranath "Tantrism existed from very early times and was transmitted in the most secret manner possible from the time of Asaṅga down to the time of Dharmakīrti" (Geschiste, p. 201).[3] In Vol. I of the *Sādhanamalā* the following reference may be compared to the reference to "उड्डीयानपीठ" in the Yogacintāmaṇi.

No. 140 — 'द्वादशभुज रक्तवर्ण ओडियान स्वाधिष्ठानक्रममारीची साधनम्.'

"आदौ............भगवतीं अनेकविधपूजाभिः संपूज्य..............वज्रभूमिं वज्रप्राकारादिकं ध्यात्वा तन्मध्ये श्री ओडियानपीठं त्रिकोणमारक्तं etc."

In the *Sādhanamalā*,[4] four पीठs or sacred spots of the Vajrayānists are mentioned viz. (1) ओडियान, (2) पूर्णगिरि, (3) कामाख्या and (4) सिरिहट्ट. Dr. Bhattacharya states that the identification of the last two पीठs is certain. They are situated in the province of Assam. कामाख्या or कामरूप is a few miles from Gauhatti, and सिरिहट्ट is modern Sylhet. The first two पीठs viz. ओडियान (also spelt as उड्डीयान, ओड्डियान and ओड्यान) and पूर्णगिरि have not been identified with certainty.[5] उड्डीयान is the most frequently mentioned among the four पीठs. M. Sylvain Lévi places it somewhere in Kashgarh while M. M. Haraprasad Shastri places it in Orissa. Waddel (L. A.) identified

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1. *Sādhanamālā* (G. O. Series, Baroda, 1928) by Dr. B. Bhattacharya.

2. Ibid, Vol. II, Intro. p. XXVI.

3. Ibid, Vol. II, Intro. p. XXVII — Asaṅga was a brother of Vasubandhu (*280— 360 A.D.*) and Dharmakīrti very probably belonged to a period between *600 — 650 A.D.* During a period of nearly 300 years Tantrism was handed down from Gurus to disciples. Finally *Indrabhūti* publicly preached these doctrines and exhorted people to follow them.

4. *Sādhanamālā* (G. O. Series, Baroda), Vol. II, p 453 — वज्रयोगिनीसाधनम् "पश्चात् पुनरपि ओडियानपूर्णगिरिकामाख्यासिरिहट्ट इत्यनेन पूजयेत्."

5. Ibid, Intro. p. XXXVII— Dr. Bhattacharya states :— "पूर्णगिरि is sometimes identified with modern Poona but this is very doubtful, though at this stage it is extremely difficult to suggest any new identification."

उड्डियान with उद्यान in the Swat valley. Dr. Bhattacharya identifies it with Orissa. There is also mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* a deity called उड्डियानकुरुकुल्ला i.e. कुरुकुल्ला as worshipped in उड्डियान.[1] Indrabhūti is described as a King of उड्डियान.[2] Mr. Nalininath Das Gupta in h s article[3] on "Uḍḍīyāna and Sahore" tries to show that Uḍḍīyāna was a place in Bengal. Many Tāntric Buddhist scholars hailed from Uḍḍīyāna, for instance Lui-pāda, Ananga-Vajra, Thagana, Tailika-pāda, Saraha, Avadhūta-pāda, Nāgabodhi, Jñānavajra, Buddhajñāna-pāda, Amoghanātha, Dharmaśrīmitra, etc. According to Mr. R. M. Nath[4] the ancient उड्डियान is identical with *Hojai*, locally called Ojjai or Ojai. In spite of these divergent views regarding the exact location of उड्डियान the fact remains that it was a very important ancient seat of Tantrism.

As regards the genesis of Tantrism Dr. Bhattacharya observes as follows :—

"It is then in उड्डियान that Tantrism first developed and was probably transmitted to the other पीठs, कामाख्या, सिरिहट्ट and पूर्णगिरि (which must be somewhere near) and thence to the rest of India."

It will be seen from the foregoing evidence recorded by Dr. Bhattacharya that उड्डियान was the fountain-head of all Tāntric knowledge and practices. We have remarked above that the *Haṭhayoga* practices have a Tāntric background and this remark is vindicated

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1. Ibid, p. XXVII.

2. Waddel : *Lamaism*, p. 380.

3. *Ind. His. Quarterly* XI, pp. 142— 144.

4. Vide his article in the *Journal of the Assam Res. Society*, Vol. V. (Nos. 1 and 2 for 1937) on the "*Antiquities of the Kapili and the Jamuna Valleys*" (pp. 14— 57). Mr. Nath observes :— "We are therefore of the definite conclusion that Hojai (in the Nowgong district of Assam) was the ancient Oddiyāna and portions of the present Monzas of Namati, Hojai, Jamunamukh and Duar Bamuni were included within its boundary." The clue to this identification is furnished by the mention of उड्डियान in the *Kālikā-purāṇa* Chap. XVIII ("उड्डीयाने चोरयुग्मं हिताय जगतां ततः") This mention of उड्डियान in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* is very important as it occurs in this Hindu Tantric work which is earlier than 1000 A. D. (Vide my article on the 'Date of Kālikāpurāṇa — Before 1000 A D." published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. X (1936) pp. 289 - 294.

by the following verse[1] from the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* as quoted in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (p. 142) :—

" बन्धत्रयमिदं श्रेष्ठं महासिद्धनिषेवितम् ।
सर्वेषां हठतन्त्राणां साधनं योगिनो विदुः ॥ "

The term हठतन्त्राणां is significant in the above verse because the author of the H. P. looked upon *Haṭhayoga* manuals as हठतन्त्रs[2] i.e. as treatises dealing with Haṭhayoga, a branch of Tāntric knowledge and practice. As Buddhist Tantrism considered उड्डियान as its home it is possible to conclude that उड्डियान बन्ध was called after उड्डियान the home of all हठतन्त्रs referred to in the H. P. in the verse quoted above. As, however, the H. P. is a late manual it forgot the real meaning of the term उड्डियान and connected it with the Sanskrit root उड्डी, to fly.

The *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānanda Sarasvatī contains a quotation from a work called शिवयोग referring to पूर्णगिरि, one of the four पीठs mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* referred to above. This verse reads as under on p. 120 —

" आकाशबीजं नवमं प्रसिद्धम् । त्रिकूटकं पूर्णगिरेश्च पृष्ठे ।
तत्रार्द्धशक्तिं शुभदां सुशून्याम् । ध्यायेत्तदष्टारसरोजमध्ये ॥ "

and later on p. 122 we find also the following verse in a long extract ushered in as " शास्त्रान्तरे " :—

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1. Verse 76 of Chap. III (तृतीयोपदेश) of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (T. P. H. Edition).

2. Evans - Wentz in his " *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines* ", p. 155, states that the Lamas recognize 4 chief classes of Yogic Tantras viz. (1) Tantras expository of the Thatness or Ultimate truth, (2) Tantras of the Occult or Mystic Sciences, (3) the Yogini and Shakti tantras and the (4) Kālachakra tantras. He further states that the Yogini or Shakti tantras are traceable to a learned teacher called Lawapa of Urgyan (or Odyana), the ancient name of a region, now comprised within the territory of Afghanistan 'in the west' of India. Padma Sambhava of Urgyan first introduced the Yogini tantras among the Tibetans. He is credited with having had eight Indian Gurus belonging to the eight different Schools of Buddhism. It would appear from this evidence that उड्डियान (= Odyana or Urgyan) as the name of a region was known as the home of Tāntric tradition even in Tibet.

"तत्र पूर्णगिरौ पीठे शक्तिं ध्यात्वा विमुच्यते ।
ऊर्ध्वशक्तिनिपातेन अधःशक्तिनिकुञ्चनात् ॥ "

The Tāntric works of Hindu[1] persuasion (as distinct from the Buddhist Vajrayāna School) from which the above verses have been quoted in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and which contain references to पूर्णगिरिपीठ (mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā*) appear to indicate that the Hindu Tantras had not forgotten their common home viz. the several पीठs mentioned in the *Sādhanamāla*, such as the उड्डियानपीठ, पूर्णगिरिपीठ etc. Possibly in late works like the H. P. the Tāntric tradition was obliterated by the preponderance of the *Haṭhayoga*, though terms like उड्डीयानबन्ध reminiscent of the country of the origin of हठतन्त्रs were still retained in the Haṭhayoga phraseology.[2]

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1. Cf. the following references to उड्डीयान and other पीठs pointed out by Mr. Nath (*Jour. of the Assam Res. Society*, Vol. V, pp. 50 — 51).

(1) *Tantrasāra* (p. 350) gives a detailed list of all the Pīṭhas and Upapīṭhas viz. Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇa Śaila, Jālandhara, ("Jālandhara probably the modern Sitakunda" J. A. S. B., 1898, Part 1, p. 20) Jayanti, Ujjaini, Uddisha, Uddīyāna etc. Then on p. 421 we get the following verse locating the पीठs in the different parts of the body :—

"मूलाधारे कामरूपं हृदि जालन्धरं तथा ।
ललाटे पूर्णगिर्याख्यं उड्डीयानं तदूर्ध्वके ॥ "

(2) The *Kaulāvali Tantra* (p. 15) gives the order of worshipping पीठs as follows :—

"चतुरस्रं पूर्णशैलं उड्डीयानं जलन्धरम् ।
पूजयेत्कामरूपञ्च पूर्वादिक्रमयोगतः ॥ "

2. Evans-Wentz in his *Tibetan Yoga* (Oxford, 1935), p. 25, records the meaning of the term हठयोग given by Brahmānanda in his commentary, *Jyotsnā*. The word हठ is divided into two letters ह and ठ, where ह means the Sun and ठ means the Moon. The term हठयोग means joining together of the Sun-breathing and the Moon-breathing. How far this meaning of हठयोग is historically correct will have to be investigated. Evans-Wentz further states that the secondary meaning of ह is Health and हठयोग means 'Health-yoga.'

Arthur Avalon (*Serpent Power*, p. 201) states that ह and ठ represent

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If the position taken up in the foregoing remarks regarding the common home of (1) the Buddhist Tantras, (2) the Hindu Tantras and the (3) Haṭha Tantras, which may be regarded as part of Hindu tantras (though the Haṭhayoga practices were also current in Tibet,[1] where Buddhism flourished) then we may be able to give a definite starting point in the chronology of the several works on the Haṭhayoga now available in Manuscript form.

As Tantrism first developed in Uḍḍīyāna and as Indrabhūti, King of Uḍḍīyāna has been assigned to a period A. D. 687—717 onwards we may safely conclude that the name Uḍḍīyāna as a seat of Tantrism must have been current say about 600 A. D. and consequently उड्डीयानबंध is as old as 600 A. D. or to put it generally it is as old as उड्डीयान पीठ where it was practised.

"Indrabhūti was regarded as an authority on *Vajrayāna* and *Ṭantra* long after his time." His sister was Lakṣmīṁkarā who became a Siddha and preached her own peculiar theories in a work called अद्वयसिद्धि, one copy of which is in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, while the original is with M. M. Haraprasad Shastri. The date assigned to this royal author is 729 A. D.[2] She was not only a sister of Indrabhūti but also one of his favourite disciples. We think this is a typical example in support of the study of yoga by women.

As many of the Haṭhayoga texts are of dubious age and authorship it is difficult to decide the exact antiquity of the three

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the Prāṇa and Apāna Vāyus and हठविद्या or हठयोग is the Science of the Life-Principle (See his work *Power as Life*). उपनिषद्ब्रह्मयोगी, the Commentator of the *Yoga Upanishads* (Adyar, 1920) defines हठ as under on p. 400 — " ब्रह्मातिरेकेण देहादिकं नास्ति इति बोधः एव हठः, हठेन सम्यग्ज्ञानेन मृत एवासौ देहः ॥ ४५ ॥ " या निशा सर्वभूतानां ॥ इत्यादिस्मरणात् "

1. Evans - Wentz in his *Tibetan Yoga* states that the Yoga Philosophy which is fundamental in all the treatises translated by him from the Tibetan and which gives unity to them, when they are assembled in one volume, had like the Tantrism, sources in India, (p. 2). " Marpa, the first of the Tibetan Gurus of the Line of the Gurus of the Great Symbol is said to have passed 18 years as a शिष्य in India and to have consulted 100 learned Indian philosophers " (p. 110).

2. ***Sādhanamālā*** (G. O. Series) Vol. II, Intro. p. liv.

bandhas viz. (1) the Mūlabandha, (2) the Uḍḍiyānabandha and the (3) the Jālandharabandha as described in these texts. We shall, therefore, fix at least one limit for the date of these practices. Jñānadeva or Jñāneśvara, the Maharashtra saint wrote his masterpiece *Jñāneśvarī* in 1290 A. D. (Śaka 1212).[1] The Maharashtra tradition states that Trimbakpant, the great grandfather of Jñānadeva was initiated by Gorakṣanātha, who was himself a spiritual descendant of Matsyendranātha. Gahinīnātha, a disciple of Gorakṣanātha initiated Nivṛttinātha and Jñānadeva and hence Prof. Ranade thinks that he was a historical person. It would thus be seen that the Nātha-Sampradāya,[2] which is noted for its Haṭhayoga practices had been established in the Maharashtra in the age of Jñānadeva, who was himself a Yogī, having been initiated by Gahinīnātha as stated above. Accordingly we find in the Jñāneśvarī a reference[3] to the three bandhas of Haṭhayoga. He calls them by the names of "मुळबंध", "जाळंधर" and "वोढियाणा" which correspond to the three Sanskrit terms मूलबंध, जालंधर and उड्डियान of the Haṭhayoga texts. In the detailed description of these bandhas given by Jñānadeva we don't find any attempt on his part to connect the उड्डीयान बन्ध with the Sanskrit root उड्डी to fly as has been done by the author of the H. P. Then again the

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1. Ranade : *Mysticism in Maharashtra*, 1933, p. 29.

2. The Nātha Cult probably took its origin from the Yoginīkaula cult, the chief seat of which was Kāmarūpa. The *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya* edited by Dr. Bagchi (Cal. Sans. Series No. 3, Calcutta, 1934) from a unique Nepalese MS, written probably towards the middle of the 11th Century, informs us that Matsyendranātha belonged to the Siddha or Siddhāmṛta Sect, primarily connected with the Yoginīkaula Cult, which was closely connected with Haṭhayoga on the one hand and the Buddhist Tantra on the other. (Vide Dr. S. K. De's review of the Kaula-Jñāna-nirṇaya in *Oriental Literary Digest*, Poona ; August 1937, pp. 3 — 5).

1. Sākhare : *Jñāneśvarī*, with a Marathi translation and Notes, Poona, 1912. The occasion for bringing in these bandhas is furnished by the verses of the Bhagavadgītā viz. Chapter VI, verses 12, 13, 14, which prescribe the practice of yoga (उपविश्यासने युञ्ज्यात् योगमात्मविशुद्धये) The ovīs describing मूलबन्ध end with the line "अर्जुना हें जाण मुळबंधाचें लक्षण" etc. (ee) on p. 164. The Ovīs describing जालंधर बन्ध end with the line "तो जाळंधर म्हणिपे" (c) and those describing उड्डीयान बन्ध end with the line "नाभिस्थानातळवटी .... वोढियाणा तो" (290) (page 166).

term 'वोड्डियाणा' used by Jñānadeva corresponds to the term "आडियान" (a variant of उड्डियान) used in the *Sādhanamālā* of the Vajrayāna School of Buddhism. We are, therefore, of opinion that A. D. 1290 is a definite chronological limit for the antiquity of these bandhas and of Haṭhayoga practices in general, though the chronology of the several हठतन्त्रs will have to be investigated separately. If negative evidence is looked upon as having any value in this discussion we may state that the H. P. is later than the Jñāneśvarī (1290 A. D.) in view of the absence of the H. P.'s explanation of the term उड्डीयान finding any parallel to it in the Jñāneśvarī, which describes these bandhas in extenso, without the faintest effort to connect it with "flying up" or "soaring up."

The usages of the term उड्डीयान recorded above may now be stated briefly as follows :—

(1) उड्डीयान बन्ध, (2) उड्डीयान कुरुकुल्ला, (3) इन्द्रभूति, King of उड्डीयान, (4) उड्डीयान पीठ, (5 Urgyan[1] mentioned in Tibetan Yoga as the ancient name of the region to which belonged the teacher Lawapa from whom are traced the Yoginī or Śakti tantras.

Further evidence in support of our hypothesis that the term उड्डीयान बन्ध of the Haṭhayoga takes its name from the country of उड्डीयान and that the term जालंधरबन्ध does likewise is furnished by the सौभाग्यलक्ष्म्युपनिषद्, a *Shaiva Upanishad*[2] published by the Adyar Library.

The Hindu Tantras, like the Buddhist Tantras, have retained the tradition about the पीठs and their symbolic representation in Tantric theory and practice. The सौभाग्यलक्ष्म्युपनिषद् (p. 113) alludes to this tradition in the following verse :—

" महाशून्यं ततो याति सर्वसिद्धिसमाश्रयम् ।
चितानन्दं ततो भित्त्वा सर्वपीठगतानलः ॥ २ ॥ "

The commentator's explanation of the above verse concludes as under :—

" प्राणीग्निलः कामरूपपीठादि सर्वपीठगतो भवति "

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2. Dr. F. W. Thomas in *J. R. A. S.* 1906, p. 461, footnote — "The Buddhist Sanskrit form of the name of Udyāna is Uḍḍīyāna or Oḍḍiyāna, and the presence of a **r** or at least a cerebral seems to be attested by the Tibetan Urgyan."

2. Vide ***Shaiva Upanishads*** **with the commentary of the Upanishad — Brahmayogin, Ed. by A. Mahadeva Sastri, Adyar, 1925.**

On page 116 we have the following reference to कामरूपपीठ :—

" आधारे ब्रह्मचक्रं..........ध्यायेत् तत्रैव कामरूपपीठं सर्वकामप्रदं भवति इत्याधारचक्रम् "

On page 117 उड्याणपीठ is mentioned :—

" द्वितीयं स्वाधिष्ठानचक्रं..............ध्यायेत् तत्रैव उड्याणपीठ जगदाकर्षण-सिद्धिदं भवति "

On page 119 we have references to जालन्धरपीठ and पूर्णगिरिपीठ :—

" ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं निर्वाणचक्रं............ध्यायेत् तत्र जालन्धरपीठं मोक्षप्रदं भवति "

" नवममाकाशचक्रं............ध्यायेत् तत्रैव पूर्णगिरिपीठं सर्वेच्छासिद्धिसाधनं भवति "

The commentator Upaniṣad-Brahmayogin in commenting upon the above passages from the Upaniṣad nowhere attempts to explain the names कामरूप, उड्याण, जालन्धर and पूर्णगिरि.

In the above references we are concerned with the terms उड्याण and जालंधर as the two योगबन्धs of Haṭhayoga viz. उड्डीयानबन्ध and जालंधरबन्ध which have taken their names, according to our hypothesis, from the countries of their orign viz. उड्डीयान or उड्याण and जालन्धर, in the same way as the पीठs viz. उड्याणपीठ and the जालन्धरपीठ.

We have brought forth sufficient evidence regarding the correct derivation of the term उड्डीयान. We shall record in a subsequent paper some evidence regarding the derivation of the term जालन्धर in support of our hypothesis mentioned above.

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57. Date of Dhaneśvara's Commentary on Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka — A. D. 1309 (Śaka 1231)

AND AUFRECHT'S MISTAKEN IDENTITY OF THIS AUTHOR WITH HIS NAME-SAKE, THE AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY ON THE ANARGHARĀGHAVA ‡

Aufrecht[1] refers to only one Ms of the commentary on the *Caṇḍī Śataka* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa viz. "Kh. 84." This Ms is identical with No. 30 of 1873–74 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It consists of about 57 folios and appears to be a copy made in Saṁvat 1931 i. e. in A. D. 1875 at Vikramapura from some old Ms which records the date of composition of the commentary of Dhaneśvara. It begins as follows :—

" स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशभारतीभ्यां नमः ।। गुरुभ्यश्च ॥

कपोलरोलंबनिराकरेष्णुर्वेल्लत्कराग्राहति कैतवेन ।
संप्रीणयन्नर्थिजनं धनौघै हेरंब नामा जयतीह देवः ॥ १ ॥

मलहंसकनिर्ह्रादजितहंसकसद्गतिः ।
वार्णा वीणावती लोके जयति ब्रह्मसूरसौ ।। २ ॥

ज्यायान् जयति वाल्मीकि काव्यसृष्टिपितामहः ।
शतकोटिविकीर्णं यश्चारुरामायणं व्यधात् ॥ ३ ।।

जयंति जगदानंदकंदसेकविशारदाः ।
शारद अप्रतीकाशाः काचिदादिकवेर्गिरः ॥ ४ ॥

गोक्षीरकर्पूरसुधांशुगौरा माधुर्यधुर्य्याजितहारहूराः ।
विद्वन्मनः कार्म्मणकर्म्मशूरा बाणस्य वाचः सुकवेर्जयंति ।। ५ ॥

चंडीशतस्तुतिं बाणः कविगाढां प्रणीतवान् ।
व्याख्यां तस्याः सुबोधार्थां कुर्म्मः पदविबोधिनीं ॥ ६ ॥

गृहंगिवमां सदा संतो संतोष्यतम्मलीमसः ।
स्वछमंभो मुनिजनैर्व्याघ्रैरपि निषेव्यते ॥ ७ ।।

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‡ *Poona Orientalist* (1941) Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 108–124.

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 177.

The commentary does not contain many references to previous works and authors. My cursory perusal of the Ms has disclosed the following references :—

अमर — fol. 2, 7, 10, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 35, 36, 37.

अमरसिंह — fol. 25.

यादवप्रकाश — fol. 8.

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति — fol. 5.

महाभारतसावित्री उपाख्यान — fol. 21.

मार्कण्डेयपुराणे — fol. 19, 27.

'गारुडशास्त्रं जानाति इति नयज्ञः' — fol. 35.

वैजयंति — fol. 35.

हलायुध — fol. 1 (in the margin).

कालिदास — fol. 2.

भट्टपादाः — fol. 27.

In the above list the reference to यादवप्रकाश the author of lexicon वैजयन्ती gives us one terminus to the date of Dhaneśvara's commentary viz. "the middle of the 11th Century."[1] This is consistent with the date of composition recorded by the author himself in the colophon of his work which reads as follows :—

fol. 56a — " आसीन्निर्जरवंशपद्मतरणिः स्वाचारचिंतामणिः ।
सद्विद्यासरणिर्भवाब्धितरणिः श्रीसोमनाथो द्विजः ॥
सूनुस्तस्य धनेश्वरो व्यरचयट्टीकां शिशूद्बोधिनीं ।
श्रीचण्डीशतनामप्रमाणरचिते काव्ये गभीरेतरां ॥ १ ॥

केचिद्दोषदृशः परे गुणदृशस्त्वन्ये न किंचिद्दृशः ।
सर्वे मत्सरमुत्सृजन्तु धिषणां कृत्वा गुणग्राहिणीं ॥
बालानां सुखबोधनाय विहितां व्याख्यामिमां गृह्णतां ।
श्रेयस्यादिति संप्रधार्य मनसा गृह्णन्तु मां सूरयः ॥ २ ॥

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1. *Kalpadrukośa* (G. O. S. Baroda, 1928) Intro. p. xxvii —

" The author Yādavaprakāśa has been identified with the preceptor, and afterwards a pupil, of Rāmānuja whose lifetime is variously stated as A. C. 1017-1137 or 1055-1137. The Vaijayantī appears, therefore, to have been composed about the middle of the 11th Century. "

श्रीमद्दशकुरज्ञातिभट्टसोमेश्वरात्मजः ।
धनेश्वरः कृतिवरष्टीकां चण्डीशते व्याधात् ॥ ३ ॥
शाके करेन्दुरामेन्दुमितेत्वानन्दवत्सरे
वैशाखशुक्लभूतायां गुरौ चित्राह्वऋक्षके ॥ ४ ॥
समाप्तिमगमद्याख्या चण्डीशतविबोधिनी ।
पंचदशशतायुक्ता सप्तालपाश्लोकसंख्यया ॥ ५ ॥"

The foregoing verses tell us that our commentator Dhaneśvara belonged to "*Daśakura*" caste of Brahmins. His father's name as given in verse 1 is *Somanātha* which is the same as Bhaṭṭa *Someśvara* repeated in verse 3. The composition of the commentary was completed in the year represented by the chronogram कर, इन्दु, राम, इन्दु, which is equal to 1312 Śaka. Other particulars regarding the date are (1) month of *Vaiśākha*, (2) *Śukla* or bright fortnight, (3) *Guruvāra* or Thursday and (4) *Citrā* constellation. The name of the *Saṁvat* as recorded in verse 4 quoted above is *Ānanda*. According to the normal reading of the chronogram viz., "कर, इन्दु, राम, इन्दु" we get *Śaka 1312* as the year in which the commentary was completed by the author. The Saṁvat year corresponding to *Śaka 1312* is *Dhātṛ*[1] and not *Ānanda* as mentioned in the verse mentioned above. This discrepancy between the normal reading of the chronogram and the name of the Saṁvat specified by the author makes our verification of the date quite difficult. I am, therefore, inclined to read the chronogram as "इन्दु, कर, राम, इन्दु" without changing the words of the chronogram but merely by transposing the first two words "कर, इन्दु." This reading gives us Śaka "इन्दु, (1), कर (2), राम (3), इन्दु (1) = 1231 Śaka = A.D. 1309. According to *Indian Ephemeris*[2] we have *Ānanda Saṁvat* for Śaka 1231 and if my interpretation of the date is correct the date of completion of the commentary by its author Dhaneśvara would be equivalent to *Thursday*,[3] 17th or 24th *April 1309*.

1. Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, V, p. 383.

2. Vol IV. p. 220.

3. Ibid. — In the *Śukla pakṣa* of *Vaiśākha* of *Śaka 1231* we have *two Thursdays* (17th or 24th April 1309) and as the commentary does not record the exact *tithi* I am unable to determine exactly what *Thursday* is meant by the author. Perpaps the expression "चित्राह्व ऋक्षके" may be of some use in determining what Thursday is meant by our author. Possibly *Thursday, 24th April 1309* is the exact date of the work.

The above chronology for Dhaneśvara's commentary on the *Caṇḍīśataka* leads us to the question of the chronology of the commentary on the drama *Anargharāghava*, the authorship of which seems to have been ascribed by Aufrecht[1] to our Dhaneśvara. Let us now see if these two authors of the name Dhaneśvara are identical.

The Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute contains a fragment of Dhaneśvara's commentary[2] on the *Anargharāghava* viz. *No. 319 of 1884-87*. This Ms begins as follows :—

" श्रीगणपतये नमः । श्रीअंबिकायै नमः

प्रणतनिजभक्तसमस्तकमधुकरसुलभप्रसादमकरंद ।
निजनखरुचिकिंजल्कं लंबोदरपादपंकजं नमतः ॥ १ ॥

प्राततेनापि वितरिणयितुं शक्येयं गीतिः । तथा हि
पणदणिः पमत्तमच्छ अमुहुअरसुह(प)थसादमयरंदं ।
णियणहरुइकिंजल्कं लंबोअर पात्रपंकयणमह ।
ये वाग्मपा(या ?)ब्धिमथनश्रमकष्टलब्धं
तत्वामृतं विविधवर्णमणिप्रकीर्णं ।
शिष्यव्रजायसततं क्षणतोर्पयंत-
स्तेभ्यो नमोस्तु नितरामि सद्गुरुभ्यः ॥ २ ॥

यस्मात्तीरनिधेरजायत पुरा चंद्र...रंगान्वितः
क्षीणत्तो भवतो विमार्गनिरतः शुभ्रैकपत्ताविलः ।
अक्षोभ्यः कथमेष तं न हि हसेत्सूते चिरंगान् कला
पूर्णा सत्पथगान्सितो भयलसत्पक्षान् द्विजेशान् हि यः ॥ ३ ॥

भारद्वाजीयगोत्राब्धौ तत्र जातः कलानिधिः ।
धर्मांगदो योभ्युदये व्यधात्कुवलयोत्सवं ॥ ४ ॥

शीलसत्येरवततः सुतौ सुचरितावुभौ ।
विजयोदयशर्माणात (व ?) भूतां विबुधप्रियौ ॥ ५ ॥

प्रायोढांदयसत्पातः सत्यव्रतः सुतां स्व...रान् ।
धर्मार्थकामानवमान्मत्सरग्रहवर्जितान् ॥ ६ ॥

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1. CC I, 267 — " धनेश्वर, Son of Udaya :
—Comm. on Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka Kh 84
—Yaśodarpaṇikā Anargharāghavaṭīkā
Radh 23, Lahore. 6 "

2. CC II, 3 — " अनर्घराघव — Comm. Yaśodarpaṇikā by Dhaneśvara Rgb. 319 (fr). " This is the only Ms accessible to me. The other two Mss viz. " Radh 23 " and " Lahore 6 " are not accessible.

विषमालोकसंपातदग्धवैरिपुरव्रजः ।
भूतिभासुरसर्वांगो जायानत्र त्रिलोचनः ॥ ७ ॥

यशोदयाचितो भास्वदनिरुद्धोदयप्रियः ।
अनंतभागसंविष्टपद्मनाभोत्र मध्यमः ॥ ८ ॥

तयोः कनीयानवरोवसा सद्गुणैरपि ।
चतुरास्योपि वा (चा) दीपपंचास्यः श्रीधनेश्वरः ॥ ९ ॥

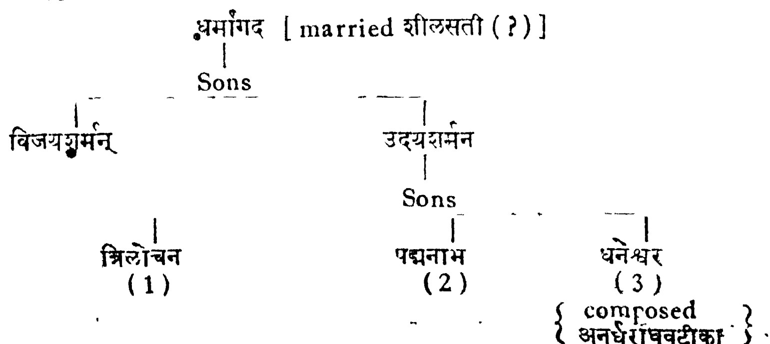
निगमनागशर्मभ्यः साहित्यं सूर्यदीरुतः ।
शब्दार्थतंत्रं योश्रौषीदुत्तमाश्रमिणः कृती ॥ १० ॥

धनेश्वरोयं शिशुबोधहेतोर्मुरारिटीकां तनुतेस्फटार्थां ।
अबोधवैकुल्यपरिच्युतोर्थो बुधैः सुबुध्यात्र गवेशर्षी(णी ?)यः ।
किं यात्रयात्रा सुधिया गुर्तीक्ष्णा सूचीसधर्मा जयतीह बुद्धिः ।
या कंटकैः कलितमावृणोति रंध्रं परस्य स्वगुणार्पणेन ।"

As the Ms is incomplete there is no colophon and consequently we have no means of knowing if the author had recorded any information about himself in the concluding part of the work. It is, however, clear that Dhaneśvara, the son of Somanātha and author of the commentary on the *Caṇḍīśataka* is different from his namesake of *Bhāradvāja gotra* referred to in the above extract from the commentary on the *Anargharāghava* and whose genealogy[1] is recorded by its author in detail but which contains no person of the name *Somanātha*.

The difference in the genealogies of the two Dhaneśvaras as noticed above is sufficient to prove the mistaken character of Aufrecht's suggested identity of these two authors. I shall,

1 Though the text of the MS No. 319 of 1884–87 as reproduced in the extract recorded above is corrupt we can gather the following genealogy from it :—



however, record some further evidence in support of my remarks about the difference of authorship for both the commentaries.

The Ms of the *Anargharāghavaṭīkā* contains the following references to previous works and authors :—

(1) दशरूपक, fol. 4, 8, 10, etc.
(2) काव्यप्रकाश, fol, 5.
(3) नाट्यदीप,[1] fol. 5.
(4) नाट्यप्रदीप,[2] fol. 5.
(5) संगीतकल्पतरु,[3] fol. 5.
(6) भरत, fol. 5.
(7) अमरः , fol. 5.
(8) कैयटाचार्य, fol. 10.
(9) रामायण, fol. 11.
(10) न्यासकारव्याख्यान, fol. 19
(11) धरणिः fol. 26

Folio 26 — " इतिश्रीअनर्घराघवटीकायां यशोदर्पणिकायां प्रथमोंकः "

If the work *Nāṭyapradīpa* mentioned by Dhaneśvara in his commentary on *Anargharāghava* is identical with the only work of this name, mentioned by Aufrecht as the work of Sundaramiśra composed in A. D. 1613, we are compelled to fix the date of this

1. Aufrecht records no work of this title.

2. Aufrecht, CC I, 284 — " नाट्यप्रदीप written by Sundaramiśra in 1613, Hall, Preface to *Daśarūpa*, p. 1. Quoted by Rāmanātha on *Amarakośa* and by Vāsudeva on *Karpūramañjarī*. "

CC I, 725 — " सुन्दर औजागरि—

—*Abhirāmamaṇināṭaka* written in 1599

—*Nāṭyapradīpa* written in 1613. "

3. Aufrecht, *CC I*, 685 — " संगीतकल्पतरुटीकासुबोधिनी by Gaṇeśadeva, Bik. 512. "

CC II, 163— " संगीतकल्पतरु music. Quoted by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya*, FI. 444.

Krishnamachariar (*Classical Sans. Lit.* p. 872) states that King Gajapati Vīraśri Nārāyaṇadeva who ruled about A. D. 1700 at Parlakimidi refers to संगीतकल्पतरु in his own work *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*.

commentary after 1613 A. D. This conclusion harmonizes with the reference by Dhaneśvara to संगीतकल्पतरु, which is a work on music composed before A. D. 1650 or so as it is mentioned by Raṅganātha in his commentary on the *Vikramorvaśīya* (A. D. 1656) and by Nārāyaṇadeva in his *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* (about A. D. 1700.)

In view of the foregoing data regarding the chronology and genealogy of the two commentators of the same name Dhaneśvara we arrive at the following conclusions :—

(1) Dhaneśvara, son of Bhaṭṭa Someśvara of the *Daśakura* caste composed his commentary on Bāṇa's *Caṇḍīśataka* in A. D. 1309 (Śaka 1231).

(2) The above Dhaneśvara is different from Dhaneśvara the son of Udayaśarman, who composed his commentary on the *Anargharāghava* after A. D. 1613.

It is, therefore, clear that Aufrecht's entry regarding the identity of the above mentioned " Dhaneśvaras " is not borne out by evidence gathered by me from the available Mss of their works. Both these authors appear to be separated in point of time by more than 300 years, besides having different genealogies.

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58. References to a lost Work on the Pāṭīgaṇita of Śrīdharācārya by Makkibhaṭṭa (1377 A.D.) and by Rāghavabhaṭṭa (1493 A.D.)‡

Mr. S. B. DIKSHIT, in his *History of Indian Astronomy*,[1] observes that a Ms of work called त्रिशतिका consisting of 300 verses in *āryā* metre and dealing with पाटीगणित is available in Kashi Rājakīya Pustakālaya[2] and that the following verse appears at the beginning of this Ms :—

नत्वा शिवं स्वविरचितपाट्या गणितस्य सारमुद्धृत्य ।
लोकव्यवहाराय प्रवक्ष्यति श्रीधराचार्यः ।

Mr. Dikshit concludes from the above statement of the verse that Śrīdhara must have composed another work on पाटीगणित larger in extent than the त्रिशतिका.

The conclusion arrived at by Mr. Dikshit raises the following questions regarding the bigger work of Śrīdhara on the पाटीगणित :—

(1) Are there any references to this bigger work made since Śrīdhara's time by other subsequent writers ?

(2) What is the exact title by which the work was known to these writers ?

(3) Are there any extant Mss of this work traceable in libraries or elsewhere, since Mr. Dikshit wrote his History of Indian Astronomy in 1896 ?

Though I cannot answer all these questions in the present note I am able to answer the first two questions on the strength of the following evidence which is no less than about 450 years old :—

‡ *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. XVI, pp. 259-262.

1. Published in Marathi, Poona, 1896, pp. 311-312.

2. Possibly the Library of Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa who composed his commentary *Padārthādarśa*[1] in A. D. 1493 on the *Śāradātilaka* refers to Śrīdhara's smaller and bigger works in the following manner :—

" श्रीधराचार्योक्तेन प्रकारेण क्षेत्रफलमानीतं तच्च स्थूलम् । यतो गणितग्रन्थानामियं शैली यत् स्थूलं सूक्ष्ममपि फलानयनमुच्यते । तत्र भगवता श्रीधराचार्येण बृहत्पाट्यां प्रकारद्वयमप्युक्त्वा तत्संग्रहे त्रिशतीग्रन्थे स्थूला एव प्रकारा दर्शिताः । भास्कराचार्येण तु लीलावत्यां स्थूला इव सूक्ष्मा अपि प्रकारा उक्ताः । तां बृहत्पाटीं चावलोक्य मया सूक्ष्मं फलमिदमानीतम् । तदेव सूक्ष्ममिति मन्यते चेत्तदा मूले अत्यन्तं फलाधिक्यं स्यात् " etc.

It would be clear from the above extract that Rāghavabhaṭṭa in A. D. 1493 had before him the bigger work of Śrīdharācārya and that he had used it (तां बृहत्पाटीं च अवलोक्य मया etc). The name of this bigger work was बृहत्पाटी while the smaller work was known to him as त्रिशती[2] which is the same as त्रिशतिका mentioned by Mr. Dikshit as stated above. About this work Dr. Eggeling[3] remarks :—

" *Gaṇitasāra* also called *Triśatī*, a compendium of arithmetic, by *Śrīdharācārya*, the precursor of *Bhāskarācārya*, whose Līlāvatī seems to have been written in distinct imitation of this work."

As Bhāskarācārya wrote his *Līlāvatī* in imitation of the *Triśatī* it must have been very popular among astronomers of his time. Our curiosity, therefore, to know more of the bigger work, viz., the बृहत्पाटी, of which the त्रिशती is an abridged version, increases, but as no Mss of the बृहत्पाटी have been recorded so far we must rest satisfied by trying to record all references to and quotations from this work wherever found. I shall now record a reference to

1. Ed. in *Kashi Sanskrit Series*, 1934, p. 99.

2. Aufrecht records the following Mss of *Triśatī* in *Cata. Catalogorum*.

Part I, p. 240 — त्रिशती गणितसार Jy. by Śrīdhara, B. 4. 148.
p. 143 — गणितसार by Śrīdharācārya, B. 4, 122, Jac. 696.

Part II, p. 28 — गणितसार or त्रिशती by Śrīdhara Ācārya, I. O. 520, 2296, 2409.

Part III, p. 31 — गणितसार by Śrīdharācārya, AS, p. 79, Peters, 6,410 = No. 410 of 1895 - 98 in Govt. Mss Library, B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

3. *India Office Catalogue*, Part V, 1896, p. 1000.

this bigger work of Śrīdharācārya which is earlier by 100 years than the reference to the work by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in 1493 A. D.

Makkibhaṭṭa who had been assigned to A. D. 1377[1] by Dr. Bibhūtibhusan Datta mentions a work of Śrīdharācārya called the नवशती and quotes from it as will be seen from the following extract[2] from his Commentary called the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* on Śrīpati's Siddhānta-Śekhara edited by Babuji Miśra :—

" कोट्यादिलक्षणं श्रीधराचार्येण नवशत्यामुक्तम् ॥
एकं दश शतं तस्मात् सहस्रमयुतं ततः परं लक्षम् ।
प्रयुतं कोटिरथार्बुदमब्जं खर्वं निखर्वं च ॥
तस्मान्महासरोजं शङ्कुःसरितां पतिस्त्वन्त्यम् ।
मध्यं परार्धमाहुर्यथोत्तरं दशगुणाः संज्ञाः ॥ इति ॥ "

Pt. Babuji Miśra states in a footnote[3] to the above extract that Śrīdharācārya prepared an abridged version of this work of his viz., the नवशती, the name of the former being the त्रिशतिका and that M. M. Sudhakara Dvivedi has published an edition of the work. The identity of the नवशती with the bigger original of Śrīdharācārya's work on the पाटीगणित designated by Rāghavabhaṭṭa as बृहत्पाटी seems quite possible as stated by Pt. Babuji Miśra and the following additional information regarding the bigger original is furnished by Makkibhaṭṭā's reference noted above :—

(1) The original work consisted of 900 verses नवशती and hence was termed नवशती or a " Compendium of 900 verses, " in Makkibhaṭṭa's time (A. D. 1377).

(2) As Makkibhaṭṭa quotes from it he had before him a MS of the work and it is reasonable to suppose that the work was quite popular in the 14th Century. This conclusion is in harmony with the statement of Rāghavabhaṭṭa in 1493 A. D. that he had used a Ms of the bigger

1. *Siddhānta - Śekhara* of Śrīpati ed. by Babuji Mishra (Cal. University) 1932, Part I, p. 521. This edition contains the commentary of Makkibhaṭṭa on chapters I, II, III and IV (about half) of Śrīpati's text.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

3. " अस्या नवशत्या एव सारस्त्रिशतिकाख्यः श्रीधराचार्येणैव पृथक् कृतः सम्प्रत्यस्मद्गुरुचरणैः म. म. सुधाकरद्विवेदिभिः मुद्रापितः उपलभ्यते । "

work of Śrīdharācārya on the पाटीगणित ("मयाबृहत्पाठीं अवलोक्य" etc.)

Aufrecht records no Mss of this bigger work of Śrīdharācārya either under the title नवशती or बृहत्पाटी. Perhaps a Ms of this work may still be traced and the foregoing particulars may facilitate proper search for the Mss of this important work of Śrīdharācārya by scholars intrested in the history of Indian Mathematics and Astronomy.

Identity of Makkibhaṭṭa, the Author of a Commentary on Śrīpati's Siddhānta-śekhara, with Makkibhaṭṭa, the Author of a Commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa ‡

Aufrecht does not record any MSS of a commentary on the *Siddhānta-Śekhara*[1] of the astronomer Śrīpati by Makkibhaṭṭa. We must, therefore, thank Pt. Babuji Miśra, for bringing to light at least at a fragment of this commentary called the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* on the first three chapters and about half of the fourth chapter[2] of Śrīpati's text (up to verse 75). Makkibhaṭṭa himself tells us that he was well versed in many subjects viz. : (1) Veda, (2) Grammar, (3) Poetry, (4) Vedānta, (5) Logic, (6) Dharma-śāstra, (7) Prosody, (8) Rhetoric, (9) Drama, (10) Purāṇas, (11) Astronomy, and (12) Yogaśāstra (verse 4). He is assigned to Śaka 1299[3] (= A. D. 1377). Generally Makkibhaṭṭa follows Āryabhaṭa. The following references to earlier authors and works are found in the fragment of Makkibhaṭṭa's commentary[4] published by Pt. Babuji Miśra :—

‡ *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pages 479–484.

1. Ed. by Pt. Babuji Miśa, Cal. University, 1932, Part I (Chapters I – X).

2. Pt. Babuji Miśra has written an original commentary on the portion of the *Siddhānta - Śekhara* not covered up by Makkibhaṭṭa's commentary.

3. *Siddhānta - Śekhara*, Ed. by Babuji Miśra, Intro., p. 26.

4. Mr. D. V. Ketkar of Bijapur informs me that Makkibhaṭṭa's commentary on Śripati's *Siddhānta - Śekhara* has freely borrowed from the *Brahmasiddhāntavāsanābhāṣya* of Caturveda Pṛthūdaka-svāmin, son of Bhaṭṭa Madhusūdana. Makkibhaṭṭa, however, does not mention by name the source of his borrowing. The India Office MSS of Pṛthūdaka's commentary (Nos. 2769 – 70) are fragmentary and hopelessly jumbled together. The Govt. MSS Library at the

(*Continued on next page*)

(1) वराहमिहिर, p. 2.
(2) भगवत्पादाचार्यैः, p. 3.
(3) विठ्ठल, p. 5.
(4) पाणिनि, p. 5.
(5) बोधायन, p. 5.
(6) पितामह, p. 5.
(7) दण्डिना, p. 5.
(8) महाभाष्यकारिणा, p. 6.
(9) वराहसंहितायाम्, p. 6.
(10) ब्रह्मसिद्धान्ते, pp. 7, 29.
(11) आर्यभटेन, pp. 7, 19, 23, 27, 260, 263.
(12) सूर्यसिद्धान्ते, pp. 13, 15, 27, 28, 52, 151, 194.
(13) सूर्यसिद्धान्तकारः, pp. 15, 151.
(14) महाभारतेन, p. 15.
(15) श्रीधराचार्येण नवशत्याम्, p. 17.
(16) ब्रह्मगुप्तेन, pp. 31, 89, 162, 286.
(17) चरकसुश्रुतादि, p. 32.
(18) भास्करेण, pp. 39, 75 (भास्कराचार्येण), 181.
(19) आर्यभटसिंहाचार्यादयः, p. 44.
(20) लाटदेवादयः, p. 45. लाटाचार्यः, p. 45.
(21) यवननृपतिः, p. 45.
(22) वराहमिहिरेण पञ्चसिद्धान्तिकायाम्, p. 45.
(23) मनुः, p. 46.
(24) "बृहद्भास्करीयव्याख्याने गणितविलासाख्ये अस्माभिः प्रपञ्चितम्," pp. 51, 199.
(25) "अस्य श्लोकस्य बहवः अर्थाः सन्ति ते सर्वे श्लोकान्तरव्याख्यानव्याजेन गणितविलासे अस्माभिः प्रपञ्चिताः", pp. 59, 78, 93, 214, 216, 222.
(26) भट्ट हलायुधः, p. 64.

(*Continued from previous page*)

B. O. R. Institute, Poona, has a good MS of this commentary, viz. No. 339 of 1879–80. It is, however, in a decaying condition. It is dated *Śaka* 1595 (A. D. 1673) '*Bhādrapada, Śu. 5, Gurau*' — folios about 255.

(27) अमरसिंहवचनात्, p. 112.
(28) पौलिशसिद्धान्ते, p. 132.
(29) श्रीपतिब्रह्मगुप्ताभ्याम्, p. 151.
(30) गणितमुखे, p. 267.

Items Nos. 24 and 25 in the above list prove that Makkibhaṭṭa wrote a commentary called the गणितविलास on the बृहद्भास्करीय, which Pt. Babuji Miśra explains[1] as the work of भास्कर who was the chief pupil of Āryabhaṭa (Śaka 444 = A. D. 522). No. MSS of this गणितविलास have been recorded by Aufrecht. So far only two works on mathematics composed by Makkibhaṭṭa have been known, viz. (1) the गणितभूषण commentary on the Siddhānta-Śekhara mentioned above and (2) गणितविलास, a commentary on the बृहद्भास्करीय mentioned by Makkibhaṭṭa in the गणितभूषण. It is possible that an erudite scholar like Makkibhaṭṭa well versed in different branches of learning, as stated by him in verse 4 of his introductory remarks to the commentary गणितभूषण, may have written original works or at least commentaries on works pertaining to subjects other than mathematics.

I propose in this note to prove that Makkibhaṭṭa the author of the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* is identical with Makkibhaṭṭa, the author of a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, a fragment of which is available in the India Office Library. This identity will prove Makkibhaṭṭa's interest in Kāvya literature.

The only reference to Makkibhaṭṭa's works found in Aufrecht's *Cata. Catalogorum*[2] is the following :—

'मक्किभट्ट—*Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* (Sargas 1-9). At the end of Sarga XIX, the statement is found that Makki wrote the commentary as far as Sarga 14 and the remaining Sargāḥ were explained by Jñānendra.'[3]

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1. " आर्यभटप्रधानशिष्येन भास्करेण विरचितस्य बृहद्भास्करीयस्य टीका अपि ' गणितविलास ' नामिका कृता इति बहुत्र अपि सूच्यते । " (*Vide* p. 26 of *Siddhānta - Śekhara*).

2. *Cata. Catalo.*, Part III, p. 90.

3. Ind. Office Cata., Part II (Vol. II), p. 1062.
" मक्किभट्टै[:] कृतव्याख्या नीलमंदिरसंभवैः ।
आचतुर्दशसर्गान्ता रघुवंशप्रदीपिकाः ॥
आपंचदशसर्गात्तु ज्ञानेंद्रगिरिभिष्परं ।
पूरिता रघुवंशस्य व्याख्या कृतिपदं स्फुटा ॥ "

Reference to the MS of the above commentary made by Aufrecht is :—

(1) "*B. C.* 410"[1] This MS was presented by Dr. A. C. Burnell to the India Office Library. It is described by Prof. Keith in his *Catalogue of India Office MSS*[2] under two different numbers, viz. No. 6992 and 6993, the first number comprises the commentary of Makkibhaṭṭa proper while the second comprises the supplementary commentary on Sarga XIX only by Jñānendragiri.

Makkibhaṭṭa's commentary available in No. 6992 for is Sargas, I - III only. The identity of authorship of the *Raghuvaṁśa-pradīpikā* and the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* will be clear from the following comparison of textual matter at the beginning of both the works :—

I. O. MS of रघुवंशप्रदीपिका	Text of गणितभूषण Commentary
" देवो विष्णुविरिंचिवंदितपदद्वंद्वारविंदौ शिवौ नित्यानंद भुवौ समस्तजगतामानंददौ दंपती । शब्दार्थात्मतया बिभतंजतनूष्टद्यादि-मूत्वा स्थितौ वेदांतप्रतिपादितौ हृदि सदा तौ सन्निदत्तां मम ॥ १ ॥	" देवो विष्णुविरिंचिवन्दितपदद्वन्द्वार-विन्दौ शिवौ नित्यानन्द घनौ समस्तजगतामा-नन्ददौ दम्पती । सृष्टिस्थित्यविधानकृत्यनिरतौ लो-केश्वराराधितौ विस्पष्टं प्रविदार्य मोहपटलं ज्ञानं विधत्तं मम ॥ १ ॥
तीर्णो वेदमाहाश्नंवस्तिलकितं वेदांतिनां दर्शनं पीतं व्याकरणामृतं विफ(भ)जितं तज्जैमिनीयं मतं ।	तीर्णो वेदमहार्णवस्तिलकितं वेदा-न्तिनां दर्शनं पीतं व्याकरणामृतं विघटितं प्राभाकरं भाट्टयुक् ।

1. *Cata. Catalo.*, Part III, p. 104.

2. Vol. II, Part II, pp. 1061 - 62.

I. O. MS of रघुवंशप्रदीपिका	Text of गणितभूषण Commentary
क्षुंणो न्यायमाहाजलो विमृदितो बाह्यागमस्सादरं येनासौ भुवने चकास्ति यतिराट् भूव्यासगिर्यान्वयः ॥ २ ॥	क्षुण्णो न्यायमहाचलो विमृदितो वाह्यागमः सादरं येनासौ भुवने चकास्ति यतिराट् श्रीव्यासधीराह्वयः ॥ २ ॥
	....
वेदव्याकरणाश्रयस्तु कविता वेदांत- तर्कस्मृति- छंदोलंकृतिकाव्यनाटकपुराणाम्नाय वारांनिधिः । ज्योतिःशास्त्रसुमंत्रनीतिनिपुणो योगा- गमे निष्ठितो मक्क्याख्यो (ख्यो) विवृणोति भट्ट- कृतवान् रघ्वाद्यवंशं कृती ॥ ३ ॥ "	वेदव्याकरणाश्रयः सुकविता-वेदान्त- तर्कस्मृति- छंदोलंकृतिकाव्यनाटकपुराणाम्नाय वारांनिधिः । ज्योतिःशास्त्रसुमन्त्रनीतिनिपुणो यो योगशास्त्रे पटुः मक्क्याख्यो विवृणोति भट्ट कृतवाक् सिद्धान्तसच्छेखरम् ॥ ४ ॥ "

It will be seen from the above comparison that the introductory verses in both the commentaries are almost identical. The *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* contains 3 verses at the beginning while the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* contains 4 verses, out of which verse 3 only is not found in the *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā*. Then again the last 2 lines of verse 1 in both the commentaries differ in expression though the metre is identical. A study of the India Office MS of the *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* may furnish more data to support the identity of authorship for both the commentaries, which is, however, obvious from the above comparison of common passages and which, coupled with the identity of the name *Makkibhaṭṭa*, needs no elaborate proof. It would, however, be worth while to analyse the fragment of the India Office MS of the *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* with a view to seeing what more light it can throw on the chronology of Sanskrit authors referred to therein. Such a study would be all the more desirable especially in view of the exact date of Makkibhaṭṭa's *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa*, viz. A. D. 1377 already referred to in this note and the rarity of MSS of Makkibhaṭṭa's works so far known, viz. : (1) गणितविलास (2) गणितभूषण and (3) रघुवंशप्रदीपिका.

Besides the *Siddhânta-Śekhara* commented on by Makkibhaṭṭa, Śrīpati wrote the following works :— (1) *Jâtakapad-*

dhati or *Śrīpatipaddhati* (2) *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* or *Śrīpatiratnamālā*, (3) *Ratnasāra*, (4) *Śrīpatinibandha*, (5) *Śrīpatisamuccaya*, (6) *Dhikoṭidam Karaṇam*, (7) *Dhruvamānasa Karaṇam*. I am concerned here with the work *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* in the above list. Pandit Babuji Miśra informs us in his Sanskrit Introduction to the *Siddhānta-Śekhara* (p. 9) that there are many commentaries on the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* including one by Mahādevabhaṭṭa. Aufrecht[1] records a MS of a commentary on this work of Śrīpati by Śrīpati himself. Aufrecht does not say if this MS contains the commentary in Sanskrit or vernacular. I wish, therefore, to draw the attention of the Sanskritists to Śrīpati's commentary on the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* composed in Marāṭhī. A rare MS[2] of this commentary was discovered by the Maharashtra historian Rajawade and published by him in 1914. It begins :— " ॥ तेया ईश्वररूपा कालातें मिं । ग्रंथुकर्त्ता श्रीपति नमस्कारी ॥ मी श्रीपति रत्नाची माळा रचितों." Students of philology will find much useful material in this specimen of old Marathi of about Śaka 959 (= A. D. 1028) which is the date assigned to Śrīpati by the learned editor of the *Siddhānta-Śekhara*. In his work '*Dhruvamānasākhya*' Śrīpati states that he was the son of Nāgadeva and grandson of Keśavabhaṭṭa and that he wrote the work in " रोहिणीखण्ड."[3] Pandit Babuji expresses his inability to identify this place or to state anything definitely about the place where the work was composed or the birth-place of its author. According to Mahādeva who commented the *Jyotiṣarat-*

1. *Cata. Catalo.*, I, p. 213 — ' B. 4, 184 ' — This MS was in the possession of one Morarji of Vadhavan. As Bühler does not give any description of this MS it is impossible to say if this commentary on the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* by the author was composed in Sanskrit or in the vernacular.

2. Rajawade describes this MS as follows on pp. 81 - 82 of the *Bharata Itihasa Mandal Series No. 8* (Śaka 1836 = 1914 A. D.). The MS was found at *Nevāse* and consisted of 74 leaves. It was written about 466 years ago as the copyist has recorded the years, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, and 1373 on the reverse of the 4th folio. The language of the commentary is almost identical with that used in the Jñāneśvarī (p. 83).

3. This information is furnished by the following verse quoted by Pt. Babuji Miśra :—

" भट्टकेशवपुत्रस्य नागदेवस्य नन्दनः ।
श्रीपती रोहिणीखण्डे ज्योतिःशास्त्रमिदं व्यधात् ॥ "

namālā of Śrīpati, Śrīpati was of *Kāśyapagotra*[1]. Mr. S. B. Dikshit assigns Srīpati to Śaka 961 (= A. D. 1039).[2] From the fact of Śrīpati's composing a Marāthi commentary on one of his works it would be reasonable to conclude that he belonged to Maharashtra or at least to districts where Marāthi was spoken in the middle of the 11th century.

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1. *History of Indian Astronomy* by Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, Poona, 1896, p. 237 — Mahādeva states —

" कश्यपवंशपुंडरीकखंडमार्तंडः, केशवस्य पौत्रः, नागदेवस्य सूनुः, श्रीपतिः संहितार्थं अभिधातुमिच्छुः आह "

Vide Bhandarkar : *Report* (1882 – 83). 'The author of *Jyotīratnamālā* was the son of Nāgadeva and grandson of Keśava, who, of course, was a different person from the father of Gaṇeśa. This Keśava belonged to the *Kāśyapagotra* while Keśava of Nandigrāma was a *Kauśika*'.

2. *Hist. of Ind. Astronomy*, 237

59. New Light on the Chronology of the Commentators of the Mahābhārata ‡

In the list of Mss of the commentaries on the *Mahābhārata* prepared by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the Mss of the Vidyāsāgara's commentary are recorded as follows :—

विद्यासागर — रत्नावली (on सभापर्वन्)
— Comm. on शान्तिपर्वन्
— रत्नावली (on भीष्मपर्वन्)
आनन्दपूर्ण मुनीन्द्र — व्याख्यानरत्नावली (on अनुशासनपर्वन्)

In view of the above Mss of Vidyāsāgara's or Ānandapūrṇa's commentary on the *Sabhā*, *Śānti*, *Bhīṣma* and the *Anuśāsana* parvans we must thank Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya for drawing our attention to a fragment of Vidyāsāgara's commentary on the आदिपर्वन् recently acquired by the Varendra Research Museum of Rajashahi, Bengal (Ms No. 1898). We are further thankful to the Professor for his close study and analysis of this fragment of 67 folios containing Vidyāsāgara's जयकौमुदी commentary on the आदिपर्वन् upto chap. 69 or so. With regard to the date of this fragment we are informed by the Professor that it is "*about 150 years* old." We are further told by the Professor that this is "the most extensive commentary ever written on the *Mahābhārata*" and that "the author had an access to almost a bewildering mass of *Mahābhārata* literature and indulges from the very start with learned discussions on textual variations from a large number of texts and commentaries collected from different parts of Eastern India." According to Vidyāsāgara's computation the *Mahābhārata* contains 1,02,555 verses. Speaking of the chronology of the commentary Prof. Bhattacharya states :— "*We would tentatively place the author about 1700 A. D.*" In this connection I have to draw the attention of my friend to the following papers on Vidyāsāgara published by Dr. Raghavan and myself :—

‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXV, pages 103–108.

(I) In 1939 I published my paper on "*Date of Ānandapūrṇa alias Vidyāsāgara*, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata — Between A. D. 1200 and 1350*" in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, Vol. XX, Part 1, pp. 29-36. I have proved in this paper that Vidyāsāgara is definitely earlier than A. D. 1400 as we have Mss of his works dated *A. D. 1405*, *1435* and *1568*.

(2) Dr. V. Raghavan immediately wrote a paper corroborating my findings and published his paper on "*The Date and Works of Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara*" in the *Annals of Oriental Research* (Madras University), pp. 1–5 of the offprint sent to me. In this paper Dr. Raghavan has pointed out that our author in his *Prakriyā-mañjarī* states that he wrote it when King Kāmadeva, a devotee of Śiva, was ruling :

"श्रीकामदेवे जगतीं प्रशासति
श्रीशैलकन्यापतिभक्तिधारिणि ।
विद्योदधेरुत्थितमेतदारात्
टीकामृतं भूसुरहर्षवर्धनम् ॥"

King Kāmadeva mentioned in this stanza has been identified with Kāmadeva, the Kadamba ruler of Goa, whose inscription of *Śaka 1315* or *A. D. 1393* describes him as a devotee of Śiva at Gokarṇa. Dr. Raghavan, therefore, concluded : "We may, therefore, place King Kāmadeva and Vidyāsāgara safely *about A. D. 1350.*"

It would thus be seen that Vidyāsāgara flourished about A. D. 1350 and not "about A. D. 1700" as suggested by Prof. Bhattacharya.

Dr. Raghavan's account of Vidyāsāgara's Works shows clearly the erudition and abilities of this great scholiast. This conclusion is in harmony with the list of authorities quoted by Vidyāsāgara in the 67 folios of his commentary on the Ādiparvan now disclosed to us for the first time by Prof. Bhattacharya. This list is similar to the list of authorities mentioned by Vidyāsāgara in his Vedāntic work *Nyāya-Candrikā* (Madras Govt. Mss Library — *MS R No. 2931*). I note below in brief for ready reference both these lists of citations :—

MS of *Ādiparvan* Comm. at Rajashahi	MS of *Nyāyacandrikā* at Madras
(1) अर्जुन,	भूषणकार (भासर्वज्ञ), (c. 950 A. D.)
(2) अनुपदकार (grammarian),	न्यायमुक्तावली and न्यायमुक्तावलीकार
(3) उपाध्याय (grammarian),	वादीन्द्र (author of महाविद्याविडम्बन on which विद्यासागर has commented— c. 1225 A. D.
(4) उवट (c. 1044 A. D.),	बौद्धाधिकार, उदयन, कुसुमाञ्जली, किरणावलीकार.
(5) कोक्कट,	न्यायमञ्जरी, जयन्त, (10th cent. A. D.)
(6) क्षीरस्वामिन्,	न्यायलीलावती वल्लभाचार्य, (c. 12th cent. A. D.
(7) चतुर्भुजामिश्र,	वासुदेव मिश्र (possible commentator of न्यायसार),
(8) चान्द्राः,	व्योमशिवाचार्य (comm. on प्रशस्तपाद),
(9) जयमङ्गला (साङ्ख्य टीका),	भवनाथ,
(10) जगद्धर (Comm. on महाभारत),	भावनाविवेक,
(11) जनार्दन - Ibid—,	स्फोटसिद्धि, स्फोटसिद्धिकार.
(12) तारपाल,	शालिकनाथ,
(13) दुर्ग (grammarian),	कन्दलीकार (श्रीधर) about 991 A. D.
(14) देवबोध, देवस्वामिन्,	तिमिरारि,
(15) नामानुशासन (Lexicon),	शम्भु,
(16) नारायणसर्वज्ञ, सर्वज्ञ,	मानमनोहरकार, वादिवागीश्वर,
(17) निर्घण्ट,	तत्त्वाविर्भावकार,
(18) न्यायटीकाकृतः,	शिवादित्य (a. of सप्तपदार्थी),
(19) न्यास,	भास्करीयाः,
(20) भागवृत्ति,	
(21) मण्डन,	
(22) महावृत्ति (i.e. काशिका),	
(23) मिश्र (neither चतुर्भुज nor अर्जुन),	
(24) मुनि,	
(25) रसार्णव,	
(26) लक्ष्मण (comm. on महाभारत),	

MS of *Ādiparvan* Comm. at Rajashahi	MS of *Nyāyacandrikā* at Madras
(27) वर्णदेसना,	बृहद्वार्त्तिक of संप्रदायविद्,
(28) वर्णविवेक,	वाचस्पतिमिश्र,
(29) वामनाचार्य,	इष्टसिद्धि,
(30) विक्रमादित्यकोश	Reference to his own gloss on खण्डन,
(31) विद्यानिधिभट्ट (comm. on महाभारत),	
(32) विमलबोध (comm. on महाभारत),	
(33) विष्णुहृदय,	
(34) वेदभाष्य,	
(35) वैशम्पायन (commentator),	
(36) शंकराचार्य,	
(37) शंकरभाष्य,	
(38) शब्दार्णव (Lexicon),	
( ) शरकस्वामी (प्रातिशाख्यटीकायाम्),	
(40) शाण्डिल्य,	
(41) शाबर,	
(42) शिवानन्द,	
(43) सर्वज्ञ (हरिवंशटीकायाम्),	
(44) साहसाङ्क (Lexicographer),	
(45) सुभूति,	
(46) सृष्टिधर (comm. on महाभारत),	
(47) सृष्टिधर comm. on भाषावृत्ति (भाषाटीकायां सृष्टिः),	

The foregoing citations In Vidyāsāgara's works of *c. A. D. 1350* are very important for the chronolgy of Sanskrit literature. I am concerned here with the chronology of the commentaries on the *Mahābhārata* mentioned by Vidyāsāgara in the *Ādiparvan* commentary before us. With reference to these commentaries and their authors I have to observe as follows :—

(1) अर्जुन — He may be different from अर्जुनमिश्र *Mbh* commentator. गदानन्द in his comm. on *Mbh* possibly refers to this अर्जुन :— " बोधो विमलबोधोऽत्र वचनीयोऽर्जुनेऽर्ज्जुनः " (Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Ms).

(7) चतुर्भुजमिश्र — This author quotes मेदिनी lexicon. I have proved the date of मेदिनि to lie between c. A. D. 1200 and 1275 in a special paper to be published shortly. As विद्यासागर of c. A. D. 1350 quotes चतुर्भुजमिश्र we may fix up this commentator *between A. D. 1275 and 1350.*

(10) जगद्धर — There is no commentator on the *Mbh* of this name in Dr. Sukthankar's list.

(11) जनार्दन— — Do —

(14) देवबोध, देवस्वामिन् — The earliest commentator on the Mbh possibly before A. D. 1150. His आदिपर्वटीका has been edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar (B. O. R. I. edition) and the उद्योगपर्वन् टीका has been edited by Dr. S. K. De, in the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan Series, Bombay.

(16) नारायणसर्वज्ञ, सर्वज्ञ — also called सर्वज्ञनारायण. He is considered to be identical with his namesake the author of a Comm. on मनुस्मृति who according to Mm. Prof. Kane flourished between A. D. 1100 and 1300 (*vide p. 267* of *Sukthankar Memorial Edition* Vol. I (1944) edited by P. K. Gode.) This chronology harmonizes with Vidyāsāgara's reference to नारायणसर्वज्ञ in c. *A. D. 1350.*

(24) मुनि — This commentator is not found in Sukthankar's list. गदानन्द possibly refers to him in the following line :—

" देवो मधुमुनिर्वाच्यो मिश्रो वाच्यश्चतुर्भुजे । "

मुनि was a definite commentator of the *Mbh* as appears from the expression " क्वचिन्मुनिटीकायाम् " used by Vidyāsāgara.

(26) लक्ष्मण — Sukthankar's list shows the Mss of the commentary of लक्ष्मण on सभा and विराट Parvans of the Mbh. The comm. is called विषमोद्धारिणी (on विराटपर्वन्).

(31) विद्यानिधिभट्ट — He is not mentioned in Sukthankar's list.

(32) विमलबोध — Sukthankar's list shows his commentary on all the 18 Parvans of the Mbh. I have proved that **विमलबोध** is later than A. D. 1150 (vide pp. 394-397 of *Annals* B. O. R. I. XVII). Now that Vidyāsāgara mentions him (c. A. D. 1350) the date of **विमलबोध** may be taken to lie between A. D. 1150 and 1300 or so.

(33) वैशम्पायन — Sukthankar's list shows his commentary on the शान्तिपर्वन् (मोक्षधर्म). विमलबोध refers to this commentator in the following lines :—

" निघण्टुभाष्यनिगमनिरुक्तानि विशेषतः ।
वैशंपायनटीकादि देवस्वामिमतानि च ।
वीक्ष्य व्याख्या विरचिता दुर्घटार्थप्रकाशिनी ॥ "

[Vide p. 270 of *Sukthankar Memo. Edition*, Vol. I (1944)]

(46) सर्वधर — He is not mentioned in Sukthankar's list of Mss of Mbh commentaries. In his article on the Mbh commentators (*Annals*, B. O. R. I. Vol. XVII, p. 185) सर्वधर is mentioned. Prof. Bhattacharya states that विद्यासागर mentions another सर्वधर and his commentary called भाषावृत्ति and further points out that विद्यासागर " takes the two सर्वधरs as identical. " This identity needs to be investigated.

It will be seen from the above notes that all the commentaries on the Mahābhārata, numbering about a dozen, mentioned by Vidyāsāgara are prior to A. D. 1350. It is for the first time that we are able to put a definite limit to the dates of these commentaries on the strength of the *Ādiparvan-ṭīkā* fragment so carefully analysed by Prof. Bhattacharya. It is worthwhile analysing Vidyāsāgara's commentary on the *Sabhā*, *Śānti*, *Bhīṣma* and *Anuśāsana* parvans referred to by me already in this paper. I hope that the information recorded and discussed by me in this paper will clarify the problem of the chronology of the Mahābhārata commentaries to a considerable extent as all the commentaries made use of by Vidyāsāgara are earlier in point of date than A. D. 1350.

60. Authorship of Sarasvatīvilāsa, a Digest of Civil and Religious Law ‡

Prof. P. V. Kane observes about the work *Sarasvatīvilāsa* in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*[1] as follows :—

" Pratāparudradeva, while ruling his capital Kaṭakanagarī called together an assembly of pandits and compiled an extensive digest of civil and religious law. The royal author feels qualms of conscience on the question of eulogising himself and his family but stifles them easily by saying that a poet can also be an appreciative critic of his own production. " ...... " The *Sarasvatīvilāsa* being a work composed under the express orders of a king for the benefit of his subjects makes the nearest approach to the Austinian conception of law as a command addressed by political superiors to political inferiors and enforced by a sanction."

It is evident from the above remarks that the work *Sarasvatīvilāsa* is a compilation and the " qualms of conscience " felt by the royal author in eulogising himself and his family appear to be thrust on the royal patron of this compilation. Prof. Kane, however, does not record any information about the Pandit under whose supervision the work of compilation was carried out. This information can, however, be supplemented by the note of Prof. S. K. Aiyangar[2] on the commentary of *Mahimnastava* by Deśayāmātya, who " says that he comments upon *Mahimnastava* through the grace of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, his guru (preceptor), whom he compares with the God Gaṇapati in wisdom. Lolla Lakṣmīdhara whom he praises as his guru was a very celebrated scholar of his time. We find him as the author of the Koṇḍavidu and Kaza inscriptions of Krishna Raya. He has written works on Astronomy, Astrology, and the Mantraśāstra as well as on all the six darśanas (religious schools) and Law. *He was the author of the work Sarasvatīvilāsa* upon Law, attributed to Pratāparudra. This Pratāparudra was the ruler of Orissa, contemporary with Krishna-

‡ *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, pages 233–234.

1. Govt. Oriental Series No. 6 (B. O. R. Institute) pp. 411-412.

2. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 1919, Madras, pp. 48–49.

raya, who became his father-in-law. Lolla Lakṣmīdhara enumerates *Sarasvatīvilāsa* among his works in the colophon to his commentary on *Saundaryalaharī*. He was the author of a portion of the cyclopaedic work on Astronomy, Astrology and allied subjects called Joytisha Darpaṇa."

We have, therefore, to take it on the authority of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara himself that he was the real author or rather the editor of the compilation *Sarasvatīvilāsa*. At any rate between the rival claims of the royal patron of the compilation and of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara re. the authorship of the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* we are inclined to believe more in the latter's independent testimony than in the statements made in the compilation attributing the authorship to the Royal Patron, who is made to feel the so-called "qualms of conscience." These "qualms of conscience" at best give a plausible appearance to the claims of Royal Patron regarding the authorship of the work. Secondly the fact mentioned by Prof. Aiyangar that Lolla Lakṣmīdhara was also the author of a portion of another encyclopaedic work called *Jyotiṣa Darpaṇa* furnishes a good analogy in support of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara's authorship of *Sarasvatīvilāsa*.

I wanted to examine the colophon of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara's commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* which gives a list of his works including *Sarasvatīvilāsa*. Unfortunately I could not get any printed edition of the work, if at all published, nor any Manuscript containing the pertinent reference. There are two Mss of this commentary in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, viz. No. 424 of 1884-87 and No. 824 of 1886-92. The first of these copies is incomplete while the second is complete but the colophon it contains lacks the pertinent list of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara's works required by me. As Prof. Aiyangar has not documented his remarks I am unable to verify them either in a printed edition of the commentary or in a manuscript. Under the circumstances I must presume that the statement of Prof. Aiyangar is based on reliable evidence of some Mss of the commentary of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara or other records on which he has based his note on the *Mahimnastava*.

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61. A Commentary on the Naiṣadhīya - Carita by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa and its probable Date — Between A. D. 1431 and 1730 or the first half of the 16th Century ‡

Aufrecht[1] records the following Mss of the commentary called *Gūḍhārthaprakāśikā* by Lakṣmaṇa, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa :—

(1) " — Peters. 4. 27 (1). Extr. 26. "

(2) " — Stein 69 (8-15). "

No. 1 of the above entries is the same as No. 716 of 1886-92 in the Govt. Mss Library. This Ms contains the commentary of Lakṣmaṇa on the 1st Canto only. No 2 of the above entries of Aufrecht is a Ms belonging to the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir described by Dr. Stein on p. 69 of his Catalogue (1894).

The Manuscript No. 716 of 1886-92 referred to above contains commentary for only the 1st Canto of the *Naiṣadha* and consists of 31 folios. Even such a small portion of the commentary bristles with numerous references to earlier works and authors as will be seen from the following list :—

1. काव्यप्रकाश (fol. 1).
2. वृत्तरत्नाकर (fol. 2).
3. सरस्वतीकंठाभरण (fol. 2).
4. श्रीहर्ष (fol. 2).
5. धातुपाठ (fol. 2, 13ᐧ).
6. धातुवृत्तिः (fol. 2).
7. नृहरिः (fol. 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27).
8. अमरः (fol. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30).

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‡ *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, pages 309-312.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, II, 67.

9. जीवातुः (fol. 2, 4, 5, 6, 20, 30, 31).
10. भारत (fol. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8).
11. विश्वः (fol. 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 विश्वकोषः fol. 9).
12. दंडी (fol. 3, 30).
13. भोज (fol. 3, श्रीभोजः fol. 9).
14. महाभाष्य (fol. 3, 6).
15. भाष्यकारः (fol. 3).
16. कैयटोक्तिः (fol. 3), कैयट (fol. 8).
17. भाष्योक्तिः (fol. 3), भाष्यमतं (fol. 7), भाष्य (fol. 8, 17, 19, 27).
18. बोपदेवीय धातु (fol. 4).
19. गौतम (fol. 4).
20. लीलावती (fol. 4).
21. साहित्यदर्पण (fol. 4).
22. शेष (fol. 4, 17, 19, 23, 24, 27).
23. स्मृतिः (fol. 4, 7, 11, 15, 16, 23).
24. विज्ञानेश्वर (fol. 5).
25. रायमुकुट (fol. 5, 9); मुकुटः (fol. 8, 10, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 23, 26, 28).
26. प्रांचः (fol. 6).
27. पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राणि (fol. 6).
28. आयुर्वेद (fol. 6).
29. मनुः (fol. 6).
30. नृहरिनारायणौ (fol. 7).
31. भागवतोक्तैर्हरिवंशोक्ति (fol. 7).
32. भागवत (fol. 7, 15).
33. भवभूतिरायमुकुटौ (fol. 8).
34. भागवते श्रीधरव्याख्यानात् (fol. 9).
35. वाग्भट (fol. 10).
36. काशिका (fol. 10, 27).
37. कोषात् (fol. 11b, 29, 30).
38. एकाक्षरकोष (fol. 11) ; एकाक्षरः (fol. 13).
39. रघुवंश (fol. 12).

40. हरदत्त (fol. 13)
41. शिरोमणि (fol. 51).
42. भवदेव (fol. 20).
43. चंडीश्वर (fol. 15).
44. वेदान्तिमतं (fol. 15).
45. विवरणे.
46. तत्त्वदीपने (fol. 15).
47. पातंजलमतं (fol. 6).
48. त्रिकांडिशेष (fol. 17); त्रिकांडी (fol. 18, 19, 20, 28).
49. गुणचिन्तामणि (fol. 17).
50. बालभूषणकार (fol. 17).
51. ताण्डवः (fol. 18, 22, 24, 25, 30).
52. शेषनृहरी (fol. 18).
53. शालिहोत्र (fol. 19).
54. हेमः (fol. 19, 28).
55. कैयटहरदत्तौ (fol. 19).
56. काशीखण्ड (fol. 20).
57. यादव (fol. 22).
58. सामुद्रिक (fol. 25).
59. वराहः (fol. 25).
60. सर्वानन्द (fol. 26).
61. पञ्जिका (fol. 26).
62. उपनिषदः (fol. 27).
63. नृहरिताण्डवौ (fol. 27).
64. नरेन्द्र (fol. 30). .

Peterson has given an extract of the beginning of this MS on p. 26 of the Extracts published along with his Fourth Report. This extract tells us that Rāmakrṣṇa was the name of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa's father and that his brother's name was Dinakara. The MS ends as follows on folio 31 a —

" प्रासूतोभानुपमोविबुधः श्रीरामकृष्णशर्मा पं. लक्ष्मणशर्मा कृतवान्नैषध-गूढार्थप्रकाशिकां टीकां ॥ १४६ ॥

इति लक्ष्मणभट्टकृते नैषधीयव्याख्याने प्रथमः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

संवत् १७८६ ज्येष्ठकृष्ण १ भौमे ६ ॥ शुभमस्तु "

The present Ms was written in *A. D. 1730*. This year, therefore furnishes one terminus to the date of this commentary of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. The other terminus is easily furnished by the reference to Rāyamukuṭa or Mukuṭa (vide reference No. 25 in the above list) who wrote his commentary on the Amarakośa in *A. D. 1431*. We, therefore, get two limits for the date of this *Naiṣadha* commentary viz. *1431 and 1730.* Previous commentators of *Naiṣadha* mentioned by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa are :—

(1) नृहरि (vide reference No. 7 in the above list).

(2) नारायण (vide reference No- — 30 नृहरिनारायणौ)

(3) जीवातु of Mallinātha (vide reference No. 9 above).

Prof. Handiqui[1] assigns नृहरि or नरहरि to about 1380 A. D. As regards Nārāyaṇa's date Prof. Handiqui observes :—

" Nothing is definitely known about Nārāyaṇa's date. It is, however, certain that he is earlier than 1637 A. D. as there is a Ms of his commentary written in Saṁvat 1693, being No. 368 of 1884-87 preserved at the Bhandarkar Institute. " Prof. Handiqui also states that as Nārāyaṇa quotes from *Medinīkośa* (about 14th cent.) he may be assumed to be later than *A. D.* 1440 and earlier than 1637. These limits for Nārāyaṇa's date do not conflict with our limits for Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa's date viz. 1431 and 1730.

Prof. Handiqui[1] assigns Mallinātha to the " latter portion of the fourteenth century " i. e. between A. D. 1350 and 1400. This date also harmonizes with our limits for Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa's date viz. 1431 and 1730 A. D.

Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa very often refers to a writer of the name तांडव (vide reference No. 51 above) and in one place he is bracketed with the commentator नृहरि on folio 27 as " नृहरितांडवौ " analogous to " नृहरिनारायणौ " on folio 7 (vide reference No. 30). This reference gives us an impression that तांडव must have been a commentator of the *Naiṣadha*. Aufrecht does not record any reference to तांडव or his works. That Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa availed himself of many previous commentaries is clear from his own statement made in the beginning of the work viz :—

" करोमि नैषधव्याख्यामन्यादृष्टपथानुगाम् ॥ ५ ॥
संति यद्यपि सद्व्याख्या बुधानां नैषधे शतम् ।
तथाप्यमुष्या वैदग्ध्यीं केचिद्विज्ञातुमीशते ॥ ६ ॥ "

1. *Naiṣadha* (Pun. Ori. Series) 1934, Intro. p. xx.

62. Date of Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the Commentator of Kālidāsa's Abhijñāna Śākuntala and other Works — last Quarter of the 15th Century (1475–1500 A. D.) ‡

Though Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Śākuntala* has been very much exploited by many annotators, none has cared to investigate the facts connected with the family history of this popular commentator. I propose in this note to record all data gathered by me in connection with the chronology and family history of Rāghavabhaṭṭa and trust that other scholars who may have made a closer study of his commentaries will be inclined to publish the results of their study to supplement the information supplied by me in the present note.

Aufrecht records the following Mss of Rāghavabhaṭṭa's works :—

अर्थद्योतनिका[1] by राघवभट्ट — B. 2, 124 ; Burnell 173b ; Rice 254 ; Bühler 554,

राघवभट्ट[2] — अर्थद्योतनिका on *Śākuntala*

उत्तररामचरित्रटीका[3] by राघवाचार्य, Oppert 2287 ; II, 3597, 8171 ;

मालतीमाधवटीका, N. W. 618.

राघवभट्ट[4] — son of पृथ्वीधरभट्ट — अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलटीका अर्थद्योतनिका

Though I have not examined all the above mentioned Mss, some of them being quite inaccessible to me, they appear to establish that Rāghavabhaṭṭa wrote commentaries on (1) the शाकुन्तल, (2) the उत्तररामचरित and (3) the मालतीमाधव.

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‡ *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III, pages 177–180.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 24.
2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 498.
3. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 46.
4. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part II, p. 117.

For purposes of the present note I have analysed only the commentary on the *Śākuntala* available in print.[1] The following references to previous authors and works are found in this commentary :—

अजय — १३१, १८६.

अनेकार्थध्वनिमञ्जरी — १२.

अपाणिनीयः पाठः — ५०.

अभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्यैर्भरतटीकायाम् — ४.

अमरः — २, ६, ९, ११, १३, १४, १५, १७, १९, २०, २३, २७, ३०, ३३, ३५, ४०, ४२, ४४, ४७, ४८, ४९, ५२, ५३, ५४, ५५, ५६, ५७, ५८, ६०, ६४, ६६, ६८, ६९, ७२, ७३, ७७, ८०, ८१, ८५, ८६, ९१, ९२, ९४, ९५, ९६, ९८, ९९, १०४, ११२, ११३, ११८.

आचार्यैः — २०७.

आदिभरते — ४, ५, ९, १०, १३, १६, ३०, ४०, ५१, ८१, ८९, १३३, २००, २१३.

कात्यः — (स्कन्धादूर्ध्वं तरोः शाखा कटप्रो विटपो मतः) २१.

कामशास्त्रे — २६.

काव्यादर्शे — ५०.

कैयटः — १०५.

कोशात् — १०३, १९७.

क्षीरतरङ्गिणीकार — १९८.

क्षीरस्वामी — १८, ५२, ६०.

गणपाठात् — ९६.

दण्डनाथ — ४५, ९० " नन्विति परमाक्षेपानुज्ञैषणापृष्टप्रतिवचनेषु "

दण्डनीतौ — २१२.

दशरूपके — ४, ५, ९, १०, २८, ३७, ४०, ५१, ६४, ६९, ८३, ८५, ८७, ११८, १५०, १५५, १६२, १८१, २१५.

धनिकोक्तेः — ५, ८, २६, ३८.

धरणिः — ७, १२, १८, ३८, ४३, ४७, ४८, ५६, १२५, १३०, १८९.

ध्वनिकृता — २१५.

नाट्यदर्पणे — ४.

नाट्यप्रदीपे — ४.

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5. *Śākuntala* by M. R. Kale, Bombay, 1913, with Rāghavabhaṭṭa's Commentary and Notes etc.

विश्वः — २, ६, ९, १६, १७, १८, २४, २५, ३२, ३५, ३६, ३७, ५४, ५८, ५९, ६७, ६८, ७८, ७९, ८१, ८२, ८९, ९४, ९९, १०६, १११, ११२, ११३, ११५, ११६, ११८, etc.

विष्णुपुराणे — १८८, १९०, २०७, २०८.

वृत्तिकारेण — ५५, ८५, ८९.

शाश्वतः — ५, १९, ८०.

सङ्गीतरत्नाकरे — २९, १५२, १६७.

सङ्गीतसर्वस्वे — ४.

सङ्गीतसुधानिधौ — १९४.

सामुद्रे (स्त्रीलक्षणे) — १६३, (पुरुषलक्षणे) — १९५.

सिद्धान्तशिरोमणौ — १८७.

सूत्रमूलभरतटीकाकाराभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्य — ४.

स्मृतेः — २, इति स्मरणात् — १.

हलायुधः — ९६, १५७.

हैमः — १२, १५, १८, १९, २०, २८, ४७, ५५, ५८, ६८, ८१, ९७, १४५, १७६, १८६, १८८.

The above references[1] show the critical nature of Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary and his vast learning. It is, therefore, not a vain boast when he calls himself 'निशातमति', 'साहित्यरत्नाकर', 'सकलकलाशास्त्रप्रवीण' in the colophon to his commentary. The MS used by Mr. Kale for his 1913 edition of the text with Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary was procured for him "from Dharwar by Mr. G. V. Manerikar, Drawing Master, from Mr. Dikshit's Library" (preface p. 1). Mr. Kale adopted the text of Rāghavabhaṭṭa without alterations, except in a few cases.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa invokes God 'गजास्य' or Gaṇapati at the beginning of his commentary. He wrote this commentary at 'श्रीविश्वेश्वरपत्तन' i. e. *Benares*. He was a devotee of God विश्वेश्वर of Benares. His father's name was पृथ्वीधर as will be seen from the following colophon of the commentary :—

" नाट्यालंकृतिशास्त्रतत्त्वविदुषाऽभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल-
व्याख्येयं सरसा निशातमतिना श्रीराघवेन स्फुटा ।

1. The references are to the pages in M. R. Kale's Edition of the *Sākuntala*, Bombay 1913.

अर्थद्योतनिकाभिधा ध्वनितदर्थालंक्रियानिर्भरा
श्रीविश्वेश्वरपत्तने विरचिता तद्भक्तियुक्तात्मना ॥

सहृदयहृदयाः सुजना निपुणा नित्यं विलोकयन्त्वेनाम् ।
स्यात्प्रवृत्तिरेव हि न हि नववस्तुकृति विद्वेषतोऽन्येषाम् ॥

इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीणभट्टश्रीपृथ्वीधरात्मजश्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाण-पारावारीणसाहित्यरत्नाकरसकलकलाशास्त्रप्रवीणभट्टश्रीराघवविरचिताभिज्ञानशा-कुन्तलव्याख्याऽर्थद्योतनिकाभिधा संपूर्णा ॥ "

That a devotee of God विश्वेश्वर residing at Benares should develop Tāntrik predilections is quite in the fitness of things. I propose to identify our राघवभट्ट, author of the commentary on the *Śākuntala* and other dramas, with the following राघवभट्ट whose works have been recorded by Aufrecht[1] :—

राघवभट्ट — कालीतत्त्वरहस्य, दुर्गातत्त्व, पदार्थादर्श, (शारदातिलकटीका). He is quoted in तन्त्रसार (Oxf. 95b) in शाक्तानन्दतरङ्गिणी (Oxf. 104a), by रघुनन्दन (Oxf, 292b), by कमलाकर (Oxf. 279a), by विट्ठल (Oxf. 341a).

Peterson[2] describes a Ms of पदार्थादर्श (शारदातिलकटीका) in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Ulwar and it is the colophon of this Ms that enables us to identify our commentator of the *Śākuntala* with the commentator of the *Śāradātilaka*. We quote below in extenso the colophon under reference as it furnishes us with all the points necessary for our proposed identification :—

" पुरं गोदावर्या विलसदुपकण्ठे जनततं
जनस्थानं नाम प्रथितमभवद्दक्षिणादिशि ।
महाराष्ट्रे देशे जनकतनयालक्ष्मणवृतः
पुरा रामस्तस्मिन्नवसदतितुष्टेन मनसा ॥ १ ॥

तस्मिन्पुरे ब्राह्मणसत्तमानां कुले विशुद्धे महति प्रसिद्धे ।
श्रीभट्टरामेश्वर इत्युदारो गुणैरभूद्वादिमहेभसिंहः ॥ २ ॥

तस्मादभूत्तीक्ष्णकुशाग्रबुद्धिः श्रीभट्टपृथ्वीधरनामधेयः ।
अनेकधाध्यायपदेश्य [ष] भाट्टवेदान्तशास्त्रं फणिभाषितानि ॥ ३ ॥

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1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, 499.

2. *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS* in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Ulwar by Peterson, Bombay, 1892, p. 355. Extract 669.

भूगीर्वाणार्यवर्यो दिवि कृतवसतिर्यन्नयादेव शङ्के
शेषः पातालमूलं स च सपदि पराभूतिभीत्या विवेश ।
अन्येषां केव वार्ता कृतकृतकवचश्चापलानां कृतं तैः
सम्यक् शक्योऽस्य वक्तुं नहि वदनशतैरप्यशेषप्रभावः ॥ ४ ।

कैश्चिद्दिनैरतिपवित्रचरित्र एष वाराणसीमभिगमच्छिवराजधानीम् ।
तत्रैव वासमकरोत्तदनु प्रतीतकायावसानमवधिं परिचिन्त्य धीरः ॥ ५ ॥

तस्माद्राघवभट्ट एष समभूद्वेदांतसन्न्यायवित्
ख्यातो भट्टनये समस्तगणिते साहित्यरत्नाकरः ।
आयुर्वेदनिधिः कलासु कुशलः कामार्थशास्त्रे गुरुः
सङ्गीते निपुणः सदागमनिधेः पारं प्रयातः परम् ॥ ६ ॥

श्रीदुर्गे गणनायकग्रहगुरो गोविन्द गौरीपते
युष्मानर्थवशेन तेन शिरसा सोऽयं प्रबद्धोऽञ्जलिः ।
मन्त्रार्चादिविवेचने यदि भवेद् बालत्वमत्र भ्रमात्
[क्वा] चित्कं मम भक्तिभावितहृदो दासस्य तत्क्षम्यताम् ॥ ७ ॥

अत्युष्णं तीक्ष्णधीभिर्जगदुपकृतये राघवो यद्विवव्रे
गूढार्थं मन्त्रशास्त्रं निधिमिव परमं संप्रदायां जुने [यार्जवे] न ।
संतः संतोषमस्मिन्वितरत तरसा स्वादितः स्वस्वकामाद्-
दृष्ट्वा दौष्टयं स्वकीयं जहित हितधिया नान्यथाऽर्थागमो वः ॥ ८ ॥

पिशुनजनोन्तर्मलिनः परगुणसंतोषविषसुखमतिः ।
तत्र मनो न विषीदति दूषणमात्रात्तु यच्च विरतोऽयम् ॥ ९ ॥

कायस्था इव वाचकाः कतिचन प्रायेण मूका इव
श्रोतारस्त्वपरे शुका इव परे साधुप्रलापाः पुनः ।
ग्रन्थग्रन्थिविवेचनैकचतुरा ये कोविदाः केवलं
द्वित्रास्ते तदुदीरितावगतये विज्ञाः पुनः पञ्चषाः ॥ १० ॥

आकाशेषुशरक्ष्मापरिमिते १५५० रौद्राभिधे वत्सरे
पौषे मासि सिते दले रवितिथौ पक्षे च सिद्ध्यन्विते ।
तन्त्रेऽस्मिन्सुधिया व्यधायि रुचिरा श्रीराघवेण स्फुटा
टीका सद्गुरुसम्प्रदायविमला विश्वेशपुर्यामिति ॥ ११ ॥

इति श्रीशारदातिलकटीकायां राघवभट्टविरचितायां सत्संप्रदायकृतव्याख्यायां पदार्थादर्शाभिख्यायां पंचविंशः पटलः ॥ २५ ॥"

The points of identification furnished by the two commentaries viz. the अर्थद्योतनिका and पदार्थादर्श can be tabulated as follows :—

अर्थद्योतनिका on शाकुन्तल	पदार्थादर्श on शारदातिलक
(1) The author's name is mentioned as श्रीराघव in the following line :—	(1) Compare the name श्रीराघव in the following :—
व्याख्येयं सरसा निशातमतिना श्रीराघवेण स्फुटा	तन्त्रेऽस्मिन्सुधिया व्यधायि रुचिरा श्रीराघवेण स्फुटा। (verse 11)
(2) Father's name is पृथ्वीधरभट्ट; compare " भट्टश्रीपृथ्वीधरात्मज " in the colophon.	(2) Father's name is also पृथ्वीधरभट्ट compare " श्रीभट्टपृथ्वीधरनामधेयः ' (v. 3).
(3) Place where the commentary was written is विश्वेश्वरपत्तन or Benares.	(3) Place where the commentary was written is विश्वेशपुरी or Benares.
(4) राघवभट्ट is described as " साहित्यरत्नाकर ", " सकलकलाशास्त्रप्रवीण " in the colophon.	(4) राघवभट्ट is also called " साहित्यरत्नाकर ", ' कलासु कुशलः ' etc. (v. 6).
The colophon of Dharwar Ms used by Mr. Kale being brief, no further details about Rāghavabhaṭṭa's family are available.	The colophon of the Ulwar Ms is quite informative and the author has taken care to record the history of the family in detail and hence we get a more detailed account including grand-father's name and the date of the work.

I believe the above points of identification leave no doubt about the identity of the two राघवभट्टs viz. (1) One, the author of the commentary on the *Śākuntala* and (2) the other, the author of the commentary on the *Śāradātilaka*. In fact they supplement each other and provide us with detailed information about Rāghavabhaṭṭa's family which may be summed up as under :—

Rāghavabhaṭṭa's family was originally residing at जनस्थान or Nasik in the Mahārāṣṭra on the banks of the river Godāvari. His grandfather Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa was a very learned man expert in dialectics (वादिमहेभसिंह). His son Pṛthvīdharabhaṭṭa was well-versed in Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta and was much respected by his contemporaries on this account as also on account of his spotless

character. After some time he migrated from Nasik to Benares and resided there till his death. At Benares he gave birth to a son called Rāghavabhaṭṭa who became expert in Vedānta, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Mathematics, Medicine, Erotics, Music and other arts. He completed the commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* on Sunday, in the month of Pauṣa, Śukla Pakṣa of Saṁvat 1550 (Raudra) which corresponds to *Sunday 15th December 1493 A. D.*

The Ulwar Ms[1] is very important as we get the date of Rāghavabhaṭṭa from its colophon. As Rāghavabhaṭṭa must have written this work when he was sufficiently equipped intellectually we can assign Rāghavabhaṭṭa's literary career to the last quarter of the 15th century (1475-1500 A. D.). His father must have migrated to Benares before A. D. 1450 or so. Benares then attracted Mahārāṣṭra pandits like Rāghavabhaṭṭa and his illustrious father and the tradition is to a certain extent still maintained by the modern professors at the Hindu University.

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1. Since writing the above note an edition of the *Śāradātilaka* with *Padārthādarśa* (Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 107) 1934, came to my hands. It contains the colophon found in the Ulwar MS as quoted by me in this note (vide p. 552).

63. Identification of Historical and Geographical Names in the Lakṣmaṇotsava, a Medical Treatise composed in A. D. 1450‡

In the last issue of the *Karnāṭaka Historical Review*[1] Dr. Har Dutta Sharma's article on *Lakṣmaṇotsava — An important work on medicine* has been published. In this article Dr. Sharma has recorded all important data furnished by a Ms of the work in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, *viz.* No. 911 of 1887-91. The first chapter of this encyclopædic work on medicine gives us a genealogy of the author's patron Lakṣmaṇa. According to this account the author's patron was a resident of Mathura and was a Kāyastha of the Māthura class. The B.O.R.I. Ms described by Dr. Sharma is a copy dated Saṁvat 1767[2] = A.D. 1711 and the date of composition is Saṁvat 1506[3] = A.D. 1450.

Authorship of the work :— The work is called लक्ष्मणोत्सव. As it is encyclopædic in its contents it may have been composed by different collaborators. At least three names in verse 3 at the end suggest this possibility. These names are (1) क्षेमशर्मा, (2) वेदशर्मा and (3) दामोदर. Three more names are furnished by verses 4 to 8 at the end of the work. These names are :— (1) पुरुषोत्तम, (2) जगच्छ्री and (3) अर्हद्दास. Dr. Sharma concludes that पुरुषोत्तम may

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‡ *Karnāṭaka Historical Review*, Vol. VI, pages 51–56.

1. Vol III, (Jan.-July 1936), pp. 1-9.

2. The Ms ends on folio 218 — "समाप्तोयं लक्ष्मणोत्सव गंथः ४००० । अथ शुभसंवत्सरे श्रीविक्रमार्कगताब्दानि १७६७ वर्षसमये चैत्रमासे कृष्णपक्षे तिथौ पंचम्यां चंद्रदिने श्रीमदाचार्यवर्य गच्छमुकुट श्रीमदाचार्य (6 letters erased)स्य छात्रपूज्यपरम-पूज्यशूरवीरधीरगंभीरदांत. इत्यादि सप्तवंशति गुणबिराजमानश्री (5 letters erased) तस्यावलोकनार्थमिदं छजमल्लेन लिपीकृतं कर्णपुर्य्यां ॥ श्रीरस्तु शुभमस्तु."

This Ms was copied in A.D. 1711 at कर्णपुरी. Mr. Nando Lal Dey identifies कर्णपुर with कर्णगड near Bhagalpur. (See his *Geographical Dictionary*. p. 94).

3. See Extract 430 in Peterson's *Catal. of Ulwar MSS*, 1890 (p. 163). This Ms of Lakṣmaṇotsava records the date of its composition as follows :— रसव्योमशरेद्वकैर्वीते विक्रमवत्सरे । मार्ग्गो (र्गे) शुक्ले हरिदिने पूर्णो गंथो भवो बुधे ॥"

have been a guide and a critic in the composition of the work, while जगच्छ्री and अर्हद्दास were the courtiers of the author's patron. In verse 39 we get a reference to लक्ष्मण after whom the work is named :— " ग्रंथं नाम सुलक्ष्मणोत्सवमिमं ब्रूते सुधीर्लक्ष्मणः. " In the colophons of chapters the work is described as लक्ष्मणप्रथिते, and not लक्ष्मणरचिते as pointed by Dr. Sharma. From these and other points discussed by Dr. Sharma, he concludes that लक्ष्मण was the patron of the author. Dr. Sharma later records evidence which supports लक्ष्मण's authorship of the work, for instance, the last two lines of verse 38 which read :—

" सोयं जर्वजनान्विलोक्य विविधातंकार्दितान् लक्ष्मण
कर्तुं तान्विरुजः करोति करुणासिंधुर्निबंधं शुभम् ॥ ३८ ॥ "

As Dr. Sharma leaves the question of authorship undecided, I intend to help him to decide it by identifying the historical and geographical data furnished by the work.

Genealogy of Lakṣmaṇa :—Chapter I of *Lakṣmaṇotsava* contains 41 verses from which verses 9 to 39 give us the genealogy of *Lakṣmaṇa* which may be indicated in the following series of names :—

दयनाग – लोहड – सहदेव – दामोदर – धर्मदेव – खतले – रैपाल – गजपति – स्थिरराज – दासूक – कामराज – अमरसिंह – जालप – विक्रमश्रीः – पृथुश्रीः – धनराज – भ्रमाजरर – उद्धरण – महीचन्द्र – **अमरसिंह** – (अमरश्री[1] or v. l. सोमराज) – लक्ष्मण – रावण.

In the above list of names we are concerned with लक्ष्मण and his father अमरसिंह. Verses 32 to 41 pertain to लक्ष्मण and are more or less laudatory. He is called कल्पवृक्ष (v. 33). He bestows wealth profusely (वांछार्तातवसुप्रदः), and is always full of tenderness and humility (मृदुर्नम्र :) (v. 36), He is *dharma* incarnate (धर्मं मूर्तमिवोदित — v. 37). This description of लक्ष्मण supports Dr. Sharma's view that he was the patron of the author or authors responsible for this medical compilation which goes by his name ; because it is incon-

1. This name printed in bold type in verse 28 of the extract may not be a proper name but is only an equivalent of अमरसिंह to whom were born two sons लक्ष्मण and रावण, as indicated in verses 29 and 32 :-

v. 29 :— " तस्य द्वौ तनयौ......ज्येष्ठो लक्ष्मणसंज्ञकः समभवत् तस्यानुजो रावणः ।"

v. 32 — " प्रसूतोऽमरसिंहाख्यकासारात्कमलोपमः । लक्ष्मणो भाति भूलोके करुणावरुणालयः । "

ceivable that an author who is described as नम्र or full of humility should write in a bombastic manner any laudatory verses about himself. लक्ष्मण built at नवग्राम,[1] a tank (दीर्घिका), and a rest-house (धर्मशाला - v. 38). We are told in verse 39 about the sources of the present compilation. These are the *saṁhitās* of सुश्रुत, वाग्भट, अत्रि, and चरक. Besides these texts the opinions of भेडाचार्य, नित्यनाथ, and others have been utilised and their essence incorporated in this work.

मौल्लिक or भोल्लिक was the name of लक्ष्मण's mother as stated in verse 37 [देवी मौल्लिक (MS भोल्लिक)संज्ञिका......प्रासूत यं निर्मलम्].

Amarasiṁha, the father of Lakṣmaṇa — Dr. Sharma states that Amarasiṁha " held some high position at the court of Mahamandakhān (= Mahammad Khān or Mahmūd Khān)" as indicated in verse 25[2] of Chap. I of the work. This महम्मंदखान is styled as

1. The nearest phonetical equivalent of the name नवग्राम found in the *Imp. Gaz. of India*, Vol. IX, p. 199, 1886) is *Naogáon*. Places recorded as having this name are :—

(i) *Naogāon* = Nowgong (A district of Assam) ; a town in Bundelkhand.

(ii) *Naogáon* in the Rajashahi district, Bengal, between Hamirpur and Chhatarpur state. I am inclined to identify नवग्राम with modern *Nowgong* the local names of which as recorded in the *Gazetteer* are " *Náogáon* " and " *Naugaon* " in Bundelkhand, Central India. The *Gazetteer* states that a Rajkumar College in memory of Lord Mayo was opened here in 1875. The distance in a straight line on the map between *Biana* or श्रीपथ and this Nowgong (= Naugáon = नवग्राम) is about 200 miles. It is reasonable to suppose that this Naogáon formerly formed part of the territory governed by Muhammad Khan of Biana and लक्ष्मण built a tank and a *dharmaśālā* within the territory governed by his patron king Muhammad Khan. The possibility of लक्ष्मण's constructing the tank, etc., at a place in Assam or Bengal appears to be rather remote. The exact identification of नवग्राम needs, however, more evidence.

2. This verse reads as follows :—

" येनाशेषशकोत्तमात्प्रविलसत्प्रौढप्रतापानल-
ज्वालालीढसमस्तवैरिनिवहारण्यात्पदं प्रोन्नतं ।
लब्ध्वा श्रीमहम्मंदखानसुनृपात् प्रत्यर्थिकांताननो-
दंचच्चन्द्रपराभवाय सततं शौर्येण सर्यायितम् ॥ २५ ॥"

शकोत्तम (v. 25) and शकेश in verse 5.[1] The work was composed in A. D. 1450 as previously stated by me. In verse 7 we are told that महमंदखान was ruling when the work was composed.[2] It is, therefore, clear that in A. D. 1450 महमंदखान the Śaka king (= शकेश) was reigning at श्रीपथ town. Amarasiṁha's mother's name was लाडमा (or लाउमा) (v. 26 — यो लाडमा (लाउमा)ख्य जननी शुभकल्पवल्ल्याः प्रादुर्भवन् etc.).

The foregoing lines give us the necessary historical and geographical particulars about लक्ष्मण and his family. We have now to see if any of these particulars could be identified on evidence from contemporary or earlier sources.

Identification of श्रीपथ — Mr. Nando Lal Dey makes the following entry about श्रीपथ in his *Geographical Dictionary*,[3] p. 193 :—

Śrīpatha — Biana, ninety miles east of Jaipur (*Indian Antiquary*, *XV*).

J. F. Fleet has identified *Biyānā* with the town of the name श्रीपथा mentioned in the Biyānā stone inscription dated Saṁvat 1100 = A. D, 1044.[4] In this inscription the expression श्रीपथायां पुरि indicates that the name of the town was श्रीपथा as used in the eleventh century, while in the लक्ष्मणोत्सव composed in A. D. 1450 we have the expression पुरे श्रीपथनाम्नि. In the first expression the word श्रीपथा has a feminine ending in आ, corresponding to the feminine form पुरि, while in the second expression the word श्रीपथ corresponds to the neuter form पुरे. The change of था to थ caused by the change of gender of the word पुर, which has both the genders, *viz*, feminine and neuter, need not be an obstacle in our identifying श्रीपथ of A. D 1450 with श्रीपथा of A. D. 1044 which

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1. This verse reads :—

" तस्मिन्पुरे श्रीपथनाम्निवंद्ये यशोविधुः सद्गुणरत्नसिंधुः ।
आस्ते शकेशो महमंदखानः शौर्यप्रतिक्षिप्तपराभिधानः ॥ "

2. This verse reads :—

" नमन्महीभृद्व्रजमौलिमालास्खलत्परागारुणपादपद्मे ।
तस्मिन्क्षितौ राजपदं दधाने ग्रंथः कृतः श्रीमहमंदखाने ॥ ७ ॥ "

3. *Cal. Ori. Series*, No. 21, E 13, 1927.

4. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 9. — " Biyānā is the chief town of the Tahsil of the same name in the Bharatpur State in Rajputana."

Fleet has already identified with Biyānā in the Bharatpur State in Rajputna.

We have now to see if the name श्रीपथा for Biyānā was in actual use in the fifteenth century. Fortunately Fleet has already pointed out[1] that another Biyānā inscription dated Saṁvat 1503 = A. D. 1447 actually uses the name श्रीपथा (ओं ॥ सिद्धि: ॥ संवत् १५०३ वर्षे आषाढवदि ९ शनौ दिने श्री श्रीपथायाम्, etc.). This inscription proves beyond doubt that the name श्रीपथा for Biyānā was current in A. D. 1447, *i.e.*, three years before the date of composition of the work लक्ष्मणोत्सव, and that it has been changed to श्रीपथ in verse 5 of Chap. I of the work to suit the neuter gender of the word पुर in the expression तस्मिन्पुरे श्रीपथनाम्नि वंद्ये. It is, therefore, clear that श्रीपथ (A. D. 1450) = श्रीपथा (A. D. 1447)

= श्रीपथा (A. D. 1044)

= Biyānā or Biana in the Bharatpur State in Rajputana.

Identification of महम्मंद्खान :— Dr. Sharma has already equated महम्मंद्खान with Muhammad Khān. We have now to find out if there was any Muhammadan prince (शकेश or शकोत्तम) of the name Muhammad Khān at Biana reigning either as an idependent sovereign or as a tributary to some sovereign power.

It appears that *Muhammad Khān of Śrīpatha* or Biana, at whose court Amarasiṁha held some high position, is identical with *Muhammad Khān of Biyānā* who surrendered to Mubarak Shah II in February 1427.[2] Mubarak Shah II was a Sultan of Delhi belonging to the line of Sayyids[3] which ruled from A. D. 1414 to 1443.[4] Mubarak Shah II succeeded his father Khizr Khān two days after the latter's death on 20th May 1421.[5] He was murdered at Mubārakābād on 19th February 1434.[6]

Though Muhammad Khān of Biyāna surrendered to Mubarak

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1. *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 239 — " Śrīpatha. the ancient Sanskrit name of Biyana "

2. Duff, *Chronology, of India* p. 248.

3. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mohemmedan Dynasties*, 1925, p. 303.

4. *Ibid*, p. 300.

5. Duff, *ibid*, p. 245.

6. *Ibid*, p. 252.

Shah II in February 1427, he appears to have seized Biyāna again. Mubarak then started in person for Biyāna but was withheld by the news that Ibrāhim Shah Sharqui was then marching on Kalpi. Between February and March 1428 Ibrāhim returned before Mubarak. Mubarak then marched to Biyāna and besieged Muhammad Khān, who capitulated a second time. Mubarak appointed a governor for Biyāna and returned to Delhi on 30th May 1428.[1]

The *Lakṣmaṇotsava* tells us that in A. D. 1450 Muhammad Khān was ruling at Śrīpatha or Biyāna[2] (तस्मिन्क्षितौ राजपदं दधाने — v. 7, Chap. I).

It is possible to suppose that though he capitulated twice to the Sultan of Delhi between February 1427 and May 1428, he might have assumed independence after Mubarak's death in A. D. 1434. What heroism was shown by Amarasiṁha, the father of Lakṣmaṇa, in all the encounters of his patron king Muhammad Khān with the Sultan of Delhi, we are unable to say. In verse 25 of Chap. I the expression शौर्येण सूर्यायितम् with reference to Amarasiṁha appears to indicate that he did play some valorous part in his master's battles against his enemies.

I have attempted to identify the names महम्मंदखान, श्रीपथ and

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1. Duff, *ibid*, p. 248.

2. See *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 1885, p. 418 — Biana is on the route from Agra to Mhow, 50 miles southwest of the former. The town is of considerable antiquity. It is a spot of great sanctity in the eyes of Muhammadans. It is mentioned by Ferishta as a place of importance in 1491, when it stood a siege against Sikandar Lodi. Babar describes it in 1526 as one of the famous forts in India.

Biyānā (= Biana) is a railway junction being the 3rd important railway station from Muttra (= Mathurā) southward (Muttra — Bharatpur — *Bayana* — Sawai Madhopur — Kotah). Bayana appears to have been famous for its indigo in the 1st half of the 17th century. The East India Company purchased this indigo and exported it. [See *India Office Records* — supplementary Calendar (1600-1640 A. D.), London, 1928, sections 279-81 and others]. Some pre-historic human remains were found at Bayana in 1910 (see p. 374 of *Prehistoric India* by Panchanan Mitra, Calcutta, 1927.)

नवग्राम in this paper, as Dr. Sharma has left the question open[1] for such an attempt in his analysis of the work *Lakṣmaṇotsava*. I trust that Dr. Sharma as also students of mediaeval history will examine my identification of these names and bring more information to bear on this question from sources which I cannot command at present.

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1. See p. 7, Vol. III of *the Karnāṭaka Hist. Review*:— Dr. Sharma remarks – " Unfortunately at present we cannot identify these places ; nor do we know of Mahamandakhān. "

64. The Terminus Ad Quem for the Date of Bhānudatta, the Author of the Rasamañjarī ‡

Dr. S. K. De makes the following remarks[1] while dealing with the date of Bhānudatta, the author of the *Rasamañjarī* :—

" The other terminus is furnished by the date of one of the commentaries on the *Rasamañjarī* called the *Rasamañjarīvikāsa* (or Vilāsa) by Gopāla (alias Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṁha which is expressly dated in 1428 A. D. " Dr. De further[2] states that " the comm. is dated Saṁvat 1484 = 1428 A. D. ....Mr. Shridhar R. Bhandarkar points out (Rep. of Second Tour 1904-06, p. 36) that the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr. p. 273) but he thinks it is Śaka era, in which case the date of commentary will be 1572 A. D. "

As the above statement of Dr. De left me in uncertainty about the exact terminus I examined the grounds of Mr. Bhandarkar's statement that the year belongs to the Śaka era and that the date of the commentary would, therefore, be 1572 A. D. My examination shows that Mr. Bhandarkar's conclusion is correct as will be seen from the following facts :—

(1) Mr. S. R. Bhandarkar's remarks[3] about the date of the commentary under reference are as follows :—

" The date of composition is given as युगरन्ध्रवेदधरणी गण्येंगिरोवत्सरे. ' रन्ध्र means nine and so the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein. The era is not specified. But the name of the cyclic year Angiras shows that it is the Śaka year. So the era of the date of Stein's Ms must be the Śaka era since the date is 1514."

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‡ *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XVI, pp. 145-147.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I. p. 248.

2. Ibid p. 252.

3. *Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss in Rajputana and Central India — 1904-05 and 1905-06*, p. 36.

(2) Mr. Bhandarkar is correct in taking रन्ध्र to mean *nine* and not *eight* as interpreted by Stein in his extract on p. 273 of his Catalogue (see p. 120 of Ojha's Palaeography of India, 1918). Hence the year is 1494 and not 1484.

(3) Dr. Stein was doubtful about his interpretation of the chronogram as he records it with a sign of interrogation thus—"युगरन्ध्रवेदधरणी (1484?) गण्ये गिरो वत्सरे."

(4) Dr. Stein could not properly make use of the incorrect expression "गण्ये गिरो वत्सरे" as recorded in his Manuscript. The correct expression is found in the Ms seen by Mr. Bhandarkar and which he records as "गण्येंगिरोवत्सरे." In this expression the presence of the *anusvāra* gives us clearly the word 'अंगिरो' instead of the word गिरो which could not make any meaning in Stein's Ms.

(5). Mr. Bhandarkar is also correct in stating that Aṅgiras is the name of the Śaka year and not of a Saṁvat year. This statement is borne out by a reference to *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. V, 1922, p. 346) where the name of Śaka 1494 is mentioned to be *Aṅgiras*. On p. 77 of the same volume Saṁvat 1494 is mentioned to have *Raktākṣa* as its name which conflicts with the name अंगिरस् as given in the Ms.

It will thus be seen that the date of the com. *Rasamañjarīvikāsa is A. D. 1572 and not 1428 A. D. Consequently the later terminus for Bhānudatta's date is A. D. 1572 and not 1428 A. D.*

65. Bhānudatta, Author of the Pārijāta and Bhānudatta, Author of the Rasamañjarī ‡

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his *Introduction*[1] to the *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in Mithilā* makes the following remarks about Bhānudatta, a writer on *alaṁkāra* :—

'The Rasamañjarī (a very popular book by Bhānudatta, a Maithila (देशो यस्य विदेहभूः , p. 52) has several MSS (38 to 38P). It is the composition of a Vedāntist, for the instruction [it is reported] of his own son. *The author flourished in the fourteenth century*. The oldest MS is dated Ś. 1689. His *Rasataraṅgiṇi* (Nos. 36 to 36G) is also a well-known treatise on sentiments. He is one of the last writers of the Hindu State of Mithila. This has as many as five commentaries. '

According to Dr. S. K. De,[2] the date of Bhānudatta, the author of the *Rasamañjarī* is '*earlier than the 14th century and later than the 12th century A. D.*'[3]

According to Mr. P. V. Kane[4] Bhānudatta's father Gaṇeśvara is very likely Gaṇeśvaramantrin, brother of Vīreśvara, whose son Caṇḍeśvara composed the *Vivādaratnākara* and weighed himself in gold in 1315 A.D. Therefore, Bhānudatta flourished *towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century*.

‡ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 751–756.

1. *MSS in Mithilā*, Vol. II, Pub. by Behar and Orissa Res. Society, Patna, 1933, p. 5.

2. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 249.

3. Vide *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVII, p. 297 — *Bhānudatta and Bhānukara* by Dr. De. In this note Dr. De refers to his article read before *Fourth Ori. Conference* published in *Summaries of Papers* (Allahabad, 1926, pp. 40–43) and states that in this article he ' has attempted a closer approximation of Bhānudatta's date to the *end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century*. '

4. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Intro., p. cxviii.

According to Dr. Hara Datta Sharma[1] the poets Bhānukara and Bhānudatta are identical and as Bhānukara's patron was King Vīrabhānu[2] of the Baghela dynasty, who flourished between A.D. 1500 and 1550, Bhānudatta 'should be placed *in the beginning of the 16th century A.D.*'

The foregoing views of four different scholars on the problem of Bhānudatta's date tempt me to record some more data having some bearing on this problem, and which none of these scholars has examined so far. If an attempt has been made to prove the identity of भानुकर[3] and भानुदत्त, names not quite identical, there is every reason to examine the namesakes of भानुदत्त and their works. One such namesake is भानुदत्त, the author of a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the *Pārijāta*, a MS of which has been described by Mr. Jayaswal.[4] It is in Maithilī characters. The work consists of prose and verse. Jayaswal describes it as 'a manual of *dharmaśāstra*, dealing with *Tithivicāra* by Bhānudatta.' The following two verses at the beginning of the work give us some information about the author Bhānudatta and his parentage :—

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1. Vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 243–258 — *The Poet Bhānukara.*

2. Vide my article on the *Identification of Vīrabhānu* (Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. II, pp. 254–258).

3. Vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 247–48 — Dr. Sharma records numerous verses from the works of भानुदत्त viz. the *Rasamañjarī*, *Rasataraṅgiṇi* and *Gītagaurīpati*, all of which are ascribed to Bhānukara in various anthologies. I think this list instead of proving the identity of भानुकर and भानुदत्त only explains the indiscriminate manner in which the names of the two authors were confused. भानुदत्त was the son of गणपति or गणेश्वर but the name of भानुकर's father has nowhere been traced. Once the name भानुदत्त was confused with भानुकर even the parentage of the one was thrust on the other, as proved by the following verse found in an anthology of Veṇīdatta (1644 A.D.) called पद्यवेणी (MS No. 375 of 1884–87).

Folio — 676

'यशोधन-निधेर्यदा नरहरेर्वचोर्वण्य(र्ण्य)ते
तदागतमदामदालसमलावालारखाः ।
निचिभ्रमचरीकरी भवति चाधरीमाधुरी
सुधाकरसुधा मुधा मधुकथा वृथा जायते ॥ ५ ॥
गणपतिपुत्रभानुकरस्य'

4. *MSS in Mithilā*, Vol I (Patna, 1927), pp. 278-79.

" यथा गणपतिः काव्यक्काव्यं भानुकवेस्तथा ।
अनयोः संगमश्लाघ्यः शर्कराक्षीरयोरिव ॥ २ ॥

वसुधा विबुधास्तर्कतिग्मांशुकरतापिताः ।
कवेः श्रीभानुदत्तस्य पारिजातो निषेव्यताम् ॥ ३ ॥ "

In verse 2 quoted above the reading ' गणपतिः ' in line 1 makes no meaning. The correct reading ought to be ' गणपतेः' because भानुकवि or भानुदत्त is here instituting a comparison between his own काव्य and that of ' गणपति ' and hence to balance the expression ' काव्यं भानुकवेस्तथा ' we must have the corresponding expression ' यथा गणपतेः काव्यं. ' The expression ' अनयोः संगमः ' in the second line of the verse appears to indicate that भानुकवि is comparing his own काव्य with the काव्य of गणपति, who is in all probability his father.

If the above interpretation is accepted we are in a position to state that गणपति was भानुदत्त's father.

Let us now turn to भानुदत्त the author of works on *alaṁkāra* viz. the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Rasataraṅginī*, the problem of whose date has engaged the attention of so many scholars, Mr. Jayaswal, Mr. Kane, Dr. De and Dr. Sharma, referred to above.

In the work called *Rasamañjarī* भानुदत्त gives information about himself in the following verse[1] :—

" तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः[2] कविकुलालंकारचूडामणिः
देशो यस्य विदेहभूः सुरसरित्कल्लोलकीर्मीरिता ।
पद्येन स्वकृतेन तेन कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता
वाग्देवीश्रुतिपारिजातकुसुमस्पर्धांकरी मञ्जरी ॥ "

The particulars regarding Bhānudatta, the author of the *Rasa mañjarī* and those of Bhānudatta the author of the *Pārijāta* may now be compared as follows :—

1. *Rasamañjarī* (Benares Sanskrit Series, 1904), p. 247.

2. In the *Rastaraṅginī* (p. 23) commonly ascribed to भानुदत्त the father's name is stated as गणपति in the following verse quoted by Dr. Sharma (Annals, Vol. XVII, p. 245)—

' तातो निर्गच्छति गणपतौ नाकमद्यापि तस्या etc.'

Author of *Rasamañjarī*	Author of *Pārijāta*
(1) Here the name of the work is given as मञ्जरी which is described as 'वाग्देवी श्रुतिपारिजातकुसुमस्पर्धाकरी मञ्जरी.' We are tempted to think that in the above line there is a श्लेष on the word पारिजात, the *author hinting thereby that the present work* मञ्जरी or रसमञ्जरी *rivals his earlier work* पारिजात.	(1) Here the name of the work is given as पारिजात ('पारिजातो निषेव्यताम्').
(2) The father of the author of the *Rasamañjarī* is गणेश्वर (= गणपति) — 'तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः.'	(2) The father of the author of the पारिजात is also गणपति ('यथा गणपतेः काव्यं' and 'अनयोः संगमः श्लाघ्यः').
(3) The author of the *Rasamañjarī* calls himself भानुकवि ('कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता').	(3) The name of the author of the पारिजात is also भानुदत्त कवि ('कवेः श्रीभानुदत्तस्य पारिजातो निषेव्यताम्').
(4) The author of the *Rasamañjarī* hailed from Mithilā ('देशो यस्य विदेहभूः').	(4) The MS [1] of the पारिजात comes from Pandit Jaduvīra Miśra, Khopa, Phulapāras, P. O. Darbhanga.
(5) गणेश्वर, father of भानुदत्त is styled as 'कविकुलालंकारचूडामणिः.'	(5) The father of the author of पारिजात was also a great poet (cf. 'यथा गणपतेः काव्यं').

The above comparison of particulars about the authors of the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Pārijāta* shows : (1) an identity of names,

1. *MSS in Mithilā*, Vol. I, p. 278 — MS No. 257 — 'पारिजातः by भानुदत्त.'

(2) an identity of parentage of these authors, (3) a similarity of description of the fathers of the two authors and (4) possibly identity of the provinces from which they hailed. As the Mithila MS of the पारिजात described by Mr. Jayaswal is not before me I cannot conclude anything more at this stage of my inquiry. I would, however, request Mr. Jayaswal to examine this MS of the *Pārijāta* and give us the benefit of his analysis in the light of my suggested identity of the two Bhānudattas, as adumbrated in the comparison of particulars gathered from the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Pārijāta* and recorded above.

I shall now explain the bearing of my hypothesis of the identity of the two Bhānudattas :—

(1) Mr. Jayaswal states that the *Pārijāta* by Bhānudatta has been quoted by Vācaspati and Caṇḍeśvara.[1]

(2) Mr. Jayaswal further states that Caṇḍeśvara is the greatest name of the 14th century. According to Mr. P. V. Kane[2] Caṇḍeśvara's literary activities begin with A. D. 1314 and if Caṇḍeśvara quotes the पारिजात of Bhānudatta the date of this Bhānudatta would be *before A.D. 1314*.

(3) Now if our hypothesis about the identity of the two Bhānudattas, one the author of the *Rasamañjarī* and the other the author of the *Pārijāta*, is accepted, *the date of the author of the Rasamañjarī goes before A. D.* 1314.

(4) This new limit of A. D. 1314 for Bhānudatta's date is *in favour* of the following dates so far discussed and recorded :—

(1) *Earlier view of Dr. De* — Bhānudatta's date, '*earlier than 14th century and later than the 12th century A. D.*'

1. *MSS in Mithila*, Vol. I, Intro., p. vii.

[In the दानरत्नाकर of चंडेश्वर described by Jayaswal (p. 205) we have the line :—

'कल्पद्रुमः पारिजात: कामधेनु क्वचित् क्वचित्' and in शुद्धिरत्नाकर of चंडेश्वर (p. 436) the line containing a reference to पारिजात reads :—

'न ग्रामीयोऽत्र समीपवासी पारिजाते तु इतरेष्वाचार्येषु उपाध्यायादिषु' etc.]

[वाचस्पति in his तीर्थचिन्तामणि (p. 182) mentions पारिजात in the following line :— 'श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुमपारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य ग्रंथान्'].

2. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, Section 90.

(2) *Kane's view* — 'towards the *end of the 13th* and *beginning of the 14th century.*'

(5) This new limit A. D. 1314 is *against* the following dates fixed by scholars :—

(1) *Mr. Jayaswal* states that Bhānudatta '*flourished in the 14th century.*' — This view will be untenable if the limit of 1314 A. D. is accepted, though the possibility of a junior contemporary quoting from a senior contemporary's works may remove the inconsistency to a certain extent.

(2) *Dr. De's revised view* — '*end of the 15th* and *beginning of the 16th century.*'

(3) *Dr. Sharma's view*[1] — 'Beginning of the 16th century.'



1. Dr. S. K. De in his note on '*Bhānudatta and Bhānukara*' (vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 297-8) doubts the reliability of the evidence of anthological compilations, on the strength of which Dr. Sharma tries to identify the poet Bhānukara and Bhānudatta. Dr. V. Raghavan in his note on '*Bhānudatta and a verse ascribed to him*' (vide *Annals*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 85-6) supports Dr. De's view mentioned above by citing a verse from Dr. Sharma's article itself which is ascribed to Bhānukara in one anthology but is really from the drama *Bālabhārata* of Rajaśekhara.

66. Date of Ānandapūrṇa alias Vidyā-Sāgara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata — Between A. D. 1200 and 1350 ‡

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar[1] in his article on the Mahābhārata Commentators mentions Vidyāsāgara as one of the 22 commentators of the Great Epic. As, however, Dr. Sukthankar has not attempted to give us any information regarding this commentator, I propose to record in this paper some details of information regarding this commentator and to fix the limits for the date of his commentary.

Dr. M. Krishnamachariar[2] also gives a list of the Mahābhārata Commentators in which we find the name: *Ānandapūrṇa*. This

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‡ *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. XX, pp. 29–36.

1. *Annals* XVII, p. 185. The commentators mentioned by Dr. Sukthankar are :— Anantabhaṭṭa, Arjunamiśra, Ānanda, Caturbhuja (miśra), Jagadīśa Cakravartin, Devabodha, Nīlakaṇṭha, Mahānandapūrṇa, Yajñanārāyaṇa, Ratnagarbha, Rāmakiṁkara, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Rāmānuja, Lakṣmaṇa, Varada, Vādirāja, *Vidyāsāgara*, Vimalabodha, Saṁkarācārya, Śrīnivāsa, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Sṛṣṭidhara. To this number of 22 commentators we have to add the name of Gadānanda, author of *Bhāratajñānadīpa*. Gadānanda mentions some previous commentators :—

" ग्रोऽसौ वसन्तरायेन कृतो भारतभूषणः । तद्व्याख्या तेजसादापि भारतज्ञानदीपकः ॥
देवो मधुमुनिर्वाच्यो मिश्रो वाच्यश्चतुर्भुजे । तद्वयोर्मतपाठार्थं द्वयोरित्यभिधास्यते ॥
बोधो विमलबोधोऽत्र वचनीयोऽर्जुनेऽर्ज्जुनः । विशेषश्चात्र वक्तव्यो वयन्त्वित्यादिना मया ॥
एषां पाठार्थभूयस्त्वे लिखनीये पृथक् पृथक् । इति शब्दानिवेशोऽपि तदध्याहारतोऽन्वयः ॥"

(Vide *Des. Cata. of Sans.* Mss in Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta, p. XVII). I am thankful to Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras for drawing my attention to this commentary in a private communication dated 9-2-1938.

2. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, pp. 42 to 44. The commentators mentioned here are :— Nīlakaṇṭha,

(*Continued on next page*)

commentator is identical with Vidyāsāgara, the subject of this paper because *Vidyāsāgara* was another name[1] of Ānandapūrṇa.

Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding the works of Vidyāsāgara[2] :—

" विद्यासागर — a title of Ānandapūrṇamuni. W. p. 48, 178. "

" विद्यासागर — Mahābhārata-ṭīkā, Burnell 184b. "

(*Continued from previous page*)

Arjunamiśra, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Yajñanārāyaṇa, *Vaiśampāyana*, (CC I, 439). Vādirāja, Śrīnandana (Madras MSS IV, R. N. 3801) and Vimalabodha. " Aufrecht gives the names of the following commentators. Ānandapūrṇa, Vidyāsāgara, Caturbhuja, Nandikeśvara Devabodha, Nandanācārya, Paramānandabhaṭṭācārya, Ratnagarbha, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, and Śrīnivāsācārya. Besides two anonymous commentaries, *Nigūḍhapadabodhinī* and *Bhārataṭippaṇī*, the Oriental MSS Library of Madras contains *Bhāratavyākhyā* of Kavīndra and *Lakṣaślokālaṁkāra* of Vādirāja, Śrīdharācārya has commented on the chapter *Mokṣadharma*.

1. Vide, *Ind. Office Cata.* Part IV, 1894, p. 727 — Vidyāsāgara wrote a commentary on *Pañcapādikā* (प्रपञ्चितं यदाचार्यवर्येण तदिहोच्यते । संक्षिप्यानन्दपूर्णेन टीकायां सुखबुद्धये ॥ ४ ॥ ") The colophon of the MS of this commentary is as follows :—

" इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्याभयानन्दपूज्यपादशिष्यस्यानन्दपूर्णमुनीन्द्रस्य विद्यासागरापरनामधेयस्य कृतौ पञ्चपादिकाटीका समाप्ता "

The India Office MS is written in " *Bengali handwriting of c. 1600 A. D.* " On folio 75b we get the colophon :— " इति विद्यासागरीये प्रथमवर्णकं समाप्तं. " See also Weber's *Cata.* of Berlin MSS (1853) p. 178 " आनंदपूर्णमुनींद्रस्य विद्यासागरापरनामधेयस्य. "

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 575a — Other namesakes of Vidyā-Sāgara mentioned by Aufrecht are :—

" विद्यासागर — Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyaṭīkā "

" विद्यासागर — Kalāpadīpikā Bhaṭṭikāvyaṭīkā, Quoted by Rāmanātha on Amarakośa and very often by Bharatasena on Bhaṭṭikāvya. "

III, 121, " विद्यासागर — Katipayakārakavyākhyāna "

" विद्यासागर — Son of Śrīkaṇṭha, Kātantrapradīpa. "

The identity of Ānandapūrṇa and Vidyāsāgara appears to have been taken by Aufrecht as a proved fact as will be seen from the following entries made by him regarding Ānandapūrṇa and his works :—

" आनन्दपूर्णमुनीन्द्र — with the Surname Vidyāsāgara, pupil of Abhayānanda.[1]

Nyāya-Kalpalatikā,[2] a Commentary on Sureśvara's Bṛhadāraṇyavārttika, W. p. 48.

Pañcapādikāṭīkā.[3]

Brahma-Siddhivyākhyāratna[4], Sūcīpatra 60.

Vedāntavidyāsāgara, Sūcīpatra 60.

Vyākhyāratnāvalī[5] on the Mahābhārata.

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1. CC I, 23 — " अभयानन्द, Guru of Ānandapūrṇa muni. Samanvayasūtravivṛtti etc.) Hall, p. 96. W. p. 48. 178."

2. CC I, 307 — " न्यायकल्पलतिका a comm. on Sureśvara's Bṛhadāraṇyavārttika by Ānandapūrṇamunīndra, W. p. 48." The Berlin MS of this work described by Weber appears to be the only MS recorded by Aufrecht. There is another MS of the work in the Oriental Institute, Baroda (Vide p. 80 of *Cata. of Vedic MSS*, Baroda. 1925). This MS contains 422 leaves and is dated *Śaka 1356* (= *A.D. 1434*)."

3. CC I, 315 — " पञ्चपादिका - Comm. by Ānandapūrṇa yati called also Svānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara) 1053. W. p. 178 (fr.) Hall, p. 88."

4. CC I, 383 — " ब्रह्मसिद्धिव्याख्यारत्न by Ānandapūrṇa, Sūcīpatra 57.

5. CC I, 439 — " व्याख्यारत्नावली by Ānandapūrṇa Muni Vidyāsāgara. Burnell 184, Bh. 15."

CC II, 101 - " Bhau Daji 93, Govt. Ori. Libr. Madras 67. (Śānti p.)."

CC III, 95 - " Mokṣadharma, AS p. 153, CS 4. 168. Rājadharma CS 4. 168. Dānadharma, CS 4. 168".

Samanvayasūtravivṛtti.[1] Hall p. 96.

In the above list of Ānandapūrṇa's works the MS of *Samanvayasūtravivṛtti* referred to by the entry " Hall p. 96 " is identical with the MS described by Fitz Edward Hall in his *Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Systems* (Calcutta, 1859). Hall describes this MS as follows :—

" XXXIX — *Samanvaya-Sūtravivṛtti* — A Commentary on the second aphorism of No. 1 (Brahmasūtra). By Ānandapūrṇa Muni, otherwise called Vidyāsāgara, disciple of Abhayānanda. The copy inspected was *transcribed in the Saṁvat year 1461*, leaves 207, Ślokas, 6900. Ben. Coll. "

This MS of Ānandapūrṇa's work was copied in Saṁvat 1461 = A. D. 1405, while the Baroda MS[2] of *Nyāyakalpalatikā* was copied in Śaka 1356 — A. D. 1434 i.e. 29 years later.

Dr. Das Gupta[3] assigns Ānandapūrṇa to the " *Sixteenth Century.* " Elsewhere he states :— " Ānandapūrṇa (A. D. 1600) who commented on Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khādya* wrote the *Nyāyacandrikā* in four Chapters refuting the views of the Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā and Vaiśeṣika. "[4] Ānandapūrṇa's *Nyāyakalpalatikā*[5] (Baroda MS copied in A. D. 1434) is also mentioned by Dr. Das Gupta as also his Commentary called *Bhāvaśuddhi*[6] on the *Brahma-Siddhi.* The date " A. D. 1600 " for Ānandapūrṇa is again repeated by Das Gupta[7] in the following remarks :— " Ānandapūrṇa (A. D.

1. CC I, 697 — " समन्वयसूत्रविवृत्ति - a comm. on the Brahmasūtra 1, 1, 4, by Ānandapūrṇa Muni. Hall p. 96 (MS of 1404). N. W. 304 (an). "
   CC III, 144 — " समन्वयसूत्रव्याख्या — a comm. on Brahmasūtra 1, 1, 4. Hz 855 (Is this by Ānandapūrṇa ?) "
2. *Vedic MSS*, Vol. I, G. O. Series, Baroda, (1925), p. 80.
3. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, 1932, p. 52 — " Padmapāda's *Pañcapādikā* was commented on ...... by *Ānandapūrṇa* and Nṛsiṁha in the *Sixteenth Century* .... "
4. Ibid p. 57.
5. Ibid p. 83.
6. Ibid p. 87 footnote 1.
7. Ibid p. *103* — footnote 2 reads :— " As Mr. Telang points out

(*Continued on next page*)

1600) who wrote his *Vidyāsāgarī* commentary on Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khādya* and also a commentary on the *Mahāvidyāviḍambana* wrote a commentary on the *Pañcapādikā*."

Presuming now that Ānandapūrṇa assigned by Dr. Das Gupta to "A. D. 1600" is the author of the works called the *Samanvaya-Sūtravivṛtti* (a MS of which was transcribed in A.D. 1405 as stated by Hall) and the *Nyāyakalpalatikā* (a MS of which was copied in A. D. 1434 as stated in the Baroda Vedic MSS Catalogue) we have to point out that the date "A. D. 1600" for Ānandapūrṇa assigned by Dr. Das Gupta is directly contradicted by the dates A.D. 1405, and A.D. 1434 in which years these two works were copied. These dates also contradict Dr. Das Gupta's date "*Sixteenth Century*" for Ānandapūrṇa mentioned once on p. 52 of Vol. II of his *History of Indian Philosophy* as we have noted above. If copies of Ānandapūrṇa's works were made in the first half of the Fifteenth[1] century how is it possible to state that he flourished later in the "Sixteenth Century"?

The evidence recorded in this paper suggests a date for Ānandapūrṇa, *earlier than A. D. 1400* in view of the extant copies of his works written in A. D. 1405 and A. D. 1434. This evidence not

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in his Introduction to the Mahāvidyāviḍambana it seems that Ānandapūrṇa lived after Śaṅkara Miśra (A. D. 1529) as is seen from his criticism of his reading of a passage of the *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khādya*, p. 586 (Chowkhamba)."

Page 123 — "Vādindra's *Mahāvidyāviḍambana* has two commentaries one called *Mahāvidyāvidambana-vyākhyāna* by Ānandapūrṇa etc."

1. Even if we presume that the date of the copy viz. "*Saṁvat* 1461 (*Samanvayasūtravṛtti*) represents a Śaka year making this date correspond to A. D. 1539 it is impossible to take the date of Ānandapūrṇa to 1600 A. D." as Dr. Das Gupta has done. The Baroda MS of the *Nyāyakalpalatikā* being, however, definitely a copy made in Śaka 1356 (= A. D. 1434) it is impossible to presume that "*Sāṁvat* 1461" is equivalent to "*Śaka 1461*." We are, therefore, compelled to investigate the exact chronology of Ānandapūrṇa's works in the light of these two mutually supporting dates of copies of his works viz. *A. D. 1405* and *1434*, and unless these are contradicted by any other stronger testimony, the view developed in this paper that ***Ānandapūrṇa is earlier than A. D. 1400 must remain*** unchallenged.

only contradicts the "*Sixteenth Century*" or "*A.D. 1600*" fixed by Dr. Das Gupta for Ānandapūrṇa's date but also upsets the date for Ānandapūrṇa recorded by M. M. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri in his recently published edition of the *Brahmasiddhi*[1] in the following extract[2] :—

Ānandapūrṇa alias Vidyāsāgara wrote in the *latter part of the 16th Century* a copious commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi* and this also is available in manuscript[3] in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras."

According to these remarks Ānandapūrṇa flourished *between A. D. 1550 and 1600.* It will thus be seen that the difference between my limit of A. D. 1400 for Ānandapūrṇa's date and that recorded by Prof. Kuppuswami Shastri is more than 150 years to say the least and hence cannot be easily reconciled. I would, therefore, request[4] M. M. Prof. Sastri to examine his evidence in support of his date for Ānandapūrṇa in the light of evidence recorded in this paper and give us his final verdict on this question in a

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1. *Brahmasiddhi* by Ācārya Maṇḍanamiśra with commentary by Śaṅkhapāṇi (Madras Government Oriental Series No. 4) Madras 1938, In Section IV of his Introduction M. M. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri deals with the Commentaries on the *Brahmasiddhi*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi). He mentions the following Commentaries so far known :– (1) *Tattva-samīkṣā* by Vācaspatimiśra — former half of the *9th century* — known only through references. (2) *Abhiprāya-prakāśikā* of Citsukha — beginning of the *13th century* — Madras MS R No. 3853. (3) *Bhāva-śuddhi* by Ānandapūrṇa alias Vidyāsāgara — "*latter part of the 16th Century*" — Madras MS R No. 967. (4) Commentary by Śaṅkhapāṇi a Nambudri Brahmin of Malabar.

2. Ibid, *Introduction*, p. lxxv.

3. *Triennial Catalogue* — R No. 3967. The colophons of this MS describe Ānandapūrṇa as pupil of Abhayānanda ("इति श्रीमदभयानन्द-पूज्यपादशिष्येण आनन्दपूर्णमुनीन्द्रेण विरचिते ब्रह्मसिद्धिव्याख्यानरत्ने ब्रम्हकाण्डं समाप्तम्") (Aufrecht refers to this work in the following entry :—

CC I, 383 — " ब्रह्मसिद्धिव्याख्यारत्न by आनन्दपूर्ण Sūcīpatra, 57 ")

See also Madras MSS — *R No. 3250* and *R No. 3251*.

4. As M. M. Prof. Sastri has not recorded his grounds for Ānandapūrṇa's date in his Introduction to the *Brahmasiddhi* I have thought it proper to make this request.

more authoritative manner than that adopted by a novice in the present paper.

The Ms of Vidyāsāgara's commentary on the *Mokṣadharma* (Mahābhārata) described by Prof. H. D. Velankar in his catalogue of B. B. R. A. Society's Mss[1] is a copy written in Saṁvat 1624 i.e. A. D. 1568. This fact by itself would warrant our pushing back the date of Ānandapūrṇa alias Vidyāsāgara before A. D. 1550 and not after A. D. 1550 as M. M. Prof. Sastri has done in his remarks quoted above. Prof. Velankar, however, who records the Ms dated Saṁvat 1461 (A. D. 1405) described by Hall (Index, p. 96) of Ānandapūrṇa's commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* makes the following remarks about his date :—

" If this Vidyāsāgara is the same as the one mentioned under No. 699[2] above he must have lived at the *beginning of the 15th Century.* "

The identity, suggested by Prof. Velankar, of two persons of the name *Vidyāsāgara*, one of which is connected with the year 1476 (*Saṁvat* or *Śaka*) rests on unsure foundation because there is nothing in support of it except the similarity of name. But for the

1. Vol. II (Hindu Literature), 1928, p. 294 — MS No. 978. Prof. Velankar states that the author does not quote profusely in this commentary. The references recorded by Prof. Velankar are from अमरकोश, योगयाज्ञवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर, वैजयन्तीकोश. The MS ends :— " इति श्रीपरमहंसपारिव्राजकाचार्य-**अभयानन्द**पूज्यपादशिष्येण **आनन्दपूर्ण**मुनीन्द्रेण विद्यासागरापर-नामधेयेन विरचितायां व्याख्यानरत्नावल्यां शान्तिपर्वणि. मोक्षधर्मः समाप्तः संवत् १६२४ समये आषाढ शुदि ६ बृहस्पतिवासरे "

2. This is a MS of पुरुषार्थप्रबोध of ब्रह्मानंदभारती composed in (Saṁvat ?) 1476. The work was supervised by **विद्यासागरवादीन्द्र** and विबुधराजसरस्वती while it was being composed at **मळवली** on the banks of असनसी river (**मळवल्य**भिधे ग्रामे शिष्टभूसुरभूषिते **असनस्यास्तीरतटे** स्थित्वा हृष्टिमनोहरे). The author alludes to भारतीतीर्थ called विद्यारण्य, अमरानन्द (author of स्वात्मयोगप्रदीप, धर्मसारसुधानिधि, नित्यनाथ, नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि, मानवसंहिता, रसेन्द्रचूडामणि, विश्वरूप, शंकरसंहिता, शिवधर्म, शिवरहस्य, सिद्धान्तशासन, सौरसंहिता, स्मृतिभास्कर, स्मृतिरत्नावली, & स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय). The verse occurring at the end of each chapter reads : " **षण्मुनीन्द्र**कृतात्युग्रशापपापामयौषधे। अस्मिन्ग्रन्थे......अंशे...... अध्याय ईरितः " The Chronogram " षण्मुनि-इन्द्र " = 1476. If this is a *Saṁvat* year it would be equal to A. D. *1420* but if a *Śaka* year it would be equal to A. D. *1554*.

two dated copies of Ānandapūrṇa's (Vidyāsāgara's) works, prepared in A. D. *1405* and *1434*. Prof. Velankar's suggestion of the above identity would have been a good hypothesis to work upon. As matters stand, however, I am compelled by the cumulative force of three dated copies of Ānandapūrṇa's work (of A. D. 1405, 1434 and 1568) to push back his *date before A. D. 1400* unless stronger testimony leads us to conclude otherwise.

The other terminus to the date of Ānandapūrṇa is furnished by his reference to विज्ञानेश्वर[1] and वैजयन्ती[2] in his commentary on the *Mokṣadharmaparvan*. The date of Vijñāneśvara, the celebrated commentator of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* lies between A. D. 1070 and 1100[3] while the date of the *Vaijayantī* lexicon of Yādavaprakāśa lies about the middle of the 11th century i.e. about 1050 A. D. because he has been identified with the preceptor, and afterwards a pupil, of Rāmānuja whose life-time is variously stated as A. D. 1017-1137 *or* 1055-1137.[4] In view of the evidence recorded in this paper I am inclined to assign Vidyāsāgara to a period between A.D. 1200 and A. D. 1350.



1. Vide folio 77 of B. O. R. I. MS No. 39 of A 1879-80 of *Mokṣadharmaṭīkā* by Vidyāsāgara— " याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं विज्ञानेश्वरेण व्याख्यातम् ."

2. Ibid, folio 81.

3. Vide p. 290 of Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (B. O. R. Institute, 1930).

4. Vide p. xxvii of Intro. to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. I, Baroda, 1928.

67. Gaṅgādāsa, the Author of the Chandomañjarī and his Works ‡

Aufrecht[1] makes the following entry in his Catalogue about Gaṅgādāsa and his works :— " गंगादास sometimes called Gaṅgādhara pupil of Gaṅgādāsa and Puruṣottama.

— *Acyutacaritakāvya*,[2] quoted Oxf. 198b.

— *Chandomañjarī*.[3]

Of the two works viz. *Acyutacarita*, of which no MSS are available, and *Chandomañjarī*, the latter is a very popular work, having undergone many editions with commentaries.[4] Mr. Krishnama-

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‡ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, pp. 512–522.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 137a.

2. *Ibid.*, *I*, 5 — " अच्युतचरित by Gaṅgādāsa. Mentioned Oxf. 198b. " No MSS of *Acyutacarita* have been recorded by Aufrecht.

3. Aufrecht records the following MSS of *Chandomañjarī* :—
CC I, 192a — IO 584, 1491, 1715 , Oxf. 198b, Paris (B 84). B 3. 60. Tub. 19. Oudh IX, 8, XIV, 40. Burnell 53a, Oppert 643, 981, ii, 1065; 5498, 8212.

CC II, 39a — BL 299. Oudh XXI, 90. XXI, 72. Stein 55. Often quoted by Lakṣmīnātha on *Prākṛtapiṅgala*.

Ibid, 200a — छन्दोमञ्जरी by Gaṅgādāsa, son of Gopāladāsa. Ulwar 1098.

CC III, 416 — AK 714, 715, AS p. 65. IL. (two MSS). Lz 816 (tr.)

Peters 5, 452, 6, 383 (and C).

4. The work has been edited many times in India. I shall refer in this paper to the Calcutta Edition of 1915 published by Jānakīnātha Kāvyatīrtha (Text with Comm. of Gurunātha Vidyānidhi Bhaṭṭācārya and a *Vaṅgānuvāda*). The *Union List of Indic Texts in American Libraries* by M. B. Emeneau, 1935, records only one edition of this

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chariar[1] records the following information about our author and his works :— " Gaṅgādāsa was son of Gopāladāsa of Vaidya caste. In six chapters he describes in his *Chandomañjarī* the varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa. He also wrote *Acyutacarita*, a poem in 16 cantos and *Dineśacarita* in praise of the Sun. His father wrote a play *Pārijātaharaṇa*."[2]

Gaṅgādāsa was apparently a devotee of Gopāla[3] and perhaps this devotion to Gopāla he inherited from his father Gopāladāsa. He refers to earlier works and authors as also to his own works in the *Chandomañjarī*. These references are as follows :—

(1) पारिजातहरण नाटक (composed by his father), p. 9.

(2) मम अच्युतचरिते, pp. 10, 41, 186.

(3) ममैव गोपालशतके, p. 43.

(4) कुमारे, p. 10.

(5) कण्ठाभरण = " सरस्वती कण्ठाभरण १ मप० १२० पृ० "), pp. 11, 95.

(6) छन्दोगोविन्दे (मम गुरोः), p. 14.

(*Continued from previous page*)

work :—" [Text in Roman characters by] Hermann Brockhaus SBGW 6 (1854). " In this *Union List* Nos. 2220 to 2246 record the editions of works on Prosody, ancient and modern as also on Metrics of Pāli and Prākrit. The *British Museum Cata. of Sanskrit Books* (1906-1928), 1928, p. 305, records the following editions of the work :— (1) Text with Commentaries of Dātārāma Nyāyavāgīśa called *Bhāvārtha-sandīpanī* and of Raghunandana called *Vyākhyānakaumudī* and a Bengali trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna. Ed. by Ramadeva Misra, Murshidabad, 1907 ; (2) Ed. with Comm. by Gurunātha Vidyānidhi, Calcutta, 1909, (same as No. 2, Calcutta, 1915 ; (4) (Text with Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's Comm. (8th edn.) 1915.

1. *History of Classical Sans. Literature*, 1937, p. 300 — Section 243.

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 335b — पारिजातहरण by Gopāladāsa, Oppert 2374, 2521. Quoted by his son (Gaṅgādāsa), Oxford 198b.

In the *Chandomañjarī* (Calcutta, 1915), p. 9, Gaṅgādāsa refers to his father's work :— " तथा मत्पितुः पारिजातहरण-नाटके "

3. The *Chandomañjarī* begins with a salutation to Gopāla :

"देवं प्रणम्य गोपालं वैद्यगोपालदासजः ।
संतोषातनयश्छन्दो गङ्गादासस्तनोत्यदः ॥ "

(7) मुरारेः, p. 14.
(8) जयदेव, p. 14.
(9) भट्टौ, pp. 22, 73, 120, 178.
(10) भागवत, p. 54.
(11) माघे, pp. 61, 64, 139.
(12) भारवौ, pp. 66, 77, 163, 167.
(13) वृत्तरत्नाकरे, pp. 70, 88, 142, 156, 165.
(14) रघौ, pp. 75, 121.
(15) शम्भौ, pp. 76, 111.
(16) वृत्तरत्नाकरपरिशिष्टे, pp. 82, 91, 101, 109, 117, 127, 133, 187, 142, 159, 165.
(17) वृत्तरत्नावल्याम्, p. 82.
(18) वैद्यके, p. 119.
(19) कौशिककाव्ये[1]
(20) अपभ्रंशभाषायां प्रचारः, p. 182.
(21) कंसारेः शतके, p. 186.
(22) दिनेशशतक, p. 186[2].

According to our author's own statement in the last verse of the *Chandomañjarī* he composed (1) अच्युतचरित, (2) कंसारिशतक, (3) दिनेशशतक and (4) छन्दोमञ्जरि. On folio 43 he quotes a work of his own with the remark "ममैव गोपालशतके." Are we to take गोपालशतक as a separate 5th work of our author or as identical with

1. In the edition of the *Chandomañjarī* by Rāmadhana Bhattacharya (1934), p. 152, the following note occurs :—

"अतः परं क्वचित्पुस्तके 'इति कौशिककाव्ये' इति क्वचिच्च 'अथ शालतालतमाल कन्दलपाटलादलकोमला । इति कौशिककाव्ये' इति पाठः"

2. The last verse of the *Chandomañjarī* reads as follows :—

" सर्गैः षोडशभिः समुज्ज्वलपदैर्नव्यार्थमव्याशयै-
र्येनाकारि तदच्युतस्य चरिते काव्ये कविप्रीतिदम् ।
कंसारेः शतकं दिनेशशतकद्वन्द्वश्च तस्यास्त्यसौ
गङ्गादासकवेः श्रुतौ कुतुकिनां सच्छन्दसां मञ्जरी ॥ "

v.l. "गदाधरस्य चरितं" in Ms No. 5 (vide p. 4 of the *Cata. of Mithila MSS*, Vol. II by K. P, Jayaswal, Patna, 1933), MS No. 5A described by Jayaswal is a modern copy dated Śaka 1808 = A. D. 1886. Of these MSS of the *Chandomañjarī* No. 5A is in Maithili characters while No. 5 is in Bengali characters.

कंसारिशतक ? No MSS of कंसारिशतक are recorded by Aufrecht. In the MSS at Bikaner[1] there is a MS of गोपालशतक which is described as "an anonymous poem containing a hundred stanzas in praise of Gopāla." Is this गोपालशतक identical with गोपालशतक mentioned by our author and from which he quotes a verse.[2] If this verse could be identified in the Bikaner MS the question of identity or otherwise of the two works can be finally settled. Aufrecht mentions no MSS of any work of the titles दिनेशशतक or of अच्युतचरित. It is really a matter for pity that the three poems of our author, whose छन्दोमञ्जरी is represented by numerous MSS, should be lost to us inspite of their being definitely mentioned by him at the end of his only existing work. If some scholar at Bikaner takes the trouble of identifying the verse from गोपालशतक quoted by Gaṅgādāsa in the extant MS at Bikaner Palace Library which is mentioned as गोपालशतक and if its identity is proved, at least one of Gaṅgādāsa's lost works will be restored.

In the *Chandomañjarī* our author quotes two verses from his *Acyutaśataka*[3] (on pp. 10, 41) and one verse from his father's

1. *Cata. of Bikaner MSS*, 1880, p. 231 — This MS is No. 486 and is described as follows :— " Substance, Country paper, Folios 6, Lines on a page 9. Character Nāgara, Date ? "

2. Page 43 of *Chandomañjarī* :—" तथा ममैव गोपालशतके —

वनेषु कृत्वा सुरभिप्रचारं प्रकाममुग्धो मधुवासरेषु ।
गायन् कलं क्रीडति पद्मिनीषु मधूनि पीत्वा मधुसूदनोऽसौ ॥ घ ॥ "

3. Calcutta Edition of *Chandomañjarī*, Pt. Jānakīnātha Kāvyatīrtha —

p. 10 — " तथा ममाच्युतचरितेऽपि —

रक्तेन केशिदशनक्षतसम्भवेन रेजे स मण्डिततरो हरिबाहुदण्डः ।
तद्दन्तसन्दलितभीमभुजप्रतापवह्नेरिव स्फुटकणप्रकरेण कीर्णः ॥ १४ ॥ "

p. 41 — " ममाच्युतचरिते -

काचिन्मुरारेर्वदनारविन्दं संक्रान्तमालोक्य जले नवोढा ।
व्यक्तं सलज्जा परिचुम्बितुं तत् तदर्थमेवाम्भसि निर्ममज्ज ॥ क ॥ "

p. 42 — " मुखारविन्दैर्व्रजसुन्दरीणामामोदमत्युत्कटमुद्गिरद्भिः ।
अहारि चित्तेन समं मुरारेर्हेमाम्बुजेभ्योऽपि मधुव्रतौघः ॥ ख ॥
तोयेषु तस्याः प्रतिबिम्बितासु व्रजाङ्गनानां नयनावलीषु ।
स्वबन्धुशङ्काभ्रमतोऽतिमुग्धा गोष्ठी शफर्याः स्वयमाजगाम ॥ग॥ "

Pārijātaharaṇanāṭaka[1] of which Oppert records two MSS as we have noted above. These MSS, however, are not now available in any public library so far as I am aware.

Prof. M. T. Patwardhan in his *History of Prosody*[2] refers to Gaṅgādāsa's *Chandomañjarī* but does not record any information about Gaṅgādāsa and his other works.

We have shown above that Gaṅgādāsa quotes from a work on prosody called *Chandogovinda*[3] composed by his guru. No MSS of this work are recorded by Aufrecht but the work is mentioned in a commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara, composed by Dinakara in A. D. 1684. The verse from *Chandogovinda* quoted by Gaṅgādāsa on p. 14 of the *Chandomañjarī* reads as follows :—

1. *Ibid*, *p. 9* — " तथा मत्पितुः पारिजातहरणनाटके —
सिन्दूरपूरकृतगैरिकरागशोभे शश्वन्मदस्रवणनिर्भरवारिपूरे ।
संग्राममूमिगतमत्तसुरेभकुम्भकूटे मदीयनखराशनयो विशन्तु ॥ १३ ॥ "

2. *Chandoracanā* (Karnatak Pub. House, Bombay, 1937) pp. 558-559. Prof. Patwardhan observes that Gaṅgādāsa appears to have borrowed some of his definitions of the vṛttas : *Udgatā*, *Bhujaṅgaprayāta*, *Maṇiguṇanikara*, *Śālinī* and *Rucirā* from Utpala (= Bhaṭṭa-Utpala) who flourished in the 10th century. He has taken some definitions from Kedārabhaṭṭa and some he has composed himself. In the 7th stabaka Gaṅgādāsa mentions three varieties of *gadya* (prose) in the following verse :—

" अकठोराक्षरं स्वल्पसमासं ' चूर्णकं ' विदुः । तत्तु वैदर्भरीतिस्थं गद्यो हृद्यतरं भवेत् ॥
भवेद् ' उत्कलिका ' प्रायं समासाढ्यं दृढाक्षरम् । वृत्तैकदेशसंबन्धाद् ' वृत्तगन्धि ' पुनः स्मृतम् ॥"

3. Vide Aufrecht CC 1, 191 — छन्दोगोविन्द metrics, by Gaṅgādāsa. Quoted Oxf. 198b, in Vṛttaratnākarādarśa, IO 1555. According to Aufrecht (CC 1, 97a) वृत्तरत्नाकरादर्श (which mentions *Chandogovinda*) was composed by Divākara in 1684, IO 1555. The India Office MS 1555 of *Vṛttaratnākarādarśa* was copied in Śaka 1699 = A. D. 1777. The description given on p. 304 of I. O. Catalogue (Part II, 1889) by Eggeling that this Commentary was composed in " A. D. 1740 " is wrong because the chronogram " पूर्णाब्धिसप्तैकमिते प्रवर्षे " refers to Saṁvat 1740 (= A. D. 1684) and not A. D. 1740 as stated by Eggeling. Works on Prosody referred to in this Commentary in 1684 A. D. are :— (1) छंदोगोविन्द fol. 7a, (2) छंदोविचिति, fol. 25, (3) छंदोमञ्जरी, fol. 226, 29, (4) छंदोमातङ्ग, (5) छंदोमार्तंड, fol. 21, (6) छंदोमाला, fol. 20b, (7) पिङ्गलटीका by Lakṣmīdhara, (8) वृत्तकौमुदी, fol. 20b.

" अयश्च श्लोकश्छन्दोगोविन्दे मम गुरोः ।
श्वेतमाण्डव्यमुख्यास्तु नेच्छन्ति मुनयो यतिम् ।
इत्याह भट्टः स्वग्रन्थे गुरुर्मे पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ २० ॥ "

The popularity of *Chandomañjarī* is proved by no less than six different commentaries on it, viz., those of Kṛṣṇarāma, Govardhanadāsa, Candraśekhara, Jagannātha Sena, Dattarāma and Vaṁśīdhara. Aufrecht records the following MSS of these commentaries :—

CC I, 192[a] — Oppert, II, 8213; Comm. by Kṛṣṇarāma (NW 616); by Govardhanadāsa (L. 2492), by Candraśekhara; *Chandomañjarījīvana* IO 1289, by Jagannātha Sena IO 1491, by Dātārāma L. 2066. Oudh XVIII, 30 (by Dātārāma), by Vaṁśīdhara L. 2534.

I am not sure if the commentary by Kṛṣṇarāma referred to above (NW 616) is composed by Kṛṣṇarāma[1] who was a teacher of Āyurveda in Jaipur State about 1900 A.D. and who is said to have composed a work on metrics called *Chandaśchaṭāmardana*.

The next commentator Govardhanadāsa was a Vaidya himself like Gaṅgādāsa. The only MS[2] of his commentary on the *Chandomañjarī* recorded by Rajendralal Mitra describes the work as consisting of 1067 ślokas.

The third commentary on the *Chandomañjarī* by Vaṁśīdhara

1. Vide p. 301 of *Classical Sans. Literature* by Krishnamachariar. Other works of this Jaipur teacher are *Kacchavaṁśa*, *Jayapuravilāsa*, *Āryālaṁkāraśataka*, *Palāṇḍuśataka*, *Muktaka*, *Muktāvali Holamahotsava* and *Sāraśataka*.

2. R. Mitra : *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Calcutta 1884, vol. VII, p. 246 — No. 2492. The MS begins—

" गङ्गादासकवेः कवेर्मधुलिहः संकल्पकल्पद्रुमा-
न्निर्माता सुमनोविलासजननी या छन्दसां मञ्जरी ।
सास्माकं वशगा कथं भवति भोः शिष्यानुरोधादिति
श्रीगोवर्द्धनदासनामभिषजैः प्रारम्भि तत्पञ्जिका ॥ "

The MS ends—

' इति सद्वैद्यगोवर्द्धनदासकृता छन्दोमञ्जरीटीका समाप्ता । '

(*Continued on next page*)

is also represented by a single MS described by Rajendralala Mitra.[1] The fourth commentary is by Dātārāma and is represented by two MSS one of which has been described by Mitra.[2]

The fifth commentator is *Candraśekhara* and his commentary is called *Chandomañjarījīvana* and is represented by only one MS in the India Office Library.[3] The sixth commentator is Jagannātha Sena,[4] son of Jaṭādhara with the title Kavirāja. His mother's name was Devakī. Jagannātha is also called Kavirāja in the colophon as well as in the opening verses of the commentary.

In the absence of any critical study of the foregoing commentaries on the *Chandomañjarī*, it is difficult to say anything about their chronology and consequently they do not furnish us with any chronological limits for the date of the *Chandomañjarī*.

(*Continued from previous page*)

This commentator calls the author of the *Chandomañjarī* as "कविर्गङ्गादासनामा भिषक्." Perhaps a study of this MS may make it clear whether Gaṅgādāsa Vaidya was an ancestor of Govardhanadāsa Vaidya or whether only the kinship of professions is alone responsible for the composition of Govardhanadāsa's commentary.

1. Mitra, *Notices*, vol. VII, p. 286, No. 2534. No information about Vaṁśidhara can be gathered from the description recorded in the Catalogue. The extent of the commentary is 519 ślokas.

2. Mitra : *Notices*, Vol. VI (1882), p. 130 — This MS begins :—

"नत्वा वागीश्वरीपदं चतुर्वर्गफलप्रदम् ।
सच्छन्दोमञ्जरीटीकां दातारामेण तन्यते ॥
यद्यस्याः कतिधा व्याख्या व्याख्याताः पूर्वसूरिभिः ।
तथापि बालबोधाय मया व्याख्यायतेऽधुना ॥

... ...

ग्रन्थे तु मञ्जरीत्वेन परिकल्प्य महाकविः ।
गङ्गादासश्चकारेमं स्तबकैः षड्भिरन्वितम् ॥"

3. *Ind. Office Cat.* Part II (1889), p. 306, No. 1102—This MS is in Bengali characters and has the "handwriting of *c.* 1750 A. D." Vide p. 313. One Candraśekhara, son of Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa composed a Sanskrit treatise on Prākṛta metres called the *Vṛttamauktika* (IO MS No. 1114).

4. *Ibid.* p. 306, No. 1101 — This is the only MS of Jagannātha Sena's commentary.

We have seen above that Divākara in his *Vṛttaratnākarādarśa* (fol. 226 of IO MS) composed in A.D. 1684 mentions *Chandomañjarī*. This reference gives us a sure terminus to the date of the work. Then again a MS of the *Chandomañjarī* in the India Office Library is dated A. D. 1679.[1]

Gaṅgādāsa quotes (p. 14) a verse of Jayadeva. If this Jayadeva is identical with his namesake, the author of the rhetorical work *Candrāloka*, who is assigned to 13th century[2] we get two limits to the date of Gaṅgādāsa, say about 1300 A. D. and 1650 A.D. But these limits are too wide and we should try to narrow them down.

In the commentary of Gopālabhaṭṭa on the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, which quotes a work called the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* composed in A. D. 1541 (= Śaka 1463) and which, therefore, must have been composed between A. D. 1541 and A. D. 1605 in which year a MS of this commentary was copied, we find that *Chandomañjarī* has been quoted[3] several times. On the strength of these references to *Chandomañjarī* in a work composed in the 2nd half of the 16th century i. e. between A. D. 1541 and 1605 I am inclined to narrow down the limits of Gaṅgādāsa's date to a period between 1300 and 1550 A. D.

The lower limit of A. D. 1550 for Gaṅgādāsa's date fixed by me is in harmony with the remark of Aufrecht[4] that the *Chandomañjarī* is " often quoted by Lakṣmīnātha on *Prākṛtapiṅgala*. " According to Peterson[5] one Lakṣmīnātha " composed in 1600 " a commentary called *Piṅgalārthapradīpa*.

1. *India Office Cata*. Part II (1889), p. 305 – MS No. 1099 — This MS is in Devanāgarī characters and bears the date " संवत् १८३५ " in the Colophon. The Catalogue gives the equivalent date as "1657 A. D." which appears to be incorrect as the Chronogram for the date of the copy is बाण, अग्नि, हय, एक" = 1735 *Saṁvat*.

2. S. K. De : *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, 219.

3. Vide *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* edited by Dr. S. K. De, Dacca University Series, 1908. Vide *Introduction*, p. lxxiii.

4. C C II, 39a.

5. *Cata. of Ulwar MSS*, Bombay, 1892, p. 86 — Lakṣmīnātha, was son of the Rayannabhaṭṭa (Rāyabhaṭṭa) who was son of Nārāyaṇa who was son of Rāmacandra. In GBC, Kielhorn's *Report 1880-1*, p. 71. Peters 1, 117.

The B. O. R. Institute, Poona, possesses the following MSS of the *Chandomañjarī* :— (1) No. 383 of 1895-98 (2) No. 714 of 1891-95, (3) No. 452 of 1892-95, (4) No. 715 of 1891-95, (5) No. 447 of 1899-1915. Of these MSS No. 715 of 1891-95 is written in Bengali characters. All the five MSS appear to contain the text only. No. 714 of 1891-95 ends as follows :— " संवत् १८०६ मिती मांगिश्री वदि १ भौमवासरे महात्माउतिमचेद लिपीकेते सवाईजयपुरमध्ये." " This MS was, therefore, copied in A. D. 1750 at Savai Jaipur by a scribe of the name Utimchand. MS No. 715 of 1891-95 contains the following chronogram on the last folio :--

" बाणकालेन्दुमिते शकाब्दे मिंहे गते भास्वति शुक्लपक्षे "

I am unable to interpret the chronogram or verify it at present because the words बाण (=5), काल (=3) and इन्दु (=1) give us Śaka 135 and if this is equivalent to Śaka 1350 we shall get A. D. 1428 as the value of the chronogram. This date may perhaps be the date of the copy and if it is correct the limits for Gaṅgādāsa's date will be say A.D. 1300 and 1400 but this line of argument needs more corroborative evidence before it is taken as reliable.

There is one MS of the *Chandomañjarī* in the recently founded *Ujjain MSS Library.*[1] The Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat contains six MSS of the work[2] of which four MSS bear the dates Śaka 1767 (= A.D. *1845*), Śaka 1670 (= *1748*), Śaka 1700 (= A.D. *1778*), Śaka 1677 (= A.D.*1755*) but they are not useful for the chronology of the work as we have recorded earlier chronological evidence.

According to the description recorded in the India Office Catalogue[3] of a MS of the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, a Vaiṣṇava work by Rūpa-

1. *Cata. of Oriental MSS*, Ujjain, 1936, p. 44 — MS No. 1148 (273).

2. *Des. Cat.* by Chintaharan Chakravarti, 1935, pp. 218–219.

3. *Sanskrit MSS*, Part III by Eggeling, 1891, p. 358b — MS No. 1231. Dr. Eggeling observes that the authorship of the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* traditionally ascribed to Rūpagosvāmin is not endorsed by the present MS nor expressly stated in the commentary. Mr. M. Krishnamachariar, however, includes the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* in the list of Rūpa's works (vide p. 288 of *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1937). Jīvagosvāmi's commentary on this work was composed in A. D. 1580. The *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* has been edited in the Kāvyamāla 95. For an account of Rūpa's life see D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Literature* (Calcutta) 503, (vide p. 376 of *Outline of Religious Literature of India* by J. N. Farquhar, 1920).

gosvāmin we find that on folio 71a of this MS (line 7) the *Chandomañjarī* is quoted. Rūpa Gosvāmi was born in 1490 A. D. and passed away in 1563 A.D. If this *Chandomañjarī* quoted in the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* is identical with that of Gaṅgādāsa and if we can suppose that the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* was composed say *after A.D. 1515* when Rūpa Gosvāmi must have been 25 years old and *before A. D. 1563*, the date of his death, we may be justified in concluding that Gaṅgādāsa's date is earlier than about 1525 A. D. so that the limits for his date would be c. 1300 and c. 1500 A. D.

Mr. Pañchānan Bhaṭṭācārya in his Sanskrit Introduction to the edition of the *Chandomañjarī* and the *Vṛttaratnākara* (Calcutta, 1915) p. 5, observes that no one has yet determined when Gaṅgādāsa, the author of the *Chandomañjarī* flourished and in what part of India. From a reference to the poet Murārimiśra, the author of the *Anarghyarāghavīya*, made by Gaṅgādāsa in the *Chandomañjarī* we can only infer that Gaṅgādāsa is posterior to Murārimiśra. No other proof can be found regarding Gaṅgādāsa's date.[1] We only know that he was the son of an emient *vaidya* of the name Gopāladāsa and that his mother's name was Santoṣā (संतोषातनयः). In addition to the *Chandomañjarī* Gaṅgādāsa composed the *Acyutacarita*, *Gopālaśataka* and *Sūryaśataka*.

In view of the above remarks on Gaṅgādāsa and his works made in 1915, the necessity of the present paper on Gaṅgādāsa and his works will be easily appreciated as I have here attempted to focus together some useful data which will go to clarify the issues regarding Gaṅgādāsa and his works to some extent at least.

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1. Miśra Jagannātha who composed his *Chandaḥpīyūṣa* between A.D. 1750 and 1793 (vide my article in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I p. 682) states that Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of the *Vṛttaratnākara* opposes the views of *Mañjarī* or *Chandomañjarī* (मञ्जर्युक्तपद्यनुद्धानानां नारायणादीनां). Nārāyaṇa composed his commentary in A. D. 1545. If the statement of Miśra Jagannātha mentioned above is correct Nārāyaṇa becomes posterior to Gaṅgādāsa that is to say the work *Chandomañjarī* becomes earlier than A. D. 1545, the date of Nārāyaṇa's commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara*. This argument, if accepted, would also support the limit of A. D. 1500 for Gaṅgādāsa's date fixed by me on other independent evidence recorded in this paper.

68. Godāvaramiśra, the Rājaguru and Mantri of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa, and his Works — Between A. D. 1497-1539 ‡

Aufrecht[1] records two MSS of the work *Yogacintāmaṇi*[2] a work on yoga viz. (1) " Kaçin. 30 " and (2) " Bhr. 220. " The first of these MSS is not available for examination, being in private possession as far back as 1880 when the list indicated by the entry " Kaçin " was made. The second MS of Aufrecht's entries viz. "Bhr.220" is the same as No. 220 of 1882-83 of the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is fragmentary, many of the folios in the body of the manuscript having been lost previous to its acquisition from Gujarat by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. The beginning and end of the MS have, however, been preserved intact and afford useful historical data about the author and his date.

Aufrecht wrongly ascribes this work to Gorakṣanātha. The colophon of the 4th Pariccheda on folio 131 reads — " श्री गोदारामिश्र (विरचिते योगाचिंतामणौ). " The letter व appears to have been dropped from the name " गोदारमिश्र " recorded in this colophon. A verse at the end of the MS gives the correct name of the author viz. " गोदावर " and not " गोदार. " This verse reads :—

‡ *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IX, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 11–19.

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 165*a*.

2. This *Yogacintāmaṇi* is a work on Yoga and should be distinguished from another work of the same name on *Materia medica* composed by the Jain writer Harṣakīrtisūri, pupil of Candrakīrti. Harṣakīrti belonged to the Nāgapura Tapāgaccha. Candrakīrti was honoured by Salem Shah who was emperor of Delhi between 1545 and 1553 A. D. (vide *R. G. B. Report* 1882-83, p. 43—Extract on p. 227). Candrakīrti commented on the *Sārasvataprakriyā* of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya. Another writer who belonged to this Nāgapurīya Tapogaṇa is Amarakīrti who composed a commentary on the Ṛtusaṁhāra (No. 372 of 1887-91). An edition of Harṣakīrti's Yogacintāmaṇi was published in 1912 with a Gujarati commentary by Pūraṇacandra Sarma of Ahmedabad.

" पातंजलश्रुतिगतं स्मृतिवाक्यजातं
यस्नाभिरीप(क्ष्य ?) बहुशः पुराणवृंदं ।
गोदावरेण परमा...रेण योग-
चिंतामणिर्विरचितो बलभद्रजेन "

This name " गोदावर " is also supported by the colophon of the 1st Pariccheda on folio 22 and it reads — " गोदावरमिश्र-(विरचिते योगचिंतामणौ). " This MS begins —

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः । चक्रायुधं सिद्धमुनींद्रवंद्यं ।
नीलाद्रिनाथं करुणासमुद्रं ॥
पीतांबरं पद्मविशालनेत्रं ।
श्रीशारदानाथमहं नमामि ॥ १ ॥

अनादिसंसारदवानलोपि ।
यस्योपदेशो......मिरेति शांति ॥
शेषावतारं बलभद्रसंज्ञं ।
विद्यागुरुं तं जनकं नमामि ॥ २ ॥

यद्व्यासवाचस्पतिभोजदेवैः ।
पातंजलीयं निरणायि तत्वं ॥
अन्यत्रसिद्धं यदुपेक्षितं च ।
तदत्र संक्षिप्य निरूपयामि ॥ ३ ॥ "

The father of गोदावर was बलभद्र (verse 2) to whom he bows at the commencement of the work. The colophon of *1st Pariccheda* reads as follows on folio 12 :—

" श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजगजपतिप्रतापरुद्रसहस्रधारितकनककेशरिचतुष्टयावेष्टित-शातकुंभमयकुंभसंभृतमेघाडंबराभिधानसितातपत्रशोभमानकविपुंगवपंडितराजराजगुरुवाज-पेयगोदावरमिश्रविरचितेयोगचिंतामणौ प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥ "

The MS is dated Saṁvat 1772 (A. D. **1715**) as will be seen from the following colophon :—

" इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजगजपतिप्रतापरुद्रदेवस्वहस्तधारितकनककेशरिवेष्टया-वेष्टितशातकुंभमयकुंभसंभृतमेघाडंबराभिधासितातपत्रशोभमानकविपुंगवपंडितराजराजगु रु-वाजपेययाजिश्रीगोदा(व)रमिश्रविरचिते । योगचिंतामणौ चतुर्थः कैवल्यपरिच्छेदः ॥ = ॥ संवत् १७७२ वर्षे कार्त्तिक वदि मावास्या बुधवासरे ॥ लिषतं वैकुंठाश्रम महा-देवा......स्य शिष्यः स्वपठनार्थं ॥ वाराणसीमध्ये हनुमान् समीपे पूर्वाश्रम गोड ब्राह्मण ॥ = ॥ "

The above extract gives us the following information about the work and its author :—

(1) गोदावरमिश्र, the author of the योगचिंतामणि was the राजगुरु or royal preceptor of गजपति प्रतापरुद्रदेव. He was called कविपुंगव, पंडित-राज on account of his great learning and वाजपेययाजि perhaps on account of his having performed a वाजपेय sacrifice.

(2) The MS was copied at Benares in *Saṁvat 1772* in the month of *Kārttika*, dark fortnight (*Vadi*) on *Budhavāsara* which was an *amāvāsyā* day.[1]

Godāvaramiśra refers to the following works and authors in the MS of his *Yogacintāmaṇi* before us :—

1. भगवान् पतंजलि: (योगशास्त्रं प्रणिनाय) fol. 1, 23, 67, etc.
2. योगियाज्ञवल्क्यश्रुतेः fol. 2, 71.
3. याज्ञवल्क्य fol. 3, 11, 13, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 42, 46, 50, 55, 70, 82, 86.
4. ब्रह्मांडपुराण fol. 3.
5. गारुडपुराण fol. 3, 15, 31, 33.
6. भगवद्गीता fol. 3, 57, 96.
7. (महर्षि:)मतंगः fol. 3, 36, 38.
8. कूर्मपुराण fol. 3, 10, 12, 13, 39, 49.
9. विष्णुपुराण fol. 10, 18, 104.
10. पुष्करपुराण fol. 11, 74.
11. वायुसंहिता fol. 12, 69, 85.
12. यतिधर्मप्रकरणे मनुः fol. 12.
13. देवीपुराण fol. 12.
14. विष्णुधर्मे fol. 13.
15. वाचस्पतिव्याख्या fol. 26, वाचस्पतिमिश्राः (35).
16. भोजदेवव्याख्या fol. 26.
17. अग्निपुराण fol. 31, आग्नेयपुराण fol. 38, 39.
18. लिंगपुराण fol. 31, 33, 42, 43, 69.
19. श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणादिप्रसिद्धाधर्माः fol. 34.

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1. This date corresponds to *Wednesday, 16th November 1715* (Vide p. 233 of *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, 1922).

21. इति भाष्यसंप्रदाय: fol. 35.

22. दत्तात्रेय: fol. 36, 45, 80, 83.

23. पवनयोगसंग्रह: fol. 37.

24. वासिष्ठ: fol. 38, वासिष्ठ fol. 46, वसिष्ठवाक्य fol. 60.

25. धर्मप्रतिका fol. 39, Aufrecht (III, 58b) records the title of a work called धर्मपुत्रिका Rep. p. 6. on *Yoga*.

26. हठयोग fol. 39, 41, 4›.

27. योगसंग्रह fol. 46.

28. काशिमीमांसायां पितामहचरणा: fol. 49.

29. स्कंदपुराण fol. 49, 69, 74, 87.

30. शारीरकसारपुरुषोत्तमस्तुतौ पितृचरणै: fol. 50.

31. योगसार fol. 57, 60.

32. नारदीय fol. 57, नारदीयपुराण, 67, 74.

33. कालिकापुराण fol. 60, 67.

34. नकुलीशयोगप (पा?)रायण (fol. 67), Aufrecht I, 273 b — नकुलीशयोगपारायण quoted by Sundaradeva, Hall, p. 18.

35. मार्कंडेयपुराण fol. 67, 74.

36. नंदिपुराण fol. 69.

37. व्यास: fol. 71, 85.

38. तंत्रचिंतामणि (of the author himself — "अन्यत्सर्वं तंत्रचिंतामणौ प्रपंचितं अस्माभि: ") — *Bikaner Cata.*, p. 616, records an anonymous तन्त्रचिन्तामणि.

39. जैगीषव्य योगशास्त्र fol. 74, (Auf. I, 208 जैगीषव्य योगशास्त्र quoted by Sundaradeva, Hall. p. 18).

40. ईश्वरप्रोक्ते fol. 80.

41. शिवयोग fol. 81.

42. पवनयोगसंग्रह fol. 83 (Auf. I, 331 — पवनयोगसंग्रह i.e. प्राणायामयोग quoted by Sundaradeva, Hall, page 17).

43. योगविद: fol. 85.

44. छांदोग्यश्रुतौ fol. 96.

45. पितामहचरणै: संक्षेपशारीरकवार्त्तिके fol. 131.

46. पितृचरणै: अद्वैतचिंतामणौ fol. 131.

47. अस्माभि: (अ) द्वैतदर्पणे fol. 131.

In the above list our author refers to his own works, those of his father बलभद्र as also those of his grand-father, whose name has not been disclosed to us. We may now tabulate these works as follows :—

(1)	Grand-father referred to as पितामहचरणैः and पितामहचरणाः	—	(1) काशिमिमांसा (2) संक्षेपशारीरकवार्त्तिक
(2)	बलभद्र referred to as पितृचरणैः	—	(1) शारीरकसारपुरुषोत्तम-स्तुति (2) अद्वैतचिन्तामणि
(3)	गोदावरमिश्र referred to as अस्माभिः	—	(1) योगाचिन्तामणि (2) तन्त्रचिंतामणि (3) (अ)द्वैतदर्पण

As the MS analysed by me is fragmentary we cannot say if Godāvaramiśra has recorded any other works in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (in addition to those recorded in the above list) composed by the members of his family. Judging, however, by the names of the above works we are justified in supposing that the family of this royal preceptor or राजगुरु of गजपति प्रतापरुद्रदेव was a very learned one and hence must have been respected and honoured at the court of Pratāparudradeva some generations earlier than our author, who was himself a highly honoured राजगुरु as his titles कविपुंगव, पंडितराज, and वाजपेययाजि amply indicate in the colophons before us. In verse 2 at the commencement of the work the author states that his father बलभद्र was his विद्यागुरु (बलभद्रसंज्ञं विद्यागुरुं...नमामि). The avowed purpose of writing the present work on Yoga is indicated by the author in verse 3 as follows :—

" यद्व्यासवाचस्पतिभोजदेवैः
पातंजलीयं निरणायि तत्त्वं ।
अन्यत्र सिद्धं यदपेक्षितं च
तदत्र संक्षिप्य निरूपयामि ।। ३ ।। "

The work is, therefore, a compendium or a manual based on the principles and practice of Yoga as enjoined by the *Yogasūtra* ascribed to Patañjali and elucidated by Vyāsa, Vācaspati, and Bhojadeva, whose commentaries on the *Yogasūtras* are available to us now as they were available to Godāvaramiśra. The present work is also supplemented by material from other sources not incorporated by the above commentators in their commentaries. The object of yoga theory and practice being *Mokṣa* or final emancipation, the

author has briefly stated, in his work for the benefit of the *mumukṣu* or seeker after emancipation, such Yogic practices as are conducive to such emancipation. Other theoretic and psychic aspects of the Yoga have not been dealt with in this work for fear of increasing the bulk of the manual. They have been discussed at length, as the author tells us, by his respected grandfather (पितामहचरणैः) in his संक्षेपशारीरकवार्त्तिक and by his father (पितृचरणैः) Balabhadra in his अद्वैत-चिन्तामणि as also by our author himself in his (अ)द्वैतदर्पण " अस्माभिरथ-द्वैतदर्पणयुगपदनुवर्णिताः. " The author further informs us that he has deliberately excluded from the present treatise those details of Yogic theory and practice which are enjoined as essential in Tāntric manuals (" भूतकापालिकग्रंथोक्ताः विशेषाः ") because they are opposed to the teaching of the श्रुति and स्मृति.

According to the colophons quoted above Godāvaramiśra was the *rājaguru* or royal preceptor of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva. I am inclined to identify this king with Gajapati Pratāparudradeva[1] of Orissa who ruled *between* A.D. *1497 and 1539*. If this identification is accepted, the date of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* can be safely assigned to the *first quarter of the 16th century*. This conclusion is in consonance with the reference to Bhojadeva (*c.* A. D. *1050*) made by our author and the date of the MS before us *viz.* A.D. *1716*. Unfortunately the list of authorities cited by Godāvaramiśra furnishes no other clue to the earlier limit for the date of the present work than Bhojadeva (c. A. D. 1050). Gajapati Pratāparudradeva belonged to the Solar Dynasty of Orissa that ruled between A. D. 1435 and 1540, a period during which Orissa attained its highest glory in all directions.[2] It is possible to suppose that the family of Godāvaramiśra must have been patronized by the predecessors of Pratāparudradeva *viz.* पुरुषोत्तमदेव and कपिलेन्द्रदेव.

1. Vide p. 413 of P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930).

2. Vide p. 213 of *Orissa in the Making* by B. C. Mazumdar, Calcutta University, 1925. The Solar dynasty was a shortlived one as it lasted for three generations represented by कपिलेन्द्रदेव, his son पुरुषोत्तमदेव and his gradson प्रतापरुद्रदेव. Govinda Vidyādhara, a minister of Pratāparudradeva, assassinated the sons of his master and usurped his throne in A. D. 1541. He was a Bhoi by caste. His two successors were also Bhois. They were succeeded by Telengā Mukunda Deva who died in A. D. 1568. After his death Orissa came under the rule of Mahomedans.

Pratāparudradeva was the father-in-law[1] of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar. The dharmaśāstra work *Sarasvatīvilāsa* though attributed to Pratāparudra was composed by Lolla Lakṣmīdhara,[2] who spent his early days at the court of the Gajapati at Cuttack and then migrated to Kṛṣṇadevarāya's court.[3] It is thus clear that Godāvaramiśra, the ***rājaguru*** of Gajapati Pratāparudra was a contemporary of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, the real author of the ***Sarasvatīvilāsa.*** It is also clear that Pratāparudra was a great patron of letters.[4] He should not be confounded with Pratāparudra of the Kākatīya dynasty (Warrangal), the patron of Vidyānātha, the author of the *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa*. This king ruled between A. D. 1568 and (1319 ?) 1328 A. D.[5]

It appears that our Godāvaramiśra composed a work called हरिहरचतुरङ्गम् which is represented by a MS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras. My friend Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar recently sent me a copy of his erudite volume on *War in Ancient India*[6] wherein he records a summary of the contents of the work as follows :—

" *Harihara-Caturaṅgam* (Oriental MSS Library, Madras).[7]

1. Vide *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. K. Aiyangar, Madras, 1919. Tukkā, the daughter of Pratāparudra was married to Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Five Sanskrit verses are by tradition ascribed to Tukkā and in them she bemoans her husband's neglect of her (p. 143).

2. Ibid, p. 151.

3. Vide p. 422 of *Vijayanagar* (*third dynasty*) by N. V. Ramanayya, Madras, 1935.

4. Vide Aufrecht's *Cata. Catalo.* I. 349—प्रतापरुद्र was a patron of विश्वनाथसेन (पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चय) . Works attributed to Pratāparudra are :— (1) कौतुकचिन्तामणि, (2) निर्णयसंग्रह, (3) प्रतापमार्तण्ड, (4) सरस्वतीविलास.

5. Vide p. 794 of *Classical Sans. Literature*, Krishnamachariar, 1937.

6. Published by Macmillan and Co., 1944, pp. 363-364.

7. Vide pp. 5698-99 of *Triennial Catalogue* (1919-20 to 1921-23) Vol. IV—Part 1. Sanskrit C.—MS R. *No. 3848*, folios 158 (Grantha Characters) Transcribed from a MS of Harihararājaguru, Cochinajagannathapuram, Kudala Post, Ganjam district. Deals with (1) गजलक्षण, (2) रथलक्षण, (3) अश्वलक्षण, (4) पत्तिलक्षण, (5) धनुर्विद्या, (6) नीति, (7) युद्ध and (8) क्रीडा.

It is the work of Kuruvājapeyayāji[1] Godāvaramiśra, the minister of Mahārājādhirāja Gajapati Pratāparudradeva. Thus the work belongs to the 15th century A. D. (or the early 16th). Its study is valuable in that it indicates the continuity of traditional methods and prescriptions, and in this connection furnishes additional information from sources known to the author at the time of composition. This manuscript of the *Harihara-Caturaṅga* is divided into 8 books. The first four deal with the fourfold force in the order of *elephants*, *chariots*, *horses* and *infantry*. While the sections on elephants and horses occupy nearly 90 pages respectively, the information under the headings of chariots and infantry is meagre and occupies about four pages in the manuscript. The last four books deal respectively with Dhanurveda, Rājanīti, Dhanurvidyā and Krīḍāyuddha, (This last is a period of training or apprenticeship after the period of study is over). In the opening lines of book V the author expresses his indebtedness to previous works on the Dhanurveda and in this connection mentions four works — the *Auśanasasaṁhitā*, *Vīracintāmaṇi*, *Kodaṇḍa Caturbhujam* and *Sārasaṅgraham*, all of which are probably lost today. Towards the end of the sixth book, another work, called *Jayacintāmaṇi* is referred to. It is said to be a work bearing on astronomy and astrology and the king is advised therein to set out on an expedition at an auspicious time."

The name of the author is recorded in the following lines at the commencement of the work :—

" श्रीदुर्गाचरणाम्भोजद्वन्द्वचन्दनबिन्दुना ।
कृतिर्गोदावरेणेयं तत्प्रसादाद्विरिच्यते ॥
धीरगोदावरस्येदं (यं) कृतिरास्तां मुदे सताम् । "

At the end also similar lines are recorded as follows :—

" यत्प्रसादादिमां चक्रे धीरगोदावरः कृतिम् ।
श्रीदुर्गाचरणाम्भोजे तस्मिन्नेतां समर्पये ॥ "

The following colophon is identical with that in the *Yoga-cintāmaṇi* —

इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज गजपतिप्रतापरुद्रदेव — स्वहस्तधारितकनककेसरी-चतुष्टयावेष्टितशातकुम्भ — (मयकुम्भ)सम्भूत मेघाडम्बराभिधानसितातपत्रशोभमान-

1. " कुरु वाजपययोजि " is a misreading for " (राज) गुरु वाजपेययाजि " mentioned in the Colophon.

कविपुङ्गव पण्डितराज गुरु[1] वाजपेययाजि मन्त्रिवर[2] गोदावरमिश्रविरचिते हरिहर-चतुरङ्गे अष्टमः क्रीडापरिच्छेदः ॥ "

It is clear from the above extracts that Godāvaramiśra, the author of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and his name-sake, the author of the *Harihara-Caturaṅga*, are identical.

Prof. Dikshitar states that the *Harihara-Caturaṅga* mentions four earlier works :—

(1) औशनससंहिता (2) वीरचिन्तामणि
(3) कोदण्डचतुर्भुजम् (4) सारसंग्रह

and that all of these are probably lost today. Perhaps it may be possible to trace some of these works or their MSS. Aufrecht makes the following entry regarding the वीरचिन्तामणि :—

C C I, 594 — " वीरचिन्तामणि by Śārṅgadhara.

[360, 3084. Bik 708. Peter 2.188 (वीरचूडामणि) This is merely an extract from the शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति (ch. 80 धनुर्वेद) "

The *Śārṅgadharapaddhati was composed in* A. D. 1363 by शार्ङ्गधर and if the वीरचिन्तामणि mentioned by गोदावरमिश्र is identical with Ch. 80 (on Dhanurveda) of the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* we can easily fix A. D. 1400 as the earlier terminus for the date of Godāvaramiśra. This terminus harmonises with the date of this author — minister of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva[3] fixed by me already in this paper.

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1. In the Yogacintāmaṇi we have "पण्डितराज राजगुरु."

2. This epithet मन्त्रिवर is not recorded in the colophon of the योगचिन्तामणि. In the colophon of the *1st Paricceda* of the हरिहरचतुरङ्ग the epithet मन्त्रिवर is also recorded.

3. Vide pp. 410–414 of P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I (1930) where Kane gives detailed information about the *dharmaśāstra* works ascribed to Gajapati Pratāparudra—for information about the empire of Orissa and its emperors see JBORS, V, pp. 147–148 and *Ind. Anti.* 1929, pp. 28-33.

69. Dates of the Works of Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa ‡

I

DATE OF RASASAṄKETAKALIKĀ OF KĀYASTHA CĀMUṆḌA AND HIS REFERENCE TO AN ANECDOTE ABOUT KING SIṀHAṆA.

Vaidya Jadavaji Trikamji Acharya, whose efforts in the cause of the publication of ancient works on Indian Medicine are really praiseworthy, has published in the *Āyurvedīyagrantha*[1] *mālā* a work on *rasas* or Medical preparations called the *Rasasaṅketakalikā*.[1] In the preface to this work the Editor makes the following remarks regarding the author and the importance of his work :—

"स चायं चामुण्डः कस्मिन् समये कतमे वा जनपदे समजनीति निर्णेतुं न किञ्चिदपि साधनमुपलभ्यते। ग्रंथश्चायं लघुरपि अतिसरलत्वात् विशदार्थत्वात् दृष्टप्रत्ययाल्पप्रयत्नसाध्यप्रयोगवत्त्वाच्च रसचिकित्साग्रन्थेषु मूर्धन्यः। पुत्रप्रदरसप्रभृतयः केचन अपूर्वप्रयोगा अप्यत्रोपलभ्यन्ते।"

In the above remarks, I am here concerned with the date of the author of the *Rasasaṅketakalikā* and not with the medical value of the treatise which an editor of Vaidya Jadavaji's status and reputation is most competent to judge.

When the above book was published Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* was in existence. It appears, however, that this Catalogue has not been used by the Editor in making the remarks quoted above to the effect that there are no means for determining the place and time of Cāmuṇḍa, the author of this *Rasasaṅketakalikā*. The following entry[2] in Aufrecht's Catalogue would certainly have helped the Editor to study the question more carefully :—

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‡ *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, pp. 1–10.

1. Edited along with *Rasasāra* of Govindacharya, 1915, Bombay.

2. *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, p. 185.

" चामुण्ड[1] or चण्ड कायस्थ wrote at Medapāṭa under King Rājamalla (1489): ज्वरतिमिरभास्कर *med*. Bik. 643. Lahore 22; रससंकेतकलिका *med*. L. 910. K. 216, Oudh 1877, 62." In an article contributed by me to the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* (Vol. XII, pp. 294—296) I have proved that Cāmuṇḍa Kāyastha wrote his *Jvaratimirabhāskara* in Saṁvat 1546 (= A. D. 1490) during the reign of King Rājamalla of Mewād (1474 to 1509). I shall, therefore, try in this paper to prove the identity of the Author of the *Jvaratimirabhāskara* with the author of the *Rasasaṅketakalikā*.

In the first verse of the *Rasasaṅketkalikā* the author states that he composed the work and that his name is " चामुण्ड: कायस्थवंशभूः. " In the last verse of the *Jvaratimirabhāskara* (v. 63 on folio 116 of MS No. 920[2] of 1884—87) the author calls himself " कायस्थश्चंडनामा. " This identity of names is not sufficient to prove the identity of authorship for the two works under reference because in the *Rasasaṅketakalikā* no chronological and historical data are available. I have, therefore, tried to find if any verses are common to both the works. Fortunately my cursory perusal of both the works has enabled me to detect the following lines in the *Rasasaṅketakalikā* which are found also in the *Jvaratimirabhāskara*:—

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1. Aufrecht, III, 40 mentions a चामुण्ड as the author of a work called वर्णनिघण्टु (Peters 6, 399) which is identical with No. 399 of 1895–98 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The identity of this चामुण्ड with the author of the *Rasasaṅketakalikā* will be examined in a separate note. Aufrecht also records (Part III, 130) a work on *jyotiṣa* called वर्णनिघण्टु but its author is not mentioned. It appears to be a different work from the वर्णनिघण्टु of चामुंड referred to above.

2. This MS is dated *Saṁvat 1689* (= A. D. 1633). It was copied at Ajmere and contains two impressions of a seal on the last folio. The seals are in Persian script. Mr. G. H. Khare of the Bharata Itihasa Mandal has given me a tentative deciphering of these seal-impressions, according to which the Seal contains the words " *Keśav Ibn Ganesh Kher.* " If this reading is correct it would mean that the Seal belongs to some owner of the MS subsequent to the date of the Copy viz. A. D. 1633. *Keshav Ganesh Kher* is a Maharashtra Brahmin name while the copy was made at Ajmere in Rajputana and the MS was acquired by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar from Gujarat.

Page 15 — (विषमज्वरे शीतभञ्जीरसः)

" पारदं रसकं तालं तुत्थं गन्धकटङ्कणम् ।
सर्वमेतत्समं शुद्धं कारवेल्या रसैर्दिनम् ॥ २ ॥

मर्दयेत्तेन लिप्ताच्च ताम्रपात्रोदरं घनम् ।
अङ्गुलार्धार्धमानेन तत्पचेत्सिकताह्वये ॥ ३ ॥

यन्त्रे यावत्स्फुटन्त्येव व्रीहयस्तस्य पृष्ठतः ।
ततः सुशीतलं ग्राह्यस्ताम्रपात्रोदराद्बुधैः ॥ ४ ॥

तत्समं मरिचं दत्वा सर्वमेकत्र चूर्णयेत् ।
द्विगुञ्जं पर्णखण्डेन वातिके, पैत्तिके ज्वरे ॥ ५ ॥ "

The above verses in the *Rasasaṅketakalikā* are also found on folio 22 of MS No. 920 of 1884-87 of *Jvaratimirabhāskara* with slight variations :—

" पारदं रसकं तालं तुच्छं टङ्कणगंधकम् ।
सर्वमेतत्समं शुद्धं कारवेल्या रसैर्दिनम् ॥ ५४ ॥

मर्दयेत्तेन लिप्ताच्च ताम्रपात्रोदरं घनं ।
अङ्गुलार्धार्धमानेन तं पचेत्सिकताह्वये ॥ ५५ ॥

यंत्रे यावत्स्फुटंत्येव व्रीहयस्तस्य पृष्टतः ।
ततः सुशीतलं ग्राह्यं ताम्रपात्रोदराद्बुधैः ॥ ५६ ॥

तत्समं मरिचं दद्यात् सर्वमेकत्र चूर्णयेत् ॥ ५७ ॥

शीतभञ्जी रसोनाम द्विगुञ्जः वातके ज्वरे ।
दातव्यः पर्णखंडेन क्षणान्नाशयते ज्वरम् ॥ ५८ ॥ "

The above matter common to both the works proves beyond doubt the identity of authorship especially in view of the identity of names of the authors referred to already. In spite of the common matter the relative chronology of the two works cannot be determined unless either of the two works is found mentioning the other work by name.

The work *Rasasaṅketakalikā* composed, therefore, during the reign of King Rājamalla of Mewad (1474-1509 A. D.) is very important as pointed out by Vaidya Jadavaji Trikamji Acharya in his Preface. Among the several *rasas* mentioned in this manual we find one called " क्रव्यादरस " prescribed against the lethargic condition of the bowels and want of appetite (*agnimāndya*). Verses 67

to 72 of the Fourth *Ullāsa* of the work describe the method of its preparation, which is concluded with the following verses narrating its marvellous effects and miraculous properties :—

" भोजयेत्कण्ठपर्यन्तं गुरुमामिषभोजनम् ।
क्षिप्रं तज्जीर्यते भुक्तं पुनः काङ्क्षति भोजनम् ॥ ७३ ॥

घटश्रवाकुम्भयोनिवृकोदरशनैश्चरैः ।
सहस्राक्षकृपश्चचतुर्मुखैरासेवितोऽग्रये ॥ ७४ ॥

अस्य संसेवनादेते सर्वे जाता महाशनाः ।
अतः संसेव्यतेभूपैर्महदग्निविवृद्धये ॥ ७५ ॥

कुर्याद्दीपनमद्भुतं च पचनं दुष्टाय योच्छेदनं
तुन्दस्थौल्यनिबर्हणं, गरहरः शूलार्तिमूलापहः ।
गुल्मप्लीहविनाशनो बहुरुजां विध्वंसनः स्रंसनो
वातग्रन्थिमहोदरापहरणः क्रव्यादनामा रसः ॥ ७६ ॥

सिंहणक्षोणिपालाय भूरिभोज्यप्रियं रसम् ।
दत्तवान् भैरवानन्दो भूयो ग्रामाष्टकं ददौ ॥ ७७ ॥ "

The above extract gives us an impression that ancient Indian kings were addicted to over-eating and required special medicines to enable them to digest everything they swallowed." " अग्निविवृद्धि " or stimulation of appetite was more a matter of concern for the well-fed kings than for the famished peasants. Verily this miserable condition of the kings afforded a nice opportunity for the ancient physicians to make a fortune and hence in verse 77 of the above extract we get an anecdote about King सिंहण who is stated to have been 'भूरिभोज्यप्रिय', excessively fond of eating or rather a glutton. A physician by name भैरवानन्द administered the क्रव्यादरस to this King and the King was so much pleased by its marvellous effects that he gave the physician no less than *eight* villages as a reward.

Students of history proper may perhaps be able to verify the above anecdote and its historical content. The anecdote is amusing enough as it is cited by Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa as an illustration from history to prove his point contained in the line: " अतः संसेव्यते भूपैर्महदग्निविवृद्धये । " i.e. the क्रव्यादरस should be taken by kings to effect a good appetite.

Vincent Smith[1] mentions a Yādava king of the name Singhaṇa

1. *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 451-452.

(= सिंहण) (A. D. 1210) " who invaded Gujarat and other countries and established a short-lived kingdom almost rivalling in extent the realms of the Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas. " Inscriptional references to this Singhaṇa describe him as under :—

" अस्ति ध्वस्तसमस्तवैरिविसरप्रौढप्रतापानलः
कुंदश्वेतदिगंतकीर्त्तिरमलः श्रीसिंघणः क्षोणिपः ।
येनाहारि हरीभसंभृतमतिस्फीतं समस्तं क्षणा—
द्राज्यं प्राज्यमथा जनस्य दलिताधाराधराभूषणम् ॥ २ ॥ " [1]

Singhaṇa ruled from Śaka 1132 (= A. D. 1210) to Śaka 1169 (= A. D. 1247)[2] i.e. for a period of 37 years. Whether he gave any village to any physician of the name of भैरवानन्द as stated in the *Rasasaṅketakalikā* of Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa is a matter for investigation. That he did entertain court physicians is proved by the fact of one of the inscriptions mentioned above being composed by an eminent physician who was at the same time noted for his poetic talents. The name of this *poet physician* was Mādhava, son of Dhaneśvara-bhaṭṭa of the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra* and belonging to the *Taittirīya Śākhā*. The pertinent verse[3] supplying this information reads as follows :—

" सद्वैद्यो भिषगग्रणी कविवरश्रीमाधवो विप्रराट्
(–) क्षे विक्रमसं(शं)ककेलिविपुलां चक्रे प्रशस्तिं शुभां ॥
पुत्रौ भट्टधनेश्वरस्य सुमतेः श्रीविष्णुवृद्धस्य यो
वंशेजायत शाखया विमलया यस्तैत्तिरीयः कृती ॥ ४२ ॥ "

In inscriptions, devoted more to the praise of kings than to their criticism, it would be difficult to find anything to justify the adjective 'भूरिभांज्यप्रिय' with reference to King Singhaṇa of the inscriptions. In the *Kīrtikaumudī*[4] of Someśvara a good description of the prowess of King Singhaṇa in his invasion of Gujarat is given, but no reference to his personal habits could be traced in such

1. G. H. Khare : *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I (1930), p. 71—The verse about Singhaṇa quoted above is repeated in both the inscriptions recorded by Mr. Khare (pp. 62 and 71). One of these inscriptions is dated " शक संवत् ॥ ११५० ॥ सर्वधारिणि संवत्सरे " = A. D. 1228 (vide p. 66).

2. Vide *Life of Hemādri* (1931) by K. A. Padhye, p. 100.

3. *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 75.

4. Canto IV, verses 43–46 and 49–53 (quoted by Mr. K. A. Padhye in his *Life of Hemādri*, pp. 102-104.

poetic descriptions. Besides there are two more namesakes of king Singhaṇa. One of these was called *Siṁharāja* or King *Siṁha,* though his full name was *Singhaṇa.* He was probably the brother of Parammadeva, the successor of Seuṇa Candra (1069 A. D.) of the early Yādava Dynasty.[1] The other namesake of King Singhaṇa is Singhaṇadeva[2] the last prince of the Kalacuri Dynasty whose grant dated Śaka 1105 (= A.D. 1183) was brought to notice by Dr. Fleet in 1875 and published in the *Indian Antiquary*. Singhaṇadeva was the brother of King Soma. It was at the instance of a woman that King Soma made a grant in the year Śaka 1096 (= A. D. 1174). Her name was Sāvaladevī, who is represented to have been dearer to the King than his own wife. "Her brother was *Bhairava* by name who had exercised himself on the musical instruments especially on the Brahmavīṇā and was skilled in beating time." [3] *Bhairava* and his sister *Sāvaladevi* had, therefore, great influence at the court of King Soma of the Kalacuri dynasty, the brother of Singhaṇadeva. Is it possible to suggest that this *Bhairava* had anything to do with *Bhairavānanda* of the Rasasaṅketakalikā, who administered क्रव्यादरस to सिंहण क्षोणिप and got eight villages as a reward ?

The above anecdote about the fondness of king *Siṁhaṇa* for excessive eating (भूरिभोज्यप्रियत्व) reminds me of a similar tradition current in the Maratha country about Peshwa Bajirao II. Whatever be the truth of this tradition with regard to this last of the Peshwas and his personal habits the fact remains that he was instrumental in indirectly encouraging gluttony to a certain extent. Making due allowance for the charitable motives which prompted him to feed the Brahmins on an enormous scale and pay them *dakṣiṇās* in addition we are constrained to admit that the system engendered indolence instead of encouraging learning, which was the original object of the system.

It appears that the system of feeding Brahmins on a grand

1. Vide p. 146 of the *Early History of the Deccan* (R. G. B. Works, Vol. III, 1927 — B. O. R. Institute) where the genealogy of the Early Yādavas or the Yādavas of the Seuṇadeśa is given.

2. Ibid, p. 342.

3. R. G. B. Works, Vol. III, p. 346 —

"यज्ज्ञाता भैरवो नाम यंत्रे गात्रे कृतश्रमः ।
विशेषाद्ब्रम्हवीणायाम् तालमानविचक्षणः ॥"

scale and paying them dakṣiṇās began early in the Peshwa period. For instance, in an entry in the *Peshwa's*[1] *Diaries* for 28th July 1736 we read the following entry :—

" Panta Pradhan performed the ceremony of feeding the Brahmins from Śrāvaṇa Śuddha Pratipadā. On the *Nāgapañcamī* day dakṣiṇā was distributed at the rate of 1 to 2 rupees per head. 4000 to 5000 Brahmins had gathered for the purpose. "

Now compare with the above acccount the following account of a similar feast to the Brahmins given by Bajirao II at the close of the Peshwa Period :—

" The ceremony in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* (was duly celebrated) and *dakṣiṇā* was distributed as usual (to Brahmins). This year the number of Brahmins was less by *ten* to *twelve* thousand. *Khicaḍī* was served for five days as in the previous years. On Monday at 17 *ghaṭikās* in the day (at about 2 P. M.) the distribution of dakṣiṇā to the Brahmins assembled began. Owing to some showers of rain on that day the Brahmins did not attend the feast in large numbers. On the following day it was arranged that *dakṣiṇā* should be distributed simultaneously at all the four gates. This arrangement resulted in the admission of the entire number of Brāhmins inside (the enclosure). Shrimant Rājaśrī Dādā (= Raghunathrao Kurundvadkar) had been appointed as one of the distributors of *dakṣiṇā* and he worked in that capacity. On Tuesday afternoon Sindia (= Mahadji Sindia) was personally present at the ceremony. On that occasion he distributed rupees in handfuls to certain meritorious or austere Brahmins from Poona. (Out of this number) some *ten* to *twelve* persons received as *dakṣiṇā* Rs. 800, 400, 150, 200, each and so on. The total number of Brahmins recorded at the four gates (of the enclosure) was 32,231. Total amount of money distributed was Rs. 1, 13, 281. Three Brahmins of weak constitution expired on this occasion. "[2]

It would, therefore, appear that the modest number of 4000 to 5000 of Brahmins fed in A. D. 1736 had increased to more than

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1. *Peshwa Daftar Selection* No. 22, p. 176.

2. Vide Letter No. 3523 dated *15th August 1793* from Visāji Narayan Vaddekar to Balasaheb (pp. 4656 - 7 of Khare's *Aitihāsik Lekha Saṁgrah*, Vol. IX. (Poona 1916).

30000 by A. D. 1793. These figures tell their own tale and need no comment.[1]

II

DATE OF VARṆANIGHAṆṬA OF KĀYASTHA CĀMUṆḌA — A. D. 1482 (SAṀVAT 1538)

Aufrecht[2] records only one MS of a work called *Varṇanighaṇṭa* by Cāmuṇḍa. This MS is identical with No. 399 of 1895–98 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, and consists of 2 folios only. It appears to be a vocabulary of *tāntric* terms. It begins as follows :-

1. Vide remarks of Dr. Sen in his *Administrative System of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 471—Originally the Dakshina System was instituted by Dabhades but was continued by the Peshwas after the fall of that family. It was originally meant for scholars but was extended to Brahmins in general. "Bajirao II spent about 4 lacs of rupees annually in Dakshina grants." Mr. Elphinstone maintained a Pathashala at Poona out of the Dakshana grant.

Feeding of Brahmins to their heart's content and giving them dakṣiṇas at religious sacrifices was practised in the Peshwa period. Raja Savai Jaisingh of Jaipur (1699 – 1743 A. D.) who performed an *Aśvamedha* Sacrifice gave plenty of dakṣiṇās and feasts to Brahmins on that occasion. The following verses from *Īśvara Vilāsa Kāvya*, a poem dealing with the Jaipur dynasty describes this sacrifice in chapters IV and V of the same. In chapter V we get the following verses —

" अस्मिन्यज्ञे जायमाने यावद्यद्येन याचितं ।
तावत्तत्तेन विप्रेन क्षिप्रमस्मादलभ्यत ॥ २९ ॥ "
" एवं स दक्षिणाभारं नभूरिब्रह्मभोजनैः ।
सांगं स वाजिमेधानां चक्रे पंचोत्तरं शतं ॥ ५२ ॥ "

(These verses are quoted from MS No. 273 of 1884-86 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This is the only MS of this poem discovered so far and hence important.)

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part III, p, 40.

" आराध्याखिलनायकं पशुपतिं तद्वल्लभामंबिका-
मानम्य स्वगुरुं विलोक्य मुनिभिस्तंत्राण्यनेकानि च ।
श्रीमत्कुंभतनूद्भवः प्रकुरुते चामुंड नामा कृती
कायस्थोर्णनिघंटशास्त्ररचनां सन्मंत्रसंसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

अभिवंद्य जगद्धात्रीं श्रीमत्त्रिपुरसुंदरीं ।
चंडः प्रकुरुते वर्णनिघंटं करुणाग्रणीः ॥ २ ॥

हुंकारो वर्तुलस्तारो बिंदुशक्तिस्त्रिदैवतः ।
प्रणवो मंत्रगव्यस्यात्पंचेद्रेवो ध्रुवस्त्रिकः ॥ ३ ॥

मंत्राद्यः परमं बीजं मूलवेदाद्यतारकः ।
शेषादिर्व्यापको व्यक्तः परंज्योतिश्च संविदोः ॥ ४ ॥ "

The author's name as given in verses 1 and 2 is चंड or चामुंड कायस्थ and not mere चामुंड as stated by Aufrecht. He is identical with कायस्थ चामुंड the author of ज्वरतिमिरभास्कर, a treatise on fevers and रससंकेतकलिका or a treatise dealing with *rasas* or certain medical preparations. We have shown elsewhere[1] that the work ज्वरतिमिरभास्कर was composed in A. D. 1489-90 (*Saṁvat* 1546) though the exact date of the रससंकेतकलिका cannot be determined.[2] However, we are sure that it was composed during the reign of King Rājamalla of Mewad (1474 to 1509 A. D.).

The work *Rasasaṅketakalikā* begins with the words " शिवं नत्वा " corresponding to the first line of *Varṇanighaṇṭa* viz. " आराध्याखिल-नायकं पशुपतिं " showing thereby that Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa was a devotee of God Śiva. His father's name as recorded in the Varṇanighaṇṭa (verse 1, line 3) was Kumbha (श्रीमत्कुंभतनूद्भवः). In the *Jvaratimirabhāskara* also he is called कुंभसूनुः in the following verse :—

" देसे श्रीमेदपाटे रसयुगसरभूमानवर्षे दसम्यां
शुक्लायामश्विनस्य त्रिदसगुरुदिने योगिनीपत्र(त्त ?)नस्थः ।
भूपे श्रीराजमल्ले निवसति वसुधामंडले कुंभसूनुः
कायस्थश्चंडनामा ज्वरतिमिरहरं भास्करं संविधत्ते ॥"

The above verse occurs in MS No. 920 of 1884—87. In the Bikaner MS of the *Jvaratimirabhāskara* instead of " कुंभसूनुः " in the

1. *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Vol. XII, p. 294-96.

2. See my note on the Date of *Rasasaṅketakalikā* published above.

above quotation we have the reading "कुंभसूनो" which becomes applicable to "राजमल्ले" and in fact राजमल्ल was the son of King *Kumbha* but the reading "कुंभपुत्रो" of the Bikaner MS is wrong as in the वर्णनिघंट, कायस्थ चामुंड is clearly stated to be "कुंभनृपनूद्भव" and hence "कुंभसूनुः" is the correct reading. The composition of the present vocabulary, *Varṇanighaṇṭa* shows that the author was a follower of *tantras* and *mantras*, for the proper application of which the vocabulary viz. the *Varṇanighaṇṭa* was composed. The MS *ends* as follows :—

"श्रीशिवागमकाचार्यसद्गुर्वो गोपितः पुरा ।
तत्स्फुटीकरणार्थेतुश्रमं कृतवानहं ॥
वर्षे श्रीविक्रमार्कस्य गजाग्निष्विन्दुसंयुते
ज्येष्ठे मासे सिते पक्षे मूलार्के प्रतिपद्दिने
राज्ञः श्रीराजमल्लस्य राज्ये श्री योगिनीपुरे
चामुंडेनागमज्ञानं ग्रंथोऽयं प्रकटीकृतः
इतिश्रीचामुंडकृतो वर्णनिघंटः समाप्तिमफाणीत् ॥"

The work was composed in the *Saṁvat* year 1538 represented by the chronogram ("गज, अग्नि, इषु, इंदु) = A. D. 1482 i.e. eight years before the date of composition of the work *Jvaratimirabhāskara* (composed in A. D. 1490). King Rajamalla was reigning at the time. The work was composed at Yognīpura.[1] Rajamalla of

1. Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa's *Jvaratimirabhāskara* was also composed at योगिनीपुर (= योगिनीपत्तन of the verse quoted in this note from the *Jvaratimirabhāskara*). As Rājamalla was the King of Medapāṭa (= Mewar) योगिनीपुर or योगिनीपत्तन must have been in the old province of Mewar. Its exact location and identification need more evidence for being determined with accuracy.

योगिनीपुर has been identified with modern Delhi (see *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II by H. C. Ray, Pp. 801, 1095, 1145). See also J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIII, Part I, Pp. 106 – 109 and E. I. XXI, 281).

योगिनीपुर has nothing to do with *Jogipura* settlement mentioned by Badaoni in the following passage regarding Akbar's interest in Yogies :—

" It was this craving for unravelling the mysteries of the uni-

(*Continued on next page*)

Mewad ruled from A. D. 1474 to 1509 and the dates 1482 and 1490 for the composition of the *Varṇanighaṇṭa* and the *Jvaratimira-bhāskara* respectively harmonize with the period of Rājamalla's reign viz. 1474 to 1590 A. D.

(*Continued from previous page*)

verse and exploring the nature of things which led him to found the settlement of *Jogipura* where he called 'Yogies' for private interview at night and made inquiries into their practices and usages, alchemy, physiognomy and the power of omnipresence of soul. Badaoni alleges that with the help of Yogis Akbar learnt alchemy and showed in public some of the gold made." [Vide p. 100 of *Muslim University Journal* Vol. III (April, 1936) containing Abdul Ghafoor's article on "*A sidelight an Akbar's genius.*"]

70. Date of the Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā of Puruṣottama — Before A. D. 1495 ‡

No attempt has hitherto been made to put definite limits to the chronology of the *Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā*[1] of Puruṣottama, though this poem was published about 48 years ago. In a note on the author of this poem in 8 *Stabakas* the editors state that the time and place of this author is doubtful.[2]

In view of the above statement I propose to record in this paper some data which will enable us to put some definite limits to the date of Puruṣottama.

Aufrecht records some MSS of the *Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā* as follows:—

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‡ *Adyar Library Bulletin*, February 1941, pp. 13–16.

1. *Kāvyamālā* No. 31 (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1892) Ed. by Durgāprasād and Parab.

2. *Ibid* — " पुरुषोत्तमः । मार्ना-विष्णुसंज्ञकयोर्मातापित्रोर्लब्धजन्मा विष्णुभक्ति-कल्पलताप्रणेता पुरुषोत्तमकविः कस्मिन्काले कतमं जनपदमलंचकारेति संदिग्धम् " The editors then refer to several theories about the chronology and identification of Puruṣottama as follows :—

(1) *Ānandarāma* on p. 14 of his Intro. to नानार्थसंग्रह states that Puruṣottama belonged to वङ्ग or Bengal and was descended from हलायुधवंश. He flourished *not later than the latter part of the 12th century* A. D.

(2) *Kavi Caritra* (in Marāthi) tells us that Puruṣottama was the King of Orissa and Kaliṅga and flourished in the *14th Century of the Śālivāhana Śaka*. His Capital was at Cuttack. He composed त्रिकाण्डशेष, हारावली and एकाक्षरकोष.

(3) *Rajendralal Mitra* states in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS* that Puruṣottama flourished either in the *10th* or *11th Century A. D.*

The editors observe that whereas the author of त्रिकाण्डशेष and other works is called पुरुषोत्तमदेव at the end of these works, our author's name as mentioned in the विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलता is given as पुरुषोत्तम only.

C C I, 591-2 — "विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलता — a poem in eight Stabakas by Puruṣottamācārya.

IO. 1500, 2420, 2468. W. p. 158. K. 66. B. 4, 92 (and Comm.) P. 23. Bhk. 27. Proceed. A S B. 1869, B 6. Oppert II, 4779. Peters 1, 119, 3, 396., B P 263 (eighth Stabaka). 357.

Commentary: विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलताप्रबोध by the author B. 4. 92.

,, प्रकाश by Mahīdhara composed in 1590.[1] IO 1500, 2461, W. p. 158. P. 23. Bhk. 27. Peters 3. 396.

,, By Maheśvara composed in 1621[2] Bh. 26. B. P. 54. 263. 357.

,, By Haridāsa. B. 4. 92.

C C II, 140 — विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलता — Kāvya in eight Stabakas by Puruṣottama, son Viṣṇu. Stein 74 (1 — 4). Printed with Mahīdhara's Comm. in *Kāvyamālā* 31. Comm. प्रकाश by Mahīdhara. Peters 4. 31.

C C III, 174 — विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलता by Puruṣottama. AS p. 177. (2 MSS) Comm. by Mahīdhara AS. p. 177.

The above entries show that the work *Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā* (= *VBK*) has found three commentators. Of these three the dates of two are definitely known as *A. D. 1590* and *1621*. We must, therefore, search for the date of *VBK* before *A. D. 1590*, which is the later limit for the date of this work. Let us now see if we can take this limit backwards from A. D. 1590. Fortunately for

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1. The correct date is *Saṁvat 1654* = A. D. *1598*.

2. *MS No. 86 of 1883-84* in the B. O. R. Institute MSS Library is a commentary प्रकाश by महेश्वर on वि. भ. कल्पलता. It ends as follows :—"अथ विवरणनिर्माणकालः ।

श्रीमद्भूवलयानुरंजनलसत्कीर्त्तिर्नृपाद्विक्रमात् जातेश्वांबुधिरागभूमिगणितेऽद्बे मार्गशीर्षेर्जुने ।
पक्षे मुख्यजयातिथौ मुरुगुरुवारे विरूपाक्षभू-र्निर्मातिस्महेश्वरोगुरुकृपटीकामिमां सुंदरां ॥ १ ॥
संवत् १६६७ श १५३३ प्राजेष्ठ शुदि ९ गुरौ लिखितं ॥ "

The chronogram अश्व, अंबुधि, राग, भूमि = Saṁvat 1647 = *A. D. 1591* in which year the work was composed.

The MS of the work is dated Saṁvat *1667* = *Śaka 1533* = *A. D. 1611*. This MS, therefore, was copied 20 years after the work was composed. Aufrecht's date A. D. 1621 is wrong.

us we have a dated MS of the text of the *VBK* in the India Office Library which was copied in A. D. *1495*[1] and hence is earlier by 103 years than *A. D. 1598* (= Saṁ. 1654) which is the exact[2] date of Mahīdhara's commentary *Prakāsa* on the *VBK*. We must, therefore, search for Puruṣottama's date *before A. D. 1495*. Maheśvara's commentary on the *VBK* was composed in A. D. 1591 and not in A. D. 1621 as stated by Aufrecht[3] (*CC* I, 591).

The above data show the following chronology of the Mss of the *VBK* and also of the commentaries on the work :

A. D. 1495 — Date of India Office MS of *VBK*.
1591 — Maheśvara composed his comm. on *VBK*.
1598 — Mahīdhara comments on *VBK*.
1611 — Date of a MS Maheśvara's Comm. on *VBK*.

These dates enable us to conclude that Puruṣottama lived

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1. Vide p. 1475 of I.O. *MSS Cata.* VII, 1904—*Viṣṇubhakti-kalpalatā* a poem in 8 Stabakas, consisting of meditations and devotional effusions on the names and qualities of Viṣṇu by Puruṣottama, son of Viṣṇu and Māni." The MS ends : — " समाप्तोयं विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलताख्यः संवत् १५५१ वर्षे चैत्रे शुदि १० गुरौ दामोदरेण लिलिखे ॥ **मानी** माता पिता **विष्णुर्य-स्याख्या** पुरुषोत्तमः । **विष्णुभक्तिलतां** चक्रे सतां चक्रे कृताञ्जलिः ॥ " The 2nd MS of *VBK* (IO No. 3909) dated *Saṁvat 1848* = A. D. *1792*. The third MS (No. 3910) is dated " about A. D. 1650 " and ends as follows :— " इति श्री विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलताविवरणे चित्रप्रबोधो नामाष्टमः स्तबकः ॥ समाप्ता विवृतिः ॥

श्रुतिबाणरसेन्दुमानवर्षे नभसि स्कन्ददिने सितेऽर्कवारे ।
महिदासबुधो गिरीशपुर्यां कृतवान्कल्पलताप्रकाशमेतं ॥ "

The chronogram श्रुति (4) बाण (5) रस (6) इन्दु (1) = Saṁvat 1654 = A. D. 1598.

2. Aufrecht records A. D. 1590 as the date of Mahīdhara's *Prakāśa* Comm. but this statement is incorrect as the exact date of this Comm. is Saṁ. 1654 = A. D. *1598* and not A. D. 1590, which is the date of Mahīdhara's another work *Mantramahodadhi* (Saṁ. 1645).

3. Aufrecht's date A. D. 1621 for the composition Maheśvara's Comm. on the *VBK* is directly contradicted by the date of Ms *No. 86 of 1883—84* which was copied in A. D. *1611* *i. e.* ten years earlier before the work was composed (in A. D. 1621 according to Aufrecht.)

before — say A. D. 1450 — and therefore we must try to make a search for his date in sources of prior date *i.e.*, before A. D. 1450.

The earlier terminus to the date of the *VBK* will have to be fixed on the strength of internal evidence. Unfortunately the nature of this devotional poem calls for no references by the author to earlier authors or works and consequently the task of fixing the earlier limit becomes rather difficult. Whether and to what extent Puruṣottama's present poem in 8 *Stabakas* was influenced by earlier Vaiṣṇavite works, I cannot say at present. I have not also traced any references to the *VBK* in later Vaiṣṇavite or other works. There are some Vaiṣṇavite works with titles analogous[1] to the *Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā* but their priority or posteriority to the present work will have to be examined separately before anything could be definitely said in this matter.

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1. Cf. Aufrecht, *C C I*, *592* — " विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय, विष्णुभक्तिप्रबंध, विष्णुभक्तिमाहात्म्य, विष्णुभक्तिरहस्य, विष्णुभक्तिस्तुति, and *C C II*, *758* — हरिभक्तिकल्पलता by विष्णुपुरी, हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका by श्रीकृष्णसरस्वती, हरिभक्तिलता, हरिभक्तिलतिकास्तव etc.

71. The Kāmasamūha of Ananta, a Nāgara Brahmin, Composed in A. D. 1457 ‡

Aufrecht[1] makes the following entry in his Catalogue regarding a work called '*Kāmasamūha*' :—

"कामसमूह alaṁk. Composed in 1457[2] by Ananta, IO 396. Oxf. 218a. B. 346. Peters. 3. 22a. 366. 394. D. 6." This work *Kāmasamūha* contains verses illustrative of amatory sentiments composed by Ananta, son of Bhiṣagvarya Hīramantrimaṇḍana. That Ananta belonged to आभल्लवंश and his father's name was मण्डन can be seen from the following verse on *folio* 1 of MS No. 15 of 1869-70 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—

‡ *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), Vol. XVI, Part I, pp. 74–81.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum* I, p. 93.

2. This date of composition is recorded in the India Office MS No. 396 (Vide *I. O. Cata.* Part III, p. 364a). The chronogram recording the date is found in the following verse :—

"संवत् पञ्चदश प्रोते चन्द्रवेदप्रवत्सरे (।) ।
चैत्रशुक्ले चतुर्दश्यां तिथौ वारे च भार्गवे ॥"

The work was composed in Saṁvat 1514 in the month of *Caitra, Śukla pakṣa, 14th tithi, Bhṛguvāra* (Śukravāra) which corresponds to *Friday, 13th April 1457 A. D.* Vide *Indian Ephemeris* Vol. V, p. 116). The expression चन्द्रवेद = 14 and not 41 as interpreted by Eggeling. Hence पञ्चदश + चन्द्रवेद = 1514 and not 1541 Saṁvat.

M. M. Haraprasad Sastri describes a MS of *Kāmasamūha* in his *Des. Cata.* of *MSS* (A. S. B.) Vol. VI 1931, p. 434. This MS is very nearly complete. M. M. Sastri states that the author is Ananta the son of त्रिमण्डन with this title "भिषङ्मुकुटालङ्कारहार." The correct name of Antanta's father is मण्डन and not त्रिमण्डन, as clearly stated by him in verse 78 — "मण्डनतनयोऽनन्तः" (folio 6 of B. O. R. I. MS No. 15 of 1869-70). Obviously Sastri's statement is based on a wrong copy of the name in the MS before him.

" भाभल्लवंशजातेन मन्त्रिमण्डनसूनुना ।
अनन्तेन महाकाव्यप्रबन्धः क्रियते मया ॥ ६ ॥ "

It is not recorded in the work what office of a minister (मन्त्रि) was graced by मण्डन and under what ruling prince he worked in that capacity. It appears that मण्डन was the son of नारायण as we are told on *folio* 5 in the following verse :—

" विद्वज्जनसभानन्दा (दो) मन्त्री नारायणात्मजः ।
मण्डनस्तस्य पुत्रेण वर्ण्यन्ते स्मर्तवोऽधुना ॥ ६९ ॥ "

On *folio* 6 our author calls himself सकलशास्त्रज्ञ in the following verse :—

" मण्डनतनयोऽनन्तो मन्मथरूपः सकलशास्त्रज्ञः ।
अभिमतदाता रचयति रूपं बालाव्यवस्थायाः ॥ ७८ ॥ "

On *folio* 8 we find the following verse containing a reference to nose-ornament[1] repeated verbatim from earlier anthologies :—

" सुधामयोऽपि क्षयरोगशान्त्यै नासाग्रमुक्ताफलकच्छलेन ।
अनङ्गसञ्जीवनदृष्टशक्तिमुखामृतं ते पिबतीव चन्द्रः ॥ १५ ॥ "

The following verse beside its rhetorical implication shows that lamps used in India had no lamp covers[2] to protect them from wind :—

Folio 10 — " दीपो वातभयात्तन्व्या वस्त्राञ्चलतिरोहितः ।
विलोक्य कुचसौन्दर्यं मकरः कम्पते शिरः ॥ ५४ ॥ "

We have already pointed out that नारायण was the grandfather of अनन्त and father of मण्डन. This information is corroborated by the following verse on fol. 21 :—

" नारायणात्मजः श्रीमान् मन्त्रिश्रीमण्डनो द्विजः ।
तत्सुतेन प्रियावस्था प्रयाणे वर्णिता मुदा ॥ ६ ॥ "

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1. *Vide* my article on the *Antiquity of the Hindoo Nose-Ornament-Annals*, XIX, 313-334. The verse " सुधामयोऽपि etc." is found in the ***Sūktimuktāvali*** of Jalhaṇa composed in *A. D. 1258* and in *Sārṅgadharapaddhati* (A. D. *1363*).

2. I propose to prepare in due course a paper on references to lamps in Indian literature.

As अनन्त composed the कामसमूह in A. D. 1457[1] we may assign the following chronology to his father and grandfather :—

नारायण (C. 1400 A. D.) - son मण्डन (C..1430 A. D.) - son अनन्त (A. D. 1457). अनन्त belonged to the नागरज्ञाति as stated by him on folio 4I :—

" नागरज्ञातिजातेन मन्त्रिमण्डनसूनुना ।
अनन्तेनमहाव्यासतीवृत्तं प्रकाशितम् ॥ "

This family hailed from a town[2] founded by अहिम्मद् —

Folio 39 — " अहिम्मद्निर्मितनगरे विहितावसतिश्च वृद्धनागरिकः ।
मण्डनसूनुरनन्तो रचयति सेवाविधिं नार्याः ॥ ७७ ॥ "

The place of Ananta's residence *viz.* " अहिम्मद्नगर " mentioned by him in the above verse may be identical with Ahmedabad

1. The Ms " B. 3. 46 " of *Kāmasamūha* mentioned by Aufrecht is dated Saṁvat 1619 = A.D. *1563* and was in the possession of नीलकण्ठरण-छोड of Ahmedabad (*Vide* pp. 46 - 47 of of Bühler's *Cata. of Gujarat etc. MSS*, Fasci. I, Bombay, 1872). On p. 2 of Fasci. I Bühler observes " If no remark is added the era in whieh the MSS are dated is *Saṁvat.* " In view of this remark the year 1619 given as the age of the MS of *Kāmasamūha* on p. 47 of Faci. III is a Saṁvat year.

2. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. I, pt. 1 (1896) which deals with the history of Gujarat, Ahmad I (*1411 - 1441* A. D.) of Gujarat built Ahmedabad in A. D. *1413*. As अनन्त belonged to the नागर caste, the town " अहिम्मद्निर्मितनगर " must be identical with the modern Ahmadabad in Gujarat which is generally the home of the Nāgara Brahmins. If this identification is accepted the कामसमूह appears to have been composed at Ahmedabad 44 years after the founding of Ahmedabad in A. D. 1413. अनन्त appears to refer to the foundation of Ahmedabad as a contemporary event of fresh occurrence.

Ahmad I of Gujarat also built a town of the name *Ahmadnagar* (Himatnagar the modern capital of Idar state) in A. D. 1427 (*Vide* p. 83 of *History of Gujarat* by Commissariat, 1938). It is also possible that अनन्त may have been tbe resident of this " अहिम्मद्नगर " (Himatnagar). If this identification is accepted the कामसमूह was written 30 years after the foundation of Ahmednagar.

(founded A. D. 1413) or Ahmadnagar (Himmatnagar[1]), the capital of Idar State (founded A. D. 1427), both of which were founded by Ahmad I of Gujarat. It is not possible to identify "अहिम्मद्-नगर" with modern Ahmadnagar (founded by Ahmad Nizam Shah in A.D. 1494) as such identification would result in an anachronism.

In the following verse on folio 3 we get the name of Ananta's guru *viz*. आनन्दपूर्ण —

" ध्यात्वा समस्तगुरुकार्यविधौ समर्थां
श्रीशारदां कविजनस्य मुखे वसन्तीम् ।
आनन्दपूर्णगुरुपादयुगं प्रणम्य
व्याख्यां विधाय सुरभे रचयत्यनन्तः ॥ २७ ॥ "

Is it possible to suppose that आनन्दपूर्ण mentioned in A. D. 1457 as the *guru* of Ananta is identical with आनन्दपूर्ण[2] alias विद्यासागर the

1. Vide *Archaeological Finds in Idar State*, Himmatnagar, 1936, p. 7 — Himmatnagar is 55 miles north of Ahmedabad. It was founded in 1426. (The Bombay Gazetteer gives A. D. 1427 as the year of its foundation) ; *P. 38* — " History of Idar State attests that the *Nagir Brahmins* and Banias formed a large percentage of the population of the Sate in the olden times. It seems when Grahāditya, son of Shilāditya, the last king of Mallabhipur, came in possession of Idar State in the 7th century, he brought with him from Vadnagar, many *Nagir* families out of gratitude to his foster-mother the Nagir lady Kamalavati. They held responsible posts in the administration and spread all over the State. Many Shiva-panchāyatan temples and step-wells in the State are said to have been built by them. The Nāgirs left the State in large numbers in the 17th century when there was a great exodus on account of the tyranny of Rao Jagannāth.". (If the above evidence is correct the home of Nāgara Brahman Ananta and his family must be Himmatnagar.)

2. *See* my paper on this author in the *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, Vol. XX, Part 1, pp. 29-36. In this paper I have referred to Ānandapūrṇa's works of which there are MSS dated A. D. *1405* and *1434*. *See also* Dr. V. Raghavan's article on this author in the Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University (Vol. II part I). The chronology of the two आनन्दपूर्णs is as follows :—

(*Continued on next page*)

commentator of the *Mahābhārata*? This latter आनन्दपूर्ण was a contemporary of the Kadamba ruler of Goa, one of whose inscriptions is dated *Śaka* 1315, A. D. 1393.

I shall now record below several verses at the close of different topics of the कामसमूह in which अनन्त refers to himself :—

Folio 14 — " सुरनरकविवन्द्यं योगिनां मध्यसंस्थं
सरसिजभवपत्नीपादपद्मं प्रणम्य ।
गुरुजनपरिचर्याराधने स्म प्रवीणो
रचयति कुचरूपं श्रीरनन्तप्रबन्धैः ॥ २५ ॥ "

Folio 19 — " वयःप्रकर्षादधिरामणीयकं
विवर्ण्यरूपं मृगशावचक्षुषाम् ।
सर्वः शरीरावयवो विरच्यते-
ऽनन्तेन नार्याः कविशर्मवर्धनः ॥ १९ ॥ "

Folio 13 — " अनन्तोऽनन्तफलदः कवीनां द्विजपूजितः ।
तेनेदं रचितं रम्यं वर्णनं पथिकस्य च ॥ ९२ ॥ "

Folio 27 — " मण्डनो भूतले मान्यो भूपतीनां भिषग्वरः ।
कृतं तत्तनयेनेदं प्रियाविरहवर्णनम् ॥ ५१ ॥ "

Folio 28 — " गजायुर्वेदवेत्ता वै धन्वन्तरिरिवापरः ।
मण्डनस्तस्य पुत्रेण कृतेयं लेखपद्धतिः ॥ ८० ॥ "

Folio 30 — " महाकाव्यनिबन्धेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थानालोक्य सर्वशः ।
वियोगिनीप्रलापास्तेऽनन्तेन परिकीर्तिताः ॥ २० ॥ "

Folio 31 — " महाकाव्यप्रबन्धेऽस्मिन्ननन्तेन द्विजन्मना ।
प्रियस्यागमनं रम्यं रचितं कविनिर्मितम् ॥ ३४ ॥ "

(*Continued from previous page*)

आनन्दपूर्ण Mbh. Commentator	आनन्दपूर्ण, guru of अनन्त
1. Dates of mss of his works – A. D. *1405*, *1434*	1. Mentioned as guru by अनन्त in A. D. *1457*
2. Contemporary of Kadamba ruler Kāmadeva – A. D. *1393*	

Folio 32 — " अनन्तोऽनन्तशास्त्रज्ञः शत्रूणामन्तकृत्सुधीः ।
तेनेदं पथिकप्रश्नं कृतं कविसुखप्रदम् ।। ४२ ।। "

Folio 33 — " इति कामसमूहेऽस्मिन् अनन्तेन सुखप्रदम् ।
महाकाव्यप्रबन्धेन कृतं सुरतवर्णनम् ।। ८१ ।। "

Folio 34 — " बहूनि शास्त्राणि विलोक्य भव्यान्
संगृह्य पद्यान् सुकविप्रणीतान् ।
अनन्तविप्रेण महाप्रबन्धे
कृतं मनोज्ञं सुरतावसानम् ।। १ ।। "

Folio 35 — " वृद्धनागारिकेणैवमनन्तेन द्विजन्मना ।
रतान्तकलहेनैवं प्रियवाक्यविनिर्मितम् ।। २० ।। "

Folio 36 — " कामिनीवचनमुत्तममद्भुतं
सुकविना रचितं किल बुद्धया ।
वीक्ष(क्ष्य) भावकविनिर्मितपद्यान्
विप्रमण्डनसुतेन मनोज्ञान् ।। २६ ।। "

Folio 37 — " कोविदाह्लादकेनैवानन्तेनानेन वैरिणा ।
गुरोर्गुरुप्रभावाच्च कृतं प्रश्नोत्तराष्टम् ।। ३५ ।। "

Folio 38 — " अनन्तेन महारम्यं सर्वकामिजनप्रियम् ।
कामस्य वसतिस्थानं सुश्लोकैः परिकीर्तितम् ।। ६२ ।। "

Folio 39 — " मन्त्रिमण्डनपुत्रेण अनन्तेन सुधीमता ।
विस्तारितं प्रबन्धेन सकामालक्षणं शुभम् ।। ७१ ।। "

Folio 40 — " अनन्तेन महाकाव्ये सानन्देन महात्मना ।
समूहे काव्यबन्धस्य विरक्ताचिह्नमीरितम् ।। ४ ।। "

Folio 42 — " सदानन्तेन काव्येभ्यः श्लोकान् संगृह्य यत्नतः ।
प्रबन्धे कामसङ्घेऽस्मिन्नसतीवृत्तमीरितम् ।। ५१ ।। "

Folio 45 — " अनन्तेन भिषग्विद्याविदा वैद्यजिता मुदा ।
प्रबन्धे काव्यसङ्घेऽस्मिन् वैराग्यं परिकीर्तितम् ।। ९९ ।। "

इति श्रीकामसमूहे महाकाव्यप्रबन्धे भिषग्वरमन्त्रिमण्डनसूनोरनन्तस्य कृतौ वैराग्यवर्णनान्तः सर्वकामसमूहग्रन्थः संपूर्णः ।। पुस्तकमिदं कातावच्चेन लिखितं पारोळाख्यग्रामे[1] ।। "

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1. This village may be identical with *Parola* in the East Khandesh (Bombay Presidency).

The account of our author of the कामसमूह as gathered from the foregoing analysis would be as follows:—

अनन्त, the author of कामसमूह, belonged to भामल्लवंश. He was a नागर Brāhmin. His grandfather's name was नारायण. His father was मण्डन, who is styled as मन्त्रि or minister. मण्डन is also called a court-physician (भूपतीनां भिषग्वरः) who was proficient in veterinary science - गजायुर्वेदवेत्ता) and was another धन्वन्तरि or physician of gods. अनन्त twice calls himself वृद्धनागरिक, resident of a town founded by अहिम्मद्. This town may be either Ahmedabad founded by Ahmad I of Gujarat in A. D. 1414 or it may be identical with Ahmadnagar (Himmatnagar, Capital of the Idar State) founded by the same king in A.D. 1427. The कामसमूह, composed by अनन्त (in his old age) in A. D. 1457 (Friday, the 13th April) is an anthology bearing on Kāmaśāstra and its several topics. अनन्त refers to his guru आनन्दपूर्ण only once in the कामसमूह. This आनन्दपूर्ण may be identical with आनन्दपूर्ण alias विद्यासागर the commentator of the Mahābhārata and writer of some Vedānta works, who was a contemporary of Kāmadeva, the Kadamba ruler of Goa (c. 1393 A. D.). Evidently अनन्त may have been a junior contemporary of आनन्दपूर्ण or विद्यासागर, if my identification of his guru आनन्दपूर्ण, as suggested by me is proved on independent evidence. Like his father who was an eminent court-physician, अनन्त was also proficient in the science of medicine as he calls himself " भिषग्विद्याविद्. "

As the कामसमूह is avowedly an anthology bearing on Kāmaśāstra it would be interesting to trace some of his verses to their original sources. This work, however, has been made difficult by the author himself, who makes no mention of the sources from which he has borrowed. He only makes general statements about his borrowing, such as:

" ग्रन्थानालोक्य सर्वशः ", " बहूनि शास्त्राणि विलोक्य भव्यान् । संगृह्य पद्यान् सुकविप्रणीतान् । "

It appears that अनन्त has mixed up his own composition with that of previous writers.

I have not studied the question of references to the कामसमूह in later literature but shall note here one reference of A. D. 1787, in which year a copy of the कामसमूह was prepared in Poona at some cost as stated in a recent book[1] dealing with the Peshwa period.

1. पेशवाईच्या सावलींत by N. G. Chapekar, Poona, 1937, p. 293 — Śaka 1709 = A.D. 1787. Mr. Chapekar refers to the India Office MS mentioned by me already in this paper. He is not, however, aware of the 2 MSS of the work at the B. O. R. Institute in the Govt. Mss Library *viz*. No. 15 of 1869-70 and No. 283 of 1884-86, as also the Calcutta MS of the work described by Haraprasad Shastri (p. 434 of *R. A. S. B. MSS. Cata.* Vol. VI, 1931).

INDEX

Note : " Asterisk (*) " refers to the particular page-number and the foot-note thereon, while " n " to the foot-note on that page. " pl. " means " place name."

E

Subject-Index

[*a.* = *Author*. *Com.* = *Commentary*]